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# INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

## A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, HISTORY, LITERATURE, LANGUAGES, FOLKLORE, &c., &c.

EDITED BY

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*Authors' names arranged alphabetically.*

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# ERRATA IN VOL. II.

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Page 29 *b*, line 9 from bottom, *for* HULLE MAKKALU *read* HALĔ MAKKALU.

65 *for* Kulwadi *read* Kuḷuvâḍi.

65 *a*, l. 7, *for* Holiar *read* Hŏlĕyu.

„ 17 and 24 *for* Holiars *read* Hŏlĕyar.

„ 35 „ Holigiri „ Hŏlĕgĕri.

110 35 „ ಮಾಡಿದ „ ಮಾಡಿದಃ.

37 *for*

ಬರುತಿ | ಸಾಗನಟ್ಸ್ಯ | ಮಾನಂನ | ಡಯುರಿ | ಠವಿದೇ | ನೆಂದಕಾಂ

ನೊಂದಿಯಾ | ಶೇ

*read* ಬರುತಿ | ಸೋಗಟ್ಸ್ಯ | ಮಾನಂನ | ಡಿಯುದಿ | ಠಲವೇ | ನಂ-

ದಕಾಂ | ನೋಃತಿಮಾ | ಟಃ

110 l. 41, *for* ಳ್ದರ್ಮಾ *read* ಳ್ದುರ್ಮ.

111 *b* 18, *for* ಮುಂಗುಣಾ *read* ಮುಂಗುಣ.

112 *a* 10 *for* ಚಿತ್ತ *read* ಚಿತ.

„ 12 „ ಜ *read* ಜ

„ 14 „ ಅ „ ಟಿ.

115 *a*, 20 „ ـﮥز = ز+خ *read* ﺨز = ز+خ+ا

57 *a*, last line but one, *read* p. 258*b*.

„ *b* l. 26 from bot. *read* 'or the *Paiśâchabhâshâ*.'

„ 22 „ „ *for* Gorrey *read* Garrez.

„ 14 &c. read 'learn of the *Jâtakas*, the more increases the number of stories which are found there for the first time in India, and *recur* afterwards in the Brahmanical' &c.

58 *b*, l. 15, 16, *read* 'in the story, respectively in the great war of the *Mahâbhârata*, *viz.* Valhika, Nagrajit,' &c.

58 *b*, l. 26 *read* 'Kurukshetrâch.'

„ 28 „ 'the time of these words.'

„ 31 *after* 'a poetical form' *add*—'The Ṛik already has a story of Devâpi and Śamtanu (see *Yâska Nir.* II. 11, 12).

„ 11 from bot. *for* of *read* for.

10 „ *read* 'gṛihya sûtra of Âśvalâyana, in' &c.

160 *b*, lines 6 to 19. The marks for the notes, instead of §, ‖, ¶, *, †, in order should be *, †, ‡, §, ‖.

182 *a*, l. 2 from bottom, *for* بند *read* جاي بند

185 *b*, l. 17, *for* fonnd *read* found.

276 *a*, l. 11, *for* Môher *read* Mûlur.

342 *b*, l. 19, *dele* 'way.'

344 *b*, l. 28, *for* '*motcham*' *read* '*moksham*.'

List of Illustrations—9, *for* VII. to XI. *read* VII. to X.

„ „ 21, *for* 19 pages, *read* 9 pages.

# THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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## CHAITANYA AND THE VAISHNAVA POETS OF BENGAL.

### STUDIES IN BENGALI POETRY OF THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

THE PADAKALPATARU, or 'wish-granting tree of song,' may be considered as the scriptures of the Vaishṇava sect in Bengal. In form it is a collection of songs written by various poets in various ages, so arranged as to exhibit a complete series of poems on the topics and tenets which constitute the religious views of the sect. The book has been put together in recent times, and takes the reader through the preliminary consecration, invocations and introductory ceremonies, the rise and progress of the mutual love of Râdhâ and Krishṇa, and winds up with the usual closing and valedictory hymns.

Before beginning an analysis of this collection so remarkable from many points of view, it will probably be of some assistance even to those who have studied the history of Vaishṇavism, if I state briefly the leading points in the life of Chaitanya, and the principal features of the religion which he developed, rather than actually founded.

Bisambhar (Vishvambhara) Miśr was the youngest son of Jagannâth Miśr, a Brahman, native of the district of Sylhet in Eastern Bengal, who had emigrated before the birth of his son to Nadiya (Nabadwipa), the capital of Bengal.* His mother was Sachi Debi, daughter of Nilámbar Chakravarti. She bore to Jagannâth eight daughters who all died young; her first-born child, however, was a son named Biswarúp, who afterwards under the name of Nityânand became the chief disciple of his more famous brother. Bisambhar was born at Nadiya in the evening of the *Purnima* or day of the full moon of Phâlgun 1407 Sakâbda, corresponding to the latter part of February or beginning of March A.D. 1486. It is noted that there was an eclipse of the moon on that day. By the aid of these indications those who care to do so can find out the exact day.† The passages in the original are—

Śrî Krishṇa Chaitanya Nabadwipe abatarî;
Ashṭachallîś batsar prakaṭ bihârî;
Chauddaśat sât śake janmer pramân,
Chauddaśat panchâune hoilâ antardhân.
*Çhaitanyacharitâmrita*, Bk. I. ch. xiii. l. 13.

Śrî Krishṇa the Visible became incarnate in Nabadwip,
For forty-eight years visibly he sported;
The exact (date) of his birth (is) in Śaka 1407,
In 1455 he returned to heaven.

And again—

Phâlgun purṇimâ sandhyây prabhur janmoday,
Seha Kâle daibajoge chandrer grahan hay.

On the full moon of Phâlgun at eve was the lord's birth,

* The facts which here follow are taken from the "Chaitanyacharitâmrita," a metrical life of Chaitanya, the greater part of which was probably written by a contemporary of the teacher himself. The style has unfortunately been much *modernized, but even so, the book is one of the oldest extant* works in Bengali. My esteemed friend Babu Jagadishnath Ray has kindly gone through the book, a task for which I had not leisure, and marked some of the salient points for me.

† There was an eclipse of the moon before midnight Feb. 18, O.S. 1486.—ED.

At that time by divine provision there was an eclipse of the moon.—*Ch.* I. xiii. 38.

In accordance with the usual Bengali superstition that if a man's real name be known he may be bewitched or subject to the influence of the evil eye, the real name given at birth is not made known at the time, but another name is given by which the individual is usually called. No one but the father and mother and priest know the real name. Bisambhar's usual name in childhood was Nimâi, and by this he was generally known to his neighbours.

In person, if the description of him in the Chaitanyacharitâmrita (Bk. I. iii.) is to be considered as historical, he was handsome, tall (six feet), with long arms, in colour a light brown, with expressive eyes, a sonorous voice, and very sweet and winning manners. He is frequently called "Gaurang" or "Gaurchandra," *i. e.*, the pale, or the pale moon, in contrast to the Krishna of the Bhagvat who is represented as very black.

The name Chaitanya literally means 'soul, intellect,' but in the special and technical sense in which the teacher himself adopted it, it appears to mean perceptible, or appreciable by the senses. He took the name Srî Kṛishṇa Chaitanya to intimate that he was himself an incarnation of the god, in other words, Kṛishṇa made visible to the senses of mankind.

The Charitâmrita being composed by one of his disciples, is written throughout on this supposition. Chaitanya is always spoken of as an incarnation of Kṛishṇa, and his brother Nityânand as a re-appearance of Balarâm. In order to keep up the resemblance to Kṛishṇa, the Charitamrita treats us to a long series of stories about Chaitanya's childish sports among the young Hindu women of the village. They are not worth relating, and are probably purely fictitious; the Bengalis of to-day must be very different from what their ancestors were, if such pranks as are related in the Charitâmrita were quietly permitted to go on. Chaitanya, however, seems to have been eccentric even as a youth; wonderful stories are told of his powers of intellect and memory, how, for instance, he defeated in argument the most learned Pandits. A great deal is said about his hallucinations and trances throughout his life, and we may perhaps conclude that he was more or less insane at all times, or rather he was one of those strange enthusiasts who wield such deep and irresistible influence over the masses by virtue of that very condition of mind which borders on madness.

When he was about eighteen his father died, and he soon afterwards married Lachhmi Debi, daughter of Balabhadra Acharjya, and entered on the career of a *gṛihastha* or householder, taking in pupils whom he instructed in ordinary secular learning. He does not appear, however, to have kept to this quiet life for long; he went off on a wandering tour all over Eastern Bengal, begging and singing, and is said to have collected a great deal of money and made a considerable name for himself. On his return he found his first wife had died in his absence, and he married again one Bishnupriyâ, concerning whom nothing further is said. Soon after he went to Gayâ to offer the usual piṇḍa to the *manes* of his ancestors.

It was on his return from Gayâ, when he was about 23 years of age, that he began seriously to start his new creed. "It was now," writes Babu Jagadishnath, "that he openly condemned the Hindu ritualistic system of ceremonies as *being a body without a soul, disowned the institution* of caste as being abhorrent to a loving god all whose creatures were one in his eyes, preached the efficacy of adoration and love and extolled the excellence and sanctity of *the* name, and the uttering and singing of *the* name of god as infinitely superior to barren system without faith." Chaitanya, however, as the Babu points out, was not the originator of this theory, but appears to have borrowed it from his neighbour Adwaita Achârjya, whose custom it was, after performing his daily ritual, to go to the banks of the Ganges and call aloud for the coming of the god who should substitute love and faith for mere rites and ceremonies. This custom is still adhered to by Vaishṇavas. The Charitâmrita veils the priority of Adwaita adroitly by stating that it was *he* who by his austerities hastened the coming of Kṛishṇa in the avatar of Chaitanya.

Vande tam śrimadadvaitâchâryam adbhutacheshṭitam,
Yasya prasádâd ajno'pi tatswarûpam nirûpayet.

I praise that revered teacher Adwaita of wonderful actions,
By whose favour even the ignorant may perceive the (divinity) personified.—*Ch.* I. vi.

Thus in Sanskrit verses at the head of that chapter which sings the virtues of Adwaita: in the Bengali portion of the same chapter it is asserted that Adwaita was himself an incarnation of a part of the divinity, *e. g.*—

Adwaita Achârjya îshwarer angsa barjya.
The teacher Adwaita is a special portion of god.

And the author goes on to say that Adwaita was first the teacher then the pupil of Chaitanya. The probability is that Adwaita, like the majority of his countrymen, was more addicted to meditation than to action. The idea which in his mind gave rise to nothing more than indefinite longings when transfused into the earnest fiery nature of Chaitanya, expanded into a faith which moved and led captive the souls of thousands.

His brother Nityânand was now assumed to be an incarnation of Balarâm, and took his place as second-in-command in consequence. The practice of meeting for worship and to celebrate "Sankîrtans" was now instituted; the meetings took place in the house of a disciple Sribâs, and were quite private. The new religionists met with some opposition, and a good deal of mockery. One night on leaving their rendezvous, they found on the door-step red flowers and goats' blood, emblems of the worship of Durgâ, and abominations in the eyes of a Vaishnava. These were put there by a Brahman named Gopal. Chaitanya cursed him for his practical joke, and we are told that he became a leper in consequence. The opposition was to a great extent, however, provoked by the Vaishnavas, who seem to have been very eccentric and extravagant in their conduct. Every thing that Krishna had done Chaitanya must do too, thus we read of his dancing on the shoulders of Murari Gupta, one of his adherents; and his followers, like himself, had fits, foamed at the mouth, and went off into convulsions, much after the fashion of some revivalists of modern times. The young students at the Sanskrit schools in Nadiya naturally found all this very amusing, and cracked jokes to their hearts' content on the crazy enthusiasts.

In January 1510, Chaitanya suddenly took it into his head to become a Sanyasi or ascetic, and received initiation at the hands of Keshab Bhârati of Katwa. Some say he did this to gain respect and credit as a religious preacher, others say it was done in consequence of a curse laid on him by a Brahman whom he had offended. Be this as it may, his craziness seems now to have reached its height. He wandered off from his home, in the first instance, to Purî to see the shrine of Jagannâth. Thence for six years he roamed all over India preaching Vaishnavism, and returned at last to Purî, where he passed the remaining eighteen years of his life and where at length he died in the 48th year of his age in 1534 A.D. His Bengali followers visited him for four months in every year and some of them always kept watch over him, for he was now quite mad. He had starved and preached and sung and raved himself quite out of his senses. On one occasion he imagined that a post in his veranda was Râdhâ, and embraced it so hard as nearly to smash his nose, and to cover himself with blood from scraping all the skin off his forehead; on another he walked into the sea in a fit of abstraction, and was fished up half dead in a net by a fisherman. His friends took it in turns to watch by his side all night lest he should do himself some injury.

The leading principle that underlies the whole of Chaitanya's system is *Bhakti* or devotion; and the principle is exemplified and illustrated by the mutual loves of Râdhâ and Krishna. In adopting this illustration of his principle, Chaitanya followed the example of the Bhagavad Gîtâ and the Bhâgavat Purâṇa, and he was probably also influenced in the sensual tone he gave to the whole by the poems of Jayadeva. The Bhakta or devotee passes through five successive stages. *Sânta* or resigned contemplation of the deity is the first, and from it he passes into *Dâsya* or the practice of worship and service, thence to *Sâkhya* or friendship, which warms into *Bâtsalya*, filial affection, and lastly rises to *Mâdhurya* or earnest, all-engrossing love.

Vaishnavism is singularly like Sufiism, the resemblance has often been noticed, and need here only be briefly traced.* With the latter the first degree is *nâsût* or 'humanity' in which man is subject to the law *shara*, the second *tarîkat*, 'the way' of spiritualism, the third *'arâf* or 'knowledge,' and the fourth *hakîkat* or 'the truth.' Some writers give a longer series of grades, thus—*talab*, 'seeking after god;' *'ishk*, 'love;' *m'arifat*, 'insight;' *istighnâh*, 'satisfaction;' *tauhîd*, 'unity;' *hairat*, 'ecstacy;' and lastly *fanâ*, 'absorption.' Dealing as it does with God and Man as two factors of a problem, Vaishnavism necessarily ignores the distinctions of caste, and Chaitanya was perfectly consistent in

* Conf. Capt. J. W. Graham's paper 'On Sufiism,' *Bombay Literary Soc. Trans.* Vol. I. pp. 89 et seqq.; Râjendralâla Mittra's valuable introduction to the *Chaitanya Chandrodaya* (Biblioth. Ind.), pp. ii-iv and xv; also Jones' 'Mystical Poetry of the Persians and Hindus,' *Asiat. Res.* Vol. III. pp. 165-207; and Leyden 'On the Roshenian Sect, &c.,' *As. Res.* Vol. XI. pp. 363-428.—ED.

this respect, admitting men of all castes, including Muhammadans, to his sect. Since his time, however, that strange love of caste-distinctions, which seems so ineradicable from the soil of India, has begun again to creep into Vaishṇavism, and will probably end by establishing its power as firmly in this sect as in any other.

Although the institution of love towards the divine nature, and the doctrine that this love was reciprocated, were certainly a great improvement on the morbid gloom of Śiva-worship, the colourless negativeness of Buddhism, and the childish intricacy of ceremonies which formed the religion of the mass of ordinary Hindus, still we cannot find much to admire in it. There seems to be something almost contradictory in representing the highest and purest emotions of the mind by images drawn from the lowest and most animal passions.

"Ut matrona meretrici dispar erit atque discolor,"

So must also Vaishṇavism differ from true religion, the flesh from the spirit, the impure from the pure.

The singing of hymns about Râdhâ and Krishṇa is much older than Chaitanya's age. Not to mention Jayadeva and his beautiful, though sensual, Gîtagovinda.* Vidyapati, the earliest of Bengali poets, and Chaṇḍi Dâs both preceded Chaitanya, and he himself is stated to have been fond of singing their verses. There was therefore a considerable mass of hymns ready to his hand, and his contemporaries and followers added largely to the number; the poems of the *Padakalpataru* in consequence are of all ages from the fifteenth century downwards; moreover, as Vaishṇavism aspires to be a religion for the masses, the aim of its supporters has always been to write in the vulgar tongue, a fortunate circumstance which renders this vast body of literature extremely valuable to the philologist, since it can be relied on as representing the spoken language of its day more accurately than those pretentious works whose authors despised everything but Sanskrit.

The *Padakalpataru*, to keep up the metaphor of its name throughout, is divided into 4 *śakhas* or 'branches,' and each of these into 8 or 10 *pallabas* or smaller branches, 'boughs.' It should be explained that the kirtans are celebrated with considerable ceremony. There is first a consecration both of the performers and instruments with flowers, incense, and sweetmeats. This is called the *adhibâs*. The principal performer then sings one song after another, the others playing the drum and cymbals in time, and joining in the chorus; as the performance goes on many of them get excited and wildly frantic, and roll about on the ground. When the performance is over the drum is respectfully sprinkled with *chandana* or sandalwood paste, and hung up. Several performances go on for days till a whole Śakhâ has been sung through, and I believe it is always customary to go through at least one Pallab at a sitting, however long it may be. The Bengali Kîrtan in fact resembles very much the Bhajans and Kathâs common in the Marâṭha country, and each poem in length, and often in subject, is similar to the Abhangas of Tukarâm and others in that province.

The first Pallab contains 27 hymns, of these 8 are by Gobind Dâs, 8 by Baishnab Dâs, 3 by Brindâban Dâs, the rest by minor masters. Brindâban Dâs and Parameshwar Dâs were contemporaries of Chaitanya, the others—including Gobind Dâs, who is perhaps the most voluminous writer of all—are subsequent to him. Of the hymns themselves the first five are invocations of Chaitanya and Nityânand, and one is in praise of the ceremony of Kîrtan. There is nothing very remarkable in any of them. Number 5 may be taken as a specimen, as it is perhaps the best of the batch.

Nanda nandana gopîjanaballabha,
  Râdhânâyaka nâgaraśyâma :
So śachî nandana Nadîyâpurandara,
  suramunigaṇa manamohana dhâma :
Jaya nija kântâ kântikalebara,
  jaya jaya preyasî bhâbabinoda :
Jaya Brajasahacharî lochanamangala,
  jaya Nadîyâbadhû nayana âmoda :
Jaya jaya śrîdâma sudâmasubalârjjuna,
  prema prabandhana nabaghana rûpa :
Jaya Râmâdi sundara priyasahachara,
  jaya jaya mohana gora anûpa :
Jaya atibala balarâmapriyânuja,
  jaya jaya Nityânanda ânanda :
Jaya jaya sajjanagaṇa bhaya bhanjana,
  Gobinda Dâsa âśa anubandha.

"Nand's son, lover of the Gopis, lord of Râdhâ, the playful Syâm :

*Is* he, Sachi's son, the Indra of Nadiya, the heart-charming dwelling of gods and saints; victory to him who is love embodied to his own

* It is many years now since I read Gîtagovinda as a text-book at college, but the impression I still retain is that was in many parts far too warm for European taste.

beloved, hail! hail to him who is the joy of the existence of his well-beloved! hail to the delight of the eyes of his comrades in Braj! hail to the charm of the sight of the women of Nadiya! hail! hail to Sridam, Sudam, Subal, and Arjun,* bound by love to him whose form is as a new cloud! hail to Râm and the rest, beautiful and dear companions! hail to the charmer, the incomparable Gora (Chaitanya)! hail to the mighty younger brother of Balarâm! hail! hail to Nityânand (who is) joy (personified)! Hail to him who destroys the fear of good men, the object of the hope of Gobind Dâs!"

I would call attention here, once for all, to what is one of the principal charms of Vaishṇava hymns, the exquisitely musical rhythm and cadence. They seem made to be sung, and trip off the tongue with a lilt and grace which are irresistible.

This hymn is interesting as shewing how completely Chaitanya is by his followers invested with the attributes of, and identified with, Kṛishṇa; it has no other special merits; nor anything specially interesting from a philological point of view as it is nearly all Sanskṛit.

The next six are in praise of the sect itself, of Adwaita, and the principal disciples. That on Adwaita by his contemporary Brindaban Dâs gives a lively picture of the old Brahman, then follow seven in praise of the Kîrtanias or the old master-singers—Bidyapati, Jayadeva, Chandi Dâs; then four on Kṛishṇa and Râdhâ, containing only a succession of epithets linked together by jay! jay!

The twenty-third begins the adhibâs or consecration, and is curious less for its language than for the description it gives of the ceremonies practised. It is by the old masters Parameshwar and Brindaban, with the concluding portion by a younger master Bansi. The poem is in four parts and takes the form of a story how Chaitanya held his feast. It runs thus:—

23. *Atha sankîrtanasya adhibâsa.*

Eka dina pahun hâsi, Adwaita mandire basi,
Bolilen śachîr kumâra;
Nityânanda kari sange, Adwaita basiyâ range,
Mahotsaber karila bichâra:
Śuniya ânande hâsi, Sîtâ ṭhâkurâni âsi,
Kahilen madhura vachana:
Tâ śunî ânanda mana, mahotsaber bidhâne.
Bole kichhu Sachir nandana:
Śuna ṭhâkurâṇi Sîtâ, Baishṇaba ânîye ethâ,
Âmantraṇa koriyâ jatane:
Jebâ gâe jebajâe, âmantraṇa kari tâe,
Pṛithak pṛithak jane jane:
Eta boli Goraraya, âgyâ dila sabbâkâya,
Baishṇaba karaha âmantraṇe:
Khola karatâla laiyâ, aguru chandana diyâ,
Purṇa ghaṭa karaha sthâpane:
Âropaṇa karô kalâ, tâhe bândhi phulamâlâ,
Kîrttana maṇḍalî kutuhale:
Mâlâ chandana guyâ, ghrita madhu dadhi diyâ,
Kholô mangala sandhyâkâle:
Suniyâ prabhur kathâ, prite bidhi kaila jathâ,
Nânâ upahâra gandhabâse:
Sabe Hari Hari bole khola mangala kare,
*Parames'wara Dasa* rase bhâse:

"One day coming and smiling, sitting in Adwaita's house, spake the son of Sachî, having Nityânand with him and Adwaita, sitting in enjoyment, he planned a great festivity. Hearing this, smiling with joy, Sîtâ Thâkurânî coming spoke a sweet word: hearing that with joyful mind the son of Sachî spoke somewhat in regard to arranging the festival. 'Listen, Thâkurânî Sîtâ,† bring the Baishnabs here, making pressing invitation to them: whoso can sing, whoso can play, invite them separately, man by man.' Thus Gora Rai speaking gave orders for an assembly: 'Invite the Baishnabs! Bring out the cymbal and drum, set out full pots painted with aloes and sandal-paste: plant plantains, hang on them garlands of flowers, for the Kîrtan place joyfully. With garlands, sandal, and betelnut, ghee, honey, and curds consecrate the drum at evening-tide.' Hearing the lord's word, in loving manner she made accordingly various offerings with fragrant perfumes: all cried 'Hari, Hari!' thus they consecrate the drum; Parameshwar Dâs floats in enjoyment."

Of the remainder of the adhibâs I give merely a paraphrase omitting the numerous repetitions.

2. Having prepared the entertainment she invites them, "kindly visit us, to you and Vaishṇavas, this is my petition, come and see and complete the feast;" thus entreating she brought the honoured guests, they consecrate the feast. Joyfully the Vaishṇavas came to the feast: "to-morrow will be the joy of the great festivity, there will be the enjoyment of the singing Śrî Kṛishṇa's sports, all will be filled with delight." The merits of the assembly of the devo-

* Names of Chaitanya's disciples.

† Sîtâ was the wife of Adwaita.

tees of Śrí Krishṇa Chaitanya singeth Brindaban Dâs.

3. First set up the plantains, array the full pots, adorned with twigs of the mango; the Brahman chants the Vedas, the women shout jay! jay! and all cry Hari! Hari! Making the consecration with curds and *ghi*, all display their joy; bringing in the Vaishṇavas, giving them garlands and sandal-paste, for the celebration of the *Kírtan*; joy is in the hearts of all, hither come the Vaishṇavas, to-morrow will be Chaitanya's kírtan; the virtue of Śrí Krishṇa Chaitanya's name, and the indwelling of Śrí Nityânand singeth Dâs Brindaban.*

4. Jay! jay! in Nawadwip; by Gorang's order Adwaita goes to prepare the consecration of the drum. Bringing all the Vaishṇavas with sound of "Hari bol," he initiates the great feast. He himself giving garlands and sandal-paste, converses with his beloved Vaishṇavas, Gobind taking the drum plays ta-ta-tum tum, Adwaita lightly clashes the cymbals. Hari Dâs begins the song, Sribâs keeps time, Gorang dances at the kírtan celebration. On all sides the Vaishṇavas crowding echo "Hari bol," to-morrow will be the great feast. To-day consecrate the drum and hang it up, joyfully saith Bansi sound victory! victory!!

*The metre of this last is rather pretty, and I therefore give the original of the first two lines.*

Jaya jaya Navadwípa mâjh,
Goranga âdeśa pâñâ, Adwaita thâkura jâña.
Kare khola mangala sâj:

Having thus concluded the initiatory ceremonies in the 1st Pallab, the 2nd Pallab begins the real "Kírtan." It contains 26 hymns by masters who are mostly of comparatively recent date. Of the old masters Gobind Dâs and Chaṇḍi Dâs alone appear in this Pallab. We now commence the long and minutely described series of emotions and flirtations (if so lowly a word may be used) between Râdhâ and Krishṇa, and this Pallab and in fact the whole of the first Sákhâ is on that phase called "pûrbarâga" or first symptoms of love. In No. 2, Chaṇḍi Dâs represents two of Râdhâ's Sakhis, or girl-friends, whispering together as they watch her from a distance (the punctuation refers to the cæsura, not to the sense):

Gharer bahire, daṇḍe śatabâra, tile tile âise jây:

Mana uchâṭana, niśwâsa saghana, kadamba kânane chây:

*Chorus.* Rai emana kene bâ haila;
Guruduru jana bhaya nâhi,
Mana kothâ bâ ki deba pâila:

Sadâi chanchala, basana anchala, sambaraṇa nâhi kare:

Basi thâki thaki, uṭhaye chamaki, bhûshaṇa khaiñaṭ pare:

Bayese kiśori, rajâr kumâri, tâhe Kulbadhû bâlâ:

Kibâ abhilâshe, bâḍhaye lâlase, nâ bujhi tâh hâr chhalâ:

Tâhâr charite, hena bujhi chite, hât bâṛâila chânde:

Chaṇḍi Dâsa kay kari anunaya ṭhekechhe Kâliyâ phânde.

"She stands outside the house, a hundred times restlessly she comes and goes: depressed in mind, *with* frequent sighs, she looks towards the kadamba jungle. Why has Rai (Radhikâ) become thus? serious *is her* error, *she has* no fear of men. where are her senses, or what god has possessed her? Constantly restless, she does not cover herself with the corner of her robe: she sits still for a while, then rises with a start, her ornaments fall with a clang. Youthful in age, of royal descent, and a chaste maiden to boot: what does she desire, (why) does her longing increase? I cannot understand her motives: from her conduct, this I conceive, she has raised her hand to the moon‡: Chaṇḍi Dâs says with respect she has fallen into the snare of the black one (Krishṇa)."

This poem vividly expresses the first symptoms of love dawning in the girl's heart, and from a religious point of view the first awakenings of consciousness of divine love in the soul. It is difficult for the European mind, trained to draw a broad distinction between the love of God and love for another human being, to enter into a state of feeling in which the earthly and sensual is made a type of the heavenly and spiritual, but a large-souled charity may be perhaps able to admit that by this process, strange though it be to its own habits and experiences, there may have been some improvement wrought in the inner life of men brought up in other schools of thought; and my own experience, now of fourteen years standing, enables me to say that Vaishnavism does, in spite of, or perhaps in virtue of,

poet's name is inverted to make a rhyme for Kír- preceding line.

in this word is ঞ the palatal nasal occasionally used for ঙ in old Bengali, and sometimes for anuswâra simply.

‡ She has formed some extravagant desire.

its peculiar *modus operandi*, work a change for the better on those who come under its influence.

Two more hymns on the same subject follow, and in No. 5 Râdhâ herself breaks silence.

Kadamba bane, thâke kona jane, kemana śabada âsi:
Eki âchambite, śrabaner pathe, marmer-hala paśi:
Sandhâñâ marame, ghuchâñâ dharame, karile pâgali pârâ:
Chita sthira naho, sâstha nâ rahe, nayâne bahaye dhârâ:
Ki jane kemana, sei kona jana, emana śabada kare:
Na dekhi tâhâre, hṛidaya bidare, rahite na par ghare:
Parâna nâ dhare, dhaka dhaka kare, rahe darśana âśe:
Jabahuṇ dekhibe, parâna pâibe, kahaye Urddhaba Dâse:

" In the kadamba grove what man is (that) standing? What sort of word coming is this: the plough of whose meaning has penetrated startlingly the path of hearing? With a hint of union, with its manner of penetrating making one well-nigh mad: My mind is agitated, it cannot be still, streams flow from my eyes: I know not what manner of man it is who utters such words: I see him not, my heart is perturbed, I cannot stay in the house: My soul rests not, it flutters to and fro in hope of seeing him: When she sees him, she will find her soul, quoth Urdhab Dâs."

I have left myself no space to finish this Pallab, or to make remarks on the peculiarities of the language, which in the older masters would more properly be called old Maithila than Bengali. It is nearly identical with the language still spoken in Tirhut, the ancient Mithili, and in Munger and Bhâgalpur, the ancient Magadha, than modern Bengali. As the Aryan race grew and multiplied it naturally poured out its surplus population in Bengal, and it is not only philologically obvious that Bengali is nothing more than a further, and very modern development of the extreme eastern dialect of Hindi. All these considerations, however, I hope still further to develope at some future time.

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## ON THE RUDE STONE ARCHÆOLOGY OF THE HASSAN DISTRICT, MAISUR.

BY CAPTAIN J. S. F. MACKENZIE, MAISUR COMMISSION.

HERE, there, everywhere are to be found scattered throughout the district the remains of ancient races. Before describing these, however, I would wish to point out what to me appears a grave defect in all reports of such remains. Everybody who has read the interesting papers from time to time printed in the journals of different societies must have observed that the words cairn, kistvaen, cromlech, stone circle, dolmen, are employed by different writers in different senses. The difficulty this gives rise to, in trying to generalize the results of the many examinations made, can only be appretiated by those who have made the attempt. In the October number of the *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London* 1869, we have a paper by Major Pearse on the raised "Stone Circle" or "Barrow." Here then we have *stone circle* or *barrow* as convertible terms. Sir W. Denison in his paper on "Permanence of Type," published in the same journal, calls similar remains *tumuli*; other writers when describing them use the word *cairn*. In his *Prehistoric Times*, Sir John Lubbock has "cromlechs" *or* stone "circles," while Dr. Lukis applies the word cromlech to all elaborate megalithic structures of one or more chambers. It is needless to multiply examples. The time has arrived when the annals of prehistoric research should be purged of this evil.

With a view of making some sort of a beginning the following suggestions are made :—

BARROW.—(A. S. *beorg*, *beorh*, hill mound, sepulchral mound, from *beorgan*, to shelter.—*Webster*): All mounds raised above the level of the ground without any circle of stones to mark the edge.

TUMULI.—Similar mounds having a circle of stones either on the top or round the bottom.

CIRCLES.—Circles of stones where the enclosed area is on a level with the surrounding ground. The size of the stones which mark the circumference being immaterial.

CROMLECH.—Stone structures above or partially above ground and which are surrounded by a circle of stones.

DOLMEN.—Similar structures but *without* the circle of stones.

CAIRNS.—Heaps of small stones whether surrounded by a circle or not.

KISTVAEN.—Any stone structure found under the present surface of the soil in barrows, tumuli, or circles.

MENHIRS.—Standing monoliths whether plain or ornamented.

All the above different kinds of remains are to be found in the Hassan district.

BARROWS.—I have as yet only come across four: two close together, about 4 miles from Polliam on the Bangalor-Mangalor road; two near Arsikerri in the Harnhalli taluka. I have not had time to examine them thoroughly, but sufficiently so to justify my saying they are *bonâ fide* mounds of made earth, the work of men's hands. A peculiarity with regard to those now under notice is that we have two barrows close together, not three yards apart, and where one is round the other long. The proximity of the one to the other, and there being no others in the immediate neighbourhood, would justify our thinking them both the work of the same race.

The barrows near Polliam were, it is said, made in order that a Polygar, who belonged to the left hand caste, might from the top make his daily salâm to the Râja who lived close by. Near those at Arsikerri is a menhir where, according to the natives of the place, the Polygar's elephant was tied while he and the principal persons of his Court from the top of the barrows watched the public games held in the fields around.

DOLMENS.—Throughout the district, no matter how mean its appearance or few its inhabitants, every village has its temple or temples sacred to the "village" god or, more correctly, goddess. None of these temples are large, and many are rude attempts at copies of the temples dedicated to Śiva, showing clearly that Brahmanical influence has been at work in that particular village. Still, however strong this influence may be, close to the more modern village temple is always found its prototype, the dolmen, under the protecting slab of which the rude stone representing the goddess Mariamma finds shelter. These dolmens are formed of three side slabs with one or two slabs for a top. One side is always open, and there appears to be no particular direction for this opening since in different dolmens it faces all the points of the compass. Very few of these true village temples exceed three feet in height; some are only one foot. The best specimens, as is to be expected, are to be found in out-of-the-way villages. The ... or priest is of the low Holyar caste, and on the annual day of worship he has the right of presenting his offering of fruit and flowers before every one in the village—taking precedence even of the Brahmans. The right to the "pujâriship" is jealously asserted and often gives rise to disputes among relatives. I have seldom seen a village temple without the tree known in Canarese as "Kanigalu" growing close by. This tree has a large white flower with yellowish centre, the leaves do not come forth until after the tree has flowered. The flowers which have a strong scent are sacred to the village deities alone, and are never to be seen adorning the altars of the more orthodox Brahmanical gods. The very small size of these dolmens which are used as temples is a peculiarity it is difficult to account for.

TUMULI.—There is a fine specimen of this class close to the ford over the Kâveri near Gunni on the Chenraipatam-Nursipur road. From its size, the trouble expended on its construction, and its position it is evidently the last resting-place of some chief who fell in defending or forcing the passage over the ford. He was not the only one over whose remains a mound was erected: close by are smaller mounds sacred to the memory of minor chiefs whose names and deeds are buried in the long forgotten past. The large tumulus is surrounded by three circles of upright stones. One round the bottom; the other two, about four feet apart, are half-way up the slope. The whole of the surface of the sides is covered with large pieces of white quartz. Time, and "flowers of the stone," as the natives call lichen, have dimmed the lustre with which the quartz once sparkled. But, at night in its pristine state, when each facet of quartz helped to reflect the moon's pale but silvery light, the effect must have been striking, and this monument appeared worthy of him to whom it had been consecrated. The principal tumulus rises 15 feet above the crest of the ridge on which it is built. It is almost circular, and the diameter at the top about 75 feet. It is made entirely of black clay, with here and there a thin layer of sand. We dug a pit down through the centre until we came to the original surface of the ground, but found nothing, not even a kistvaen. The villagers afterwards told us that years and years ago, so their fathers had told them, this tumulus had been examined and a horn and bangle found

CROMLECHS.—I have come across none in this district, but since the neighbouring district of

Kurg is peculiarly rich in such remains, I have no doubt that careful search among the jangals would bring to light some specimens of these remains.*

CIRCLES.—Large numbers of these are to be found all over the district. Several stones varying in size, but seldom larger than 1½ feet, mark the circumference of these circles; the enclosed area is on a level with the surrounding ground or nearly so, and the diameter from 12 to 18 feet. Sometimes, but rarely, two circles, one within the other, are found. These circles are always to be found in groups, the number in each group varies from several hundred to but five or six. Near Fraserpett on the banks of the Kâveri, the best collection is to be seen; here we have several hundred all clustered together occupying as is usual the highest ground in the neighbourhood. On digging below the surface soil we come on the covering slab of a kistvaen. These kistvaens are formed of slabs of granite and have always an opening at one end, large enough to admit of an ordinary-sized man of the present day passing through. They are always full of earth in which are embedded pots of every sort and kind, some of decidedly Etruscan look both in form and appearance, others in no way to be distinguished from the common chatti of the present day; some have three short legs, others have none. Pieces of iron instruments, bones, and a black substance, supposed to be charcoal, are also found. The kistvaen, however, is not always found complete. In some there is nothing but the bottom slab, on which always in one corner are to be found the pots and other finds. In one—and one only—I found a stone arrow or small spear-head. Similar remains, containing similar finds, are to be met with not only throughout the whole of Maisur, but the neighbouring districts of Koimbatur and the Nilgiri hills are reported to be particularly rich in this class of remains. They are generally supposed to be burying-grounds of an extinct race.

CAIRNS.—A number of these are to be found,—they are the graves of persons who have been either killed by tigers or died of leprosy. The common belief is that if the body of a leper is buried, no rain will fall on the lands of the village where this is done. They are therefore always buried under a pile of stones.

MENHIRS.—From the simple unadorned monolith to the highly-carved monumental stone whose inscription tells why it was erected, we find great numbers differing in size, in form, and in appearance. The most common—so numerous indeed as to form a regular class of themselves—are those known to the natives as *kodu kallu*. Kallu is the Canarese for stone. These are said to have been erected by the Râjas of Kurg to mark the boundaries of their kingdom. They are however found in places where, from other evidence, it can be proved that these Râjas (for in its best days Kurg was but a petty state) never held sway. The explanation given by the natives then cannot be held to be correct. The original meaning of the word *kodu* has been forgotten, or the word so corrupted that it is impossible from its present form to determine the original word.† The similarity in sound between *kodu* and Kodagu (which is the Kanarese for Kurg) has, I think, given rise to the usual explanation. Such mistakes do arise sometimes. For instance in the Malnâd portion of the district, Orchids are called "Situhuvu" (or flowers of the mist). The similarity in sound between Situ (mist) and Sîtâ (Râma's wife or sister) is too much for individuals of a highly imaginative mind who give a long story of how and why they are called Sîtâ's flowers. However to return to the kodu kallu. They are about 3 feet above the ground and always divided into three compartments. The upper generally represents a priest with long and flowing locks officiating at an altar carrying a linga, and on the side is seated the person in whose honour evidently the stone has been erected. The centre compartment has two women, said to represent frail ones of the Hindu paradise, fanning with *chauras* the central figure. The lower division delineates a battle scene, where the combatants are represented now on foot now on horseback. In one case there is shown an elephant. The most interesting specimen I have met with is one near Arsikerrê. It is as usual divided into three compartments but has an inscription in "Halla Kanaḍa" or old Kanarese. The letters are clear and have been read. The date is given as "Châlukya Vikrama" 42.‡ I have come across other *kodu kalu* bearing inscriptions, but the character is unknown to the natives.

There are two or three different accounts given by the natives about the origin of the circles. One, and the most common, that they are the dwelling-places of the followers of the five Pându princes who, having lost their all by gambling, were obliged to wander among the forests

* I am inclined to think they will be found only on or among hills.—ED.

† *Kodu kalu* means 'slaughter stones,' see Vol. I. p. 372.—ED.

‡ This is probably the era of the Châlukyas referred to in the Tidgundi copper-plate (see *Ind. Antiq.* Vol. I. p. 83), commencing 1076 A.D.—ED.

of Southern India. Another that they were built in order to protect the followers of Sâlivahana from a rain of fire which had been foretold by one of the prophets of the land. All the many accounts agree in ascribing these circles to the handiwork of a pigmy race. The following extracts with regard to the "rain of fire" from Vol. VII. (pp. 278, 279, 289) of the *Madras Journal of Science and Literature* are interesting:—

"Through his (S'âlivahana's) wickedness there was no rain—a great famine—much distress, and one house distant ten miles from any other house; the country little better than a waste benighted wilderness. The ascetics retiring to the wilderness in secret made murmuring complaints to S'iva and Vishnu. S'iva, to avenge the desolation, solicited from the Adi Parabarama (Supreme Being) a fire-rain. Athi-seshan beforehand apprized S'âlivahana of its approach in a dream. S'âlivahana announced to all the followers of Sarvesvarer the coming fire-rain, and recommended them to build stone-houses, or to remain (on the day fixed) in rivers; by both of which means they would be preserved uninjured by the fire-rain. They followed his advice, some quarrying stones and building houses, others watching on the banks of the largest rivers; and they were all on the alert. S'iva, opening his frontlet eye, sent a rain of fire. S'âlivahana's people took refuge in their stone-houses and he himself with his army on the banks of the Kâveri (here used to designate a river in general) avoided it by plunging in the water. S'iva, seeing this, had recourse to the Supreme Being, and by meditating on the five lettered *mantra*, sent down a shower of mud. Those in stone houses were thereby blocked up and suffocated; those in rivers came out and escaped. * * * * * * * * * * * *

"One instance may be given of the fire-rain of which mention occurs at the commencement of the MS. The Jains have a doctrine that a rain of fire always goes before the periodically recurring universal deluge. * * * * * But though the aforesaid notion of the Jains may have suggested the idea of fire-rain, yet it seems in the document under notice to be a symbol made use of to denote divine judgments: whether the idea, in this sense, may be borrowed from a well-known historical fact or otherwise, let others determine. * * * * *

"The fire-rain rather seems to be a symbol of the anger of S'iva; in plainer terms, an insurrection against S'âlivahana; and if so the shower of mud may have a symbolical meaning also and may help to the meaning of a tradition which states that Uriyur, the capital of the Chola kingdom, was destroyed by a shower of sand or mud."

We have here a reason why the houses or kistvaens were made of stone, *i. e.*, to protect their inhabitants from the fire-rain, and how they were filled up by a shower of mud.

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## NOTES ON JUNNAR TÂLUKA, PUNÂ ZILLÂ.

By W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C. S.

There is perhaps no other tract in the presidency of the same extent which offers so many points of interest as the Junnar Tâluka, called formerly Śivanerî, after the famous fort of that name; and certainly I know of none which contains within so small a space so much variety of climate and production.

Junnar is the northernmost tâluka of the Puṇâ Collectorate, marching with Nagar, and lies upon a series of mountain rivers which empty themselves into the Ghôr, something in the shape of a three-pronged fork.

The prongs are the valleys of three streams which, gradually converging, form in their delta the narrower socket. The southernmost of these, the Minâ, rising in the deep glen of Âmboli, flows eastward; at first through a narrow but fertile valley, called after it the Minâner. It is as troublesome and capricious in its small way as the Ganges, and plays havoc every year with boundaries, and sometimes with crops, for ... it ten miles of its course, changing from ... to another in the deep lacustrine beds of clay and gravel, which offer no foundation for any work that might restrain it within due bounds. The ryots are well aware of its character, and accordingly most of the villages are set pretty well back from the stream. In one, however, Nîrgudé, there is unfortunately a fine temple of Mâruti, built upon a *knowe*, that was probably considered secure, about a hundred years back. But the river, constantly encroaching, had at the time of my visit cut away the ground from under the village to such an extent that it was disappearing at the rate of eight or ten houses a year. Government offered a new site, but the villagers declined to leave Mâruti. As it was impossible to found any protecting work in the treacherous substrata, I suppose Mâruti is by this time himself in a fair way to join his worshippers in the bed of the Minâ. This temple is (or perhaps *was*) remarkable for its fine cloisters, built, I believe, in the last century by a member of the Kulkarnis family, who had grown rich in the service of Mâdhaji Śinde on the plunder of Hindustân.

Here is the ford by which, as well as I could learn, Râjâ Śivâji crossed to surprise Junnar in May 1657, after a mountain march through the jungles of the present Ámbegâm Peṭâ. The pass by which he entered the Minâner goes by the name of the Kâwal Khind, or Crow's Gap, as being more fit for a crow than for any featherless biped. It is however now passed, with much labour, by bullocks. Two miles below Nirgudé the trap-rock crops out to the surface, and here is a fine Mughul dam, nearly perfect, but the canal is gone which formerly conducted its water to Bâglobôr, the garrison garden of the fortress of Śivanerî. From this down, the Minâ flows, like a respectable river, in one very rocky bed to Nârâyaṇagâm, a fine village on the Puṇâ and Nâsik road. Here is another dam of unknown age, which, lying broken when we came into the country, has been repaired by the Government, and is now the most successful piece of irrigation that I know of; taking up no ground, costing little for repairs, and watering, as well as I recollect, about 8,000 acres from its double canal. We might well attend a little in these matters to the wisdom of "the men of old time, and our fathers that begot us."

The Musalmân rulers of Western India and the earlier British conquerors built few great tanks; but they covered every perennial stream with Bundâras (weirs) which irrigated each their own village or two, while they encroached not at all on the cultivable land, and any damage a chance flood might do was easily and cheaply repaired. The Minâ passes under a good modern bridge, past Nârâyaṇagâm, and joins the Ghôḍ near Pimpalkheḍâ, leaving to its left the fort of Nârâyaṇagaḍh.

The second stream, the *Kûkrî*, springs from a veritable "cow's mouth" carved roughly in the living rock, into a charming little kunda, or natural basin, near the Koli village of Pûr. Thence it flows northward for a couple of miles, and turns again to the south-east, when it reaches the long narrow valley which terminates at the Nânâ Ghâṭ. This famous pass is no more nor less than a huge staircase, built in a crack of the precipice that here overlooks the Konkan, a wall of rock 1,500 feet sheer up and down. Curiously enough, this spot, where any one would think the natural limit of Konkan and Dakhan to be pretty well defined, is said to have been in old days the scene of a hot boundary dispute between the inhabitants of Ghâṭgaḍh, above the Ghâṭ, and of the nearest Konkan village below. The belligerents assembled on a high point of rock overlooking the contested frontier, and debated for a long time without prospect of coming to any better solution than the fool's argument. At last a Mahâr, the hereditary guardian of the boundaries of Ghâṭgaḍh, arose and adjured all present by a great curse to fix the boundary where he should stand still. This was agreed to, and he forthwith jumped over the cliff. On the spot where he was dashed to pieces a red stone still commemorates the event, and marks the boundary of the two villages, whose inhabitants perform certain devotions there once a year.

The legend is curious as illustrating both the extraordinary love of the Indian villager for a boundary squabble, be the locality ever so well marked out by nature, and the devotion of hereditary officers to the duties of their *wattan*. The sacrifice of the poor Mahâr, a sort of *Little* Pedlington Quintus Curtius, affords a precedent which might be turned to advantage in Europe. It is possible that rectification of frontiers might not be so much talked about, were it customary to settle them by the happy despatch of foreign secretaries and ambassadors.

The Ghâṭ itself, as I have said, is a mere winding cleft in the rock, which was converted into a regular staircase by the energy of a certain Nânâ Rao. I think that he wrought about the beginning of this century, and is not to be confounded with Nânâ Faḍnavis (Bâlâji Janârdan). However, I speak only from local tradition, and am open to correction. There are several caves about the head of the Ghâṭ, one of which is used as a dharmaśâlâ, another generally contains good water, and a third is said in former days to have been a toll-chest, into which the passers-by threw the toll money, to be collected once a day by a kârkûn. In what golden age of Hindu purity this happened I know not. In the present day no toll is collected, but if it were still thrown into the cave, and respected by men, it would probably be made away with by a numerous breed of small and sacred monkeys, said to be peculiar to the place (which I doubt). Above the Ghâṭ, on some comparatively open ground, are a great number of mounds, testifying, I think, to the former existence on this spot of a considerable town. The modern village of Ghâṭgaḍh is nearly two miles off, nestled on the flank of the fort of Jiwdhan. This is a huge crag accessible only

by one path, which was nearly destroyed by the English in 1818, but a single man can still climb up. There is a curious vaulted magazine at the top. I believe that Dr. Bhâu Dâji discovered, either here or at the Ghâṭ, some inscriptions relating how a great king had sacrificed in this place whole armies of sheep and goats, hecatombs of horses and camels, and *nine elephants.* However, I have not seen either the inscriptions or the learned Doctor's papers on the subject. This fort of Jiwdhan forms part of a curious Pleiades constellation of fortresses called the seven forts of Junnar. They lie something in the shape of the constellation to which I have compared them, and resemble it further in that " Quæ septem dici sex tamen esse solent," for the locality of the seventh is very little known, and it was not till after diligent search that I discovered it on a hill over the head waters of the Dudari river, between its valley and that of the Kûkrî, now in question. It is, as well as I recollect, called Nimgori, and fronts westward over the Konkan with Harichandragaṛh and Jiwdhan. This latter, being at a corner, forms also part of the southern line of defence, with Châwand, Śîwneri, and Nârâyaṇagarh, all rising, like it, out of the watershed of the Mînâ and Kûkrî. Communications between these six are guarded by a fort called Harsha, commanding a pass from the Kûkrî valley to that of the Dudari, the next northwards. The whole together form a complete protection to the two great military and commercial routes of those days, *viâ* the Nânâ and Malsej Ghâṭs, neither of which can be approached by any route not commanded by at least three of the seven. The fort of Châwand, which is the next east of Jiwdhan, is more like a huge broken pillar than a hill, and is, like Jiwdhan and the rest, provided with a vaulted magazine at the top, and, like it, extremely difficult of access, and for the same reason, *viz.,* the destruction of the only gate by our Engineers in 1818. To the east of it lies the village of Kelî, whose inhabitants were, according to the local legend, driven out during the Mogalaiâmmal (imperial rule) by a strange and terrible plague. Men fell down dead at the plough, at their meals, on the road, without any visible cause. After a short time the survivors, who were of the caste called Gurâvs, the hereditary priests of Śiva, concluded that the aborigines of the hills, the Kolis and Thâkûrs, had enchanted the place, and fled southward 18 kos into the Bhîmâner, where their descendants are patels to this day. They have never—such is the pertinacity with which the Dakhani clings to hereditary rights—relinquished their claim to exercise the patel's office in Kelî. In 1871, while the district was in my charge, they renewed their claim, offering to return to live there. I left the tâluka on sudden orders, and do not know what was the end of the matter.

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## NOTES CONNECTED WITH SAHET MAHET.

BY W. C. BENETT, B.C.S., GONDA.

THE agreement of information derived from wholly independent sources lends their value, if they have any, to the following comparisons of local tradition with known or conjectured historical facts.

1. It is related at Ayudhya that the great king Vikramâditya was visited at the close of his reign of eighty years by a Jogi named Samûdra Pâl. The magician induced the king to allow his soul to be transferred to a corpse, and himself occupied the vacant royal body, thus acquiring the throne of Ayudhya and Śrâvastî, which was occupied by his dynasty for seventeen generations.

A king Vikramâditya of Śrâvastî is mentioned in the Râjâ Tarangini as the conqueror of Matrigupta of Kashmir, and the best authorities [illegible] in about the middle of the second century. Samûdra Gupta of Behar is still better known. Surely this legend affords a very strong confirmation to the conjecture that the local monarchs of Śrâvastî were conquered by the rising Gupta dynasty ; and it goes far to explain the utter desolation, contrasting so violently with the power which it must have had when it could subdue distant Kashmir, which the Chinese pilgrims found a few centuries later at Śrâvastî.

2. The second tradition is as follows. The king of Sahet Mahet (Śrâvastî) was a great hunter. He returned one evening from the chase just as the sun was setting, and his queen, fearing that he would lose his dinner, sent up to the roof of the palace the beautiful wife of his younger brother. The sun-god stayed to watch her till she descended, which was not till the feast was ended. As the king rose from table

twilight commenced, and the bells struck one watch of the night. An investigation into the difference between the apparent time and that struck by his servants inspired the king with a determination to see his brother's lovely wife, and his incestuous passion was punished by the ruin of his state. Amidst a terrific storm the city was turned bottom upwards. The Kânûngos add that this happened forty years after the defeat at Bahraich of Sayyid Sâlâr, thus making the date 1073 A. D.

Pandit Sûraj Nârâyan Âchârya of the Sultanpûr district, a good Sanskrit scholar, gave me the following information without allowing me to discover the sources from which he drew it. After the fall of the Buddhist dynasty of Kanauj, the Thârûs descended from the hills and occupied Ayudhya. The dispossessed Buddhist called in Râjâ Śrichandra of Śrinagar in the hills about Badrinâth, who drove back the Thârûs, and, marching north, founded Chandravatipura, now known as Sahet Mahet. His grandson was the celebrated Suhil Dal who defeated the Muhammadans. Not long afterwards Chandra Deva Sombaṅsi of Kanauj took Sahet Mahet, and the Surajbaṅsis of Suhil Dal's family fled to the neighbourhood of Simla where their descendants still live. Suhil Dal's family were Jains.

Lassen in his account of the later dynasties of Kanauj* describes an inscription which records that Śrichandradeva, the first of the great Rahtor princes, who came to the throne in 1072 A. D., was protector of the sacred places of Ayudhya and Koshala (*i. e.* Śrâvasti).†

Here we have three sources of information, which comparison almost conclusively shows to be quite distinct. From them we gather that the king of Śrâvasti who defeated the Muhammadans was a Jain (the pandit, confirmed by that part of the local tradition which does not allow him to eat after sunset); that his dynasty was overthrown by Śrichandradeva of Kanauj (the pandit and the inscription); and that this happened in 1073 A. D. or about then (the inscription and the local tradition).

It is perhaps worth mentioning that a small and comparatively modern Jain temple in Sahet Mahet is said by the villagers to be sacred to Śobhâvanâth. This can hardly be other than Śambhavanâth, the third Tirthaṅkara, who was born at Sâwanta,‡ and whose two predecessors and two successors were all born at or near Ayudhya. A curious tradition makes Sudhaniya the grandfather of Suhil Dal, and localizes his conflict with Arjuna, described in the Drigvijaya section of the *Mahâbhârata*, at Chandrâvatipura or Sahet Mahet. The epic hero's death at the hand of Babhruvahana is localized at Mânikpur, about a hundred miles south of Sahet Mahet. The fact is worth recording, but any remarks on it would lead to mere conjecture.

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# NOTES ON WITCHCRAFT AND DEMONOLOGY IN GUJARAT.

BY CAPT. E. WEST, ASSISTANT POLITICAL AGENT, KOLHAPUR.

DURING some years residence in Gujarat the writer of these notes had frequently occasion to take official cognizance of cases where witchcraft was supposed to have been at work, and made at the time some brief memoranda of the popular opinions on this subject as elicited in the investigation into these cases. From the memoranda thus made the following notes are taken.

There are five demons *par excellence* who are supposed to get possession of unhappy human beings, either of their own accord or through the incantations and machinations of enemies of the sufferers. One of these, who is called Nar Sing Véro, is of the male sex, the others being females and bearing respectively the names Melâḍi, Shikotar, Dhéra, and Dâkun. The symptoms that shew

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* Lassen's account (*Ind. Alt.* III., 751) is—"With respect to the victories ascribed to Laxmanasena we should mention that contemporaneously with him the Rahtors Chandradeva and Madanapâla reigned at Kanauj, and their reigns extended, roughly speaking, from 1072 to 1120 A.D. Of the first it is related that he conquered Kanauj, and made a pilgrimage to Benares, a town which must have belonged to his kingdom, as we cannot assume that aims of piety took him to the town of a hostile ruler. It is therefore possible that Laxmanasena gained a victory over Chandradeva, without subduing the kingdom; on this supposition Laxmanasena must have ruled over the country to the east of Kanauj, or Koshala with its capital of Ayudhya."

In a note he refers to an inscription in *As. Soc. Ben. Journ.* vol. X., where Chandradeva is called the protector of the sacred places of Kâsi, Koshala, &c.

Lassen's explanation of the pilgrimage is exceedingly probable; it is a common proverb "Na Chhatri ka bhagat, na mûsal ka dhanukh:" you can't make a saint of a Chhatri, or a bow of a rice-pestle; but the traditions of the Kanauj rule in Koshala are too distinct and universal to permit me to accept the conjectural conquest by Laxmanasena. A copper-plate of Jaichand of Kanauj has been discovered in Ayudhya.

† Lassen *Alterthumsk.* III. p. 751 and Conf. Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, vol. II. p. 285. *As. Resear.* XV. pp. 447, 457; and *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. X. p. 101.—ED.

‡ See my *Introduction to the Temples of Satrunjaya*, p. 4.—ED.

the presence in a person of one of these demons vary in almost every case. One woman described what took place in this way. She was returning, she said, by herself, from her father's house to her own village, when there came a sudden violent gust of wind: she got afraid and the demon that moment entered into her. After this she constantly had miscarriages. One night she saw in a dream the demon sitting by her, in form like a human being clad in a dark *kamli*, who reproached her with having left it so long hungry, and told her that in consequence of her neglect it had destroyed her children. In other cases the presence of the demon is shown by unaccountable illness and sometimes by delirium.

When a person is thus affected, the first thing done is to send for a *Bhopa* or witchfinder. This is generally a Koli, a Wâgrî, or a Râwalio, and he almost invariably comes accompanied by a comrade who plays a peculiar kind of drum called the *dâkla* during the incantations. The Bhopa, as a rule, commences by enquiring into all the particulars of the case, and does not fail to ask whether there is any person who has had a quarrel with the sufferer, and who may be supposed either to have cast the evil eye on or otherwise bewitched the patient. The subsequent proceedings vary according to the exigencies of the case and the habits and wants of the Bhopa. Sometimes a dôrḍô or knotted silk cord of five colours is fastened on the patient's arm, and balls called laḍus, and in shape like the sweetmeat of that name, are made, a blazing cotton wick being placed among them. These are then waved solemnly round the head of the bewitched person and are afterwards placed outside the village, the theory being that the demon will leave the person and go out to eat the laḍus. At other times a goat has its throat cut in presence of the sufferer, the Deva being supposed to drink the blood while the flesh becomes the perquisite of the operators. In other cases a cocoa-nut is placed in the name of, and to represent God, and near it are placed a *lota* with a copper coin in it, some grain, and a brass saucer containing a lighted wick. The ḍâkla is then played continuously and monotonously, the demon being loudly called on to declare itself, and the patient after a time gets tremendously excited, rocks violently to and fro with a measured motion (an action for which Gujarati provides a technical term—ધુણવું), and at last speaks in a hollow voice announcing himself or herself to be such and such a demon, who has been induced by others or has spontaneously entered into the sufferer, and who is only to be got rid of by certain ceremonies.

Where no one is suspected of having bewitched the patient a cure frequently follows the performance of the prescribed ceremonies; and if it does not, a complaint is sometimes brought against the Bhopa for breach of contract! A favourite and most efficacious remedy is immersion in the water of the river at Sâmlajî in Mahî Kânṭa. When the annual fair at this place is going on, crowds of patients may be seen on the banks of the river in the morning rocking convulsively to and fro with the peculiar motion described above. They are then taken by their friends into the water, which at that season is icy cold, the demon is taunted and abused, and after several immersions the patients are brought to the bank invariably breathless and often cured.

Should, however, any one be accused of having bewitched the sufferer, the consequences are often very serious, the death or mutilation of the accused sometimes resulting. Cases have been known of a reputed witch being burnt alive on the pyre with her supposed victim; and witches sometimes have their eyes burnt out or otherwise destroyed to prevent their casting the evil eye on other unfortunates.

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## PAPERS ON SATRUNJAYA, &c.

BY THE EDITOR.

### I.—*Kâthiâwâd and the Jainas.*

THE peninsula of Kâṭhiâwâḍ, or Surâshṭra, in Gujarat, is the Holy land of Western India. Among its sacred places Mount Girnâr, the ancient Ujjayanta, must have been at a very early period a place revered by the Buddhists, who [illegible] their monasteries on its summits, whilst their great patron Aśoka—'the beloved of the gods'—engraved his celebrated edict of mercy and toleration on the rock at its foot. Somanâth, on the south-west coast, where tradition says Krishna died, was the site of the temple of Someśwar, 'Lord of the Moon,' the first of the

twelve Śiva Lingas in India,* and the history of the destruction of which by Mahmud of Ghaznî is familiar to every reader of Indian history. Dwârka or Dwârakâ, in the extreme west of the peninsula, is the most celebrated of the shrines of Kṛishṇa, and where he is fabled to have slain Takshak and to have saved the sacred books. And not to mention Tulsî Śyam and places of less note, the sacred hill of Satruñjaya, near Pâlitâṇâ, has probably been a sacred place from the earliest times of the Jaina worship,—a great *tîrtha*—'the first of places of pilgrimage.'

The last of these more immediately concerns us for the present; but before referring to its history or buildings, it may be as well to give some notices of the sect whose members have erected its hundreds of temples.

The Jainas or Śrâvaks are to be found in most of the large towns of the lower Ganges and in Rajputâna, but they are most numerous in Gujarât, Dhârwaḍ, and Maisur. As their name implies, they are followers of the *Jinas* or 'vanquishers' of sins—men whom they believe to have obtained *Nirvâna* or emancipation from the continual changes of transmigration. With them life,—which they do not distinguish from 'soul,'—and its vehicle matter are both uncreated and imperishable, obeying eternal physical laws, with which asceticism and religious ceremonial alone can interfere. Their ceremonial has therefore no real reference to a Supreme Personal God, and their doctrine excludes His Providence. This at once points to their connection with the Buddhists; indeed there can be little doubt that they are an early heretical sect of the Hinayana school of that persuasion, and probably owed part of their popularity, on the decline of the purer Bauddha doctrine, to their readier admission of the worship of some of the favourite Hindu divinities into their system, and their retention of the tyranny of caste customs. But much of their phraseology is of Bauddha origin: thus their laity are called Śrâvakas,—'hearers,'—the same name as among the most ancient Buddhists is applied to those who 'practise the four realities and suppress the errors of thought and sight, without being able to emancipate themselves entirely from the influence of passion and prejudice,' but 'who, solely occupied with their own salvation, pay no regard to that of other men.' Then the Buddha is constantly spoken of as the Jina or 'vanquisher;' his exit from existence—like that of the Jaina Tîrthaṅkaras—is his Nirvâṇa; both employ the Swastika or Sâtya as a sacred symbol; the sacred language of the Buddhists is Mâgadhî,—of the Jainas Arddha Mâgadhî; the temples of both sects are *Chaityas;* those who have attained perfection are Arhaṇs; and Digambaras or naked ascetics were a Bauddha, as well as a Jaina sect.† Further, the Jainas indicate South Bihâr as the scene of the life and labours of nearly all their Tîrthaṅkaras, as it was of Śâkya Siṅha. Buddha is often called Mahâvîra—the name of the last Tîrthaṅkara, whose father the Jainas call Siddhârtha the 'establisher of faith'—the proper name of Buddha,—and both are of the race of Ikshvâku; and Mahâvîra's wife was Yasôdâ, as Buddha's was Yasôdharâ. Moreover Mahavîra's is said to have died at Pâwâ, in Bihâr, about 527 B.C., and Gautama Buddha, between Pâwâ and Kusinâra, in 543 B.C.‡ These coincidences, together with many analogies of doctrine and practice, seem to indicate that the Jainas are of Bauddha origin.

Of the history of the origin of the Jainas we know little or nothing. Professor Wilson has the following remarks:—

The Bauddhas "are said in one account to have come from Banâras in the third century of the Christian era, and to have settled about Kanchi, where they flourished for some centuries; at last, in the eighth century, Akalanka, a Jain teacher from Sravana Belligola, and who had been partly educated in the Bauddha college at Ponataga disputed with them in the presence of the last Bauddha prince, Hemasitala, and having confuted them, the prince became a Jain and the Bauddhas were banished to Kandy. . . We know that the Bauddha religion continued in Gujarat till a late period or the end of the twelfth century, when Kumâra Pâla of Gujarat was converted by the celebrated Hemachandra to the Jain faith, but by the fourteenth century it seems to have disappeared from the more southern portion of the peninsula.

* The others were *Mallikârjuna,* at S'risailam in Telingana; *Mahâkala* at Ujjain; *Omkara* on the Narmada; *Amares'wara* near Ujjain; *Vaidyanath,* at Deograh in Bengal, which still exists; *Rameswara* at Setubandha in the island of Rames'waram in Madura; *Bhimas'ankara* at the source of the Bhimâ N. W. of Punâ; *Tryambaka* near Nâsik; *Gautamesa,* unknown; *Kedaresa* on the Himâlayas; and *Visves'wara* at Banâras.

† Conf. Hodgson's *Illustrations of Buddhism,* pp. 48, 213.

‡ The Singhalese Buddhists specify *twenty-four* Buddhas, before Gautama, the same number as that of the Tîrthaṅkaras or Jinas.—Conf. Mahanâmo in his Tîkâ, in Turnour's *Mahawanso,* Introd. [8vo. : p. lxii.—lxv.] 4to. pp. xxxii.—xxxiv.; Hardy's *Buddhism,* p. 94. Compare also the first six chapters of the *Kalpa Sutra* with Bigandet's *Legend of Gaudama.*

According to the information procured by Col. Mackenzie, "from the establishment at Sravan Belligola, the Jains of the Dakhan were the objects of royal patronage as early as the seventh century before Christ: an inscription cut on a rock is added in evidence; but this testimony is solitary, and is at variance with all other documents. There is indeed, on the contrary, an inscription placing Châmunda Raya in the eighth century of S'âlivâhana, whilst the only Châmunda of any note—a prince of Gujarat—flourished in the eleventh century of the Christian era. But the strongest argument against the accuracy of the date is, that amongst a very considerable number of Jain inscriptions, or nearly a thousand, there is no other of a similar period. The earliest grants are those of the Jain princes of Homchi, a petty state in Maisur, which commence in the end of the ninth century. From this they multiply rapidly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, particularly under the Velala Râjas, and extend to the sixteenth and seventeenth under the Râjas of Vijayanagar who, although not of the Jaina persuasion, seem to have shewn liberal countenance to its professors.

"To this evidence, which is of the most unexceptionable description, the traditions of the country offer no contradiction. In the Pandyan kingdom the Jains rose upon the downfall of the Bauddhas, and were suppressed in the reign of Kuna Pândya, which could not have occurred much earlier than the ninth or tenth century,* or might have been as late as the eleventh. The subversion of the Bauddhas of Kanchi by the Jainas took place, as has already been mentioned, according to some authorities, no earlier than S'aka 710 or A.D. 788. The Bauddha temples at Devagond and Vellapollam were destroyed by Jaina princes in the eleventh century. About the same time the Lingawant S'aivas put to death Vijala, the Jaina king of Kalyân, and demolished the temples of the sect. Vishnu Verddhana, the Velâla Râja of Maisur, was converted to the Vaishnava religion in the twelfth century. It is highly probable, therefore, that the Jaina faith was introduced into the peninsula about the seventh century of the Christian era; that its course south was stopped at an early period, but that it extended itself through the centre and in the west of the peninsula, and enjoyed some consideration in the tenth and eleventh centuries; that it was mainly instrumental in its outset to the declension of the Bauddhas, and that in the twelfth century the joint attack of S'aivas and Vaishnavas put a final term to its career, and induced its decline. There are, however, still many Jaina establishments in the Dekhan, and the religion is not without numerous affluent votaries."†

But whilst it owed its spread in part to the persecution of Buddhism in the eighth and ninth centuries, it may have originated much earlier. One indication of its early origin is perhaps supplied by Hiwen Thsang when he states that—"At forty or fifty li south-east of the city (*Seng-ho-pu-lo*,—Sinhapura) we reach a *stupa*, built of stone by the King *Wu-yeu* (Aśoka). Near it is a convent which for a long time has not had any devotees.

"Near it, and at a short distance from the *stupa*, they shew the place where the founder of the heretical sect who wear the white garments (*svetavasa* ?‡) comprehended the sublime principles that he sought after and began to expound the law. Now they shew an inscription there.

"Beside this place they have built a temple of the gods. The sectaries that frequent it submit themselves to strict austerity; day and night they manifest the most ardent zeal, without taking an instant's rest. The law that has been set forth by the founder of this sect has been largely appropriated from the Buddhist books, on which it is guided in establishing its precepts and rules. The more aged of these sectaries bear the name of *Bhikshus* (mendicants); the younger they call *Chami* (Śrâmaṇerâs—novices). In their observances and religious exercises they follow almost entirely the rule of the Śrâmaṇas. Only they retain a little hair on their heads, and moreover they go naked. If, by chance, they wear garments, they are distinguished by their white colour.§ These differences, and other very trifling ones, distinguish them from others. The statue of their divine master resembles, by a sort of usurpation, that of *Ju-lai* (the Tathâgata); it only differs in costume; its marks of beauty‖ (mahâpurusha lakshaṇâni) are exactly the same."¶

Elsewhere Hiwen Thsang frequently met with religionists of the *Ching-liang-pu* or Sam-

* "According to some traditions, the date of Kuna Pândyan is called 950 of S'âlivâhana, or A.D. 1028; but there are several reasons for supposing this to be erroneous. The *Madura Purâna*, and its original the *Halasya Mâhâtmya*, come down to the end of this prince's reign; and they are attributed to the reign of Hari Vira Pândyan, in 973. . . Either their date, therefore, is erroneous, or that of Kuna Pândyan is incorrect; but there is every reason to suppose they are not much misplaced."—H. H. Wilson, *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. III. p. 216.

† *Mackenzie Collection*, vol. I. pp. lxv.—lxviii.

‡ ... of M. Stan. Julien's conjectural Sanskrit equivalent for 'white garments' Gen. Cunningham tries to identify Khetâs with this place. *Svetâmbara* would have suited the translator equally well, if not better. See Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, pp. 124, 5.

§ The Buddhist devotees wear garments of a yellowish brown.

‖ The Chinese has *Siang-hao*, an expression which, applied to *Buddha*, includes the 32 signs of beauty (mark characteristic of a great man) which they attribute to him. See Burnouf, '*Lotus de la Bonne loi*, p. 552 ff.

¶ Stan. Julien, *Mémoires*, I. 163, 4.

mmatiya school, by which doubtless he designates the Jainas, since they still call their doctrine Sammati.*

The leading and distinguishing doctrines of the Jainas are: the denial of the divine origin and authority of the Vedas; reverence for the Jinas, who by their austerities acquired a position superior to that of even those Hindu gods whom they reverence; and the most extreme tenderness of animal life. Life "is defined to be without beginning or end, endowed with attributes of its own, agent and enjoyer, conscious, subtle, proportionate to the body it animates"—diminishing with the gnat and expanding with the elephant; through sin it passes into animals or goes to hell; through virtue and vice combined it passes into men; and through the annihilation of both vice and virtue it obtains emancipation.† The duties of a Yati or ascetic are ten,—patience, gentleness, integrity, disinterestedness, abstraction, mortification, truth, purity, poverty, and continence;‡ and the Śrâvakas "add to their moral and religious code the practical worship of the Tîrthaṅkaras, and profound reverence for their more pious brethren."§ The moral obligations of the Jainas are summed up in their five mahâvratas, which are almost identical with the pâncha-śîla of the Bauddhas:—care not to injure life, truth, honesty, chastity, and the suppression of worldly desires. They enumerate four merits or dharmas—liberality, gentleness, piety, and penance; and three forms of restraint—government of the mind, the tongue, and the person. Their minor instructions are in many cases trivial and ludicrous, such as not to deal in soap, natron, indigo, and iron; not to eat in the open air after it begins to rain, nor in the dark, lest a fly should be swallowed; not to leave a liquid uncovered lest an insect should be drowned; water to be thrice strained before it is drunk; and vâyukarma—keeping out of the way of the wind, lest it should blow insects into the mouth.‖ The Yatis and priests carry an Ughâ, or besom, made of cotton thread, to sweep insects out of the way of harm as they enter the temples or where they sit down, and a Mohomatî or mouth-cloth to prevent insects entering the mouth when praying or washing the images.

The proper objects of worship are the Jinas or Tîrthaṅkaras, but they allow the existence of the Hindu gods, and have admitted to a share in their worship such of them as they have connected with the tales of their saints. As among the Bauddhas, Indra or Sakra is of frequent occurrence, the Jainas distinguishing two principal Indras—Śukra, regent of the north heaven, and I'śâna, regent of the south, besides many inferior ones; and images of Sarasvatî and of Devî or Bhavânî are to be found in many of their temples. Nor are those of Hanumân, Bhairava, or Gaṇeśa excluded from their sacred places.

Besides, they have a pantheon of their own, in which they reckon four classes of superhuman beings,—Bhuvanapatis, Vyantaras, Jyotishkas, and Vaimânikas,—comprising—1, the brood of the Asuras, Nâgas, Garuḍa, the Dikpâlas, &c., supposed to reside in the hells below the earth; 2, the Râkshasas, Piśâchas, Bhûtas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, &c., inhabiting mountains, forests, and lower air; 3, five orders of celestial luminaries; and 4, the gods of present and past Kalpas, of the former of which are those born in the heavens—Saudharma, Îśâna, Sanatkumâra, Mahendra, Brahmâ, Lântaka, Śukra, Sahasrâra, Ânata, Prâṇata, Âraṇa, and Âchyuta, &c. Each Jina, they say, has also a sort of 'familiar' goddess of his own, called a Śâsanadevî, who executes his behests. These are perhaps analogous to the Śaktis, or Matris of the Brahmans; indeed among them we find Ambikâ, a name of Kaumarî, the Śaktî of Kartikiya, and Chaṇḍâ and Mahâkâlî, names of Bhâvanî.¶

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## THE DESISABDASAMGRAHA OF HEMACHANDRA.

BY G. BUHLER, PH. D., EDUCATIONAL INSPECTOR, GUJARAT.

THOUGH we have been for a long time in possession of a number of Hindu grammars which treat of the older Prakrits, and though several European scholars have given us excel-

* Stan. Julien, *Memoires de Hiouen Thsang*, tom. II., p. 164; and my *Notes of a Visit to Gujarat*, pp. 60, 61.

† H. H. Wilson, *Works*, vol. I., p. 307; *Asiat. Resear.*, vol. XVII., p. 253.

‡ See Rules for Yatis in the *Kalpa Sutra*, Stevenson's transl., pp. 103—114; and especially *Nava Tatva*, in ib., p. 124.

§ H. H. Wilson, *Works*, vol. I., p. 317; *Asiat. Res.*, vol. XVII., p. 272.

‖ For many similar prohibitions see Delamaine *On the Srawaks or Jains*; *Trans. R. Asiat. Soc.*, vol. I., pp. 420, 421.

¶ *Amarakosha*, I. i. § 1, 33; and conf. Hodgson, *Illustrations*, p. 218.

lent descriptions of the grammatical structure of these dialects, it is to be regretted that only a very small portion of their stock of words has become known. Our ignorance of the Prakrit vocabulary is partly owing to the circumstance that, besides the *Prakrit passages* of the Sanskrit dramas—if we except the Buddhistic Pâlî writings—a portion only of *one* larger Prakrit work has been edited.* Sanskritists are deterred from the task by the paucity and bad condition of the Prakrit MSS. But another equally important obstacle to a fuller exploration of the Prakrits is the entire want of native vocabularies, which could do the same service to the student of the Prakrits as the Amarakosha and kindred works did and still do to the Sanskritist. The method of teaching in the Brahmanical schools, as well as the testimony of various writers, make it certain† that such vocabularies existed and were accessible very recently. But no work of the kind has, to my knowledge, as yet been made known.

I am happy to be able, to a certain extent, to fill this gap in our knowledge of the literature of the Prakrits, as I have recently obtained a copy of a Deśîśabdasaṃgraha, written by the famous Jaina Polyhistor of the twelfth century, Hemachandra or Hemâchârya, which contains about 4,000 Prakrit words, together with explanations in Sanskrit. The MS., of which I have obtained a loan only for transcription, comprises according to the colophon 3,825 ślokas (agglomerations of 32 syllables each) on 74 folios. Its date is Samvat 1587. It is correct and in good preservation, except that the upper edges of some leaves have been gnawed by rats, whereby in one instance two half lines and on several pages a few letters have been lost. It is written in Devanâgarî characters, but presents the archaic forms of letters usual in Jaina MSS. Hence it is frequently very difficult to distinguish between *u* and *o*, between *tth* and *chchh*, and between *jjh* and *bbh*.

Besides the text of the Deśîśabdasaṃgraha, which is written in Prakrit Áryâs and gives the Deśî words with Prakrit equivalents, the MS. contains a Sanskrit commentary.‡ The latter explains each Deśî word in Sanskrit, and contains also frequently discussions on doubtful forms. At the end of the explanation of each verse, one or two Prakrit sentences have been added, in order to illustrate the use of the Deśîs explained. Thus each word is repeated three times. The book is divided into eight Vargas, *viz.*—I. Svaravarga ; II. Words beginning with gutturals ; III. Words beginning with palatals ; IV. Words beginning with linguals ; V. Words beginning with dentals ; VI. Words beginning with labials ; VII. Words beginning with the liquids *ra*, *la*, *va* ; VIII. Words beginning with *sa* and *ha*. The words under each letter are arranged according to their length, and according to their meaning. First come those that have only one meaning, in the order of bisyllabics, trisyllabics, tetrasyllabics, and so forth ; and the words having more than one meaning make the conclusion.

The first four verses of the text give the definition of the term Deśî, and define the scope of the work. They run as follows :—

गमणयपमाणगहिरा सहिययहिययहियंगमरहस्सा ।
जयइ जिणिंदाण असेसभासपरिणामिणी वाणी ॥१॥
णीसेसदेसिपरमलपलाविअकुऊहलाउलत्तेण ।
विरइज्जइ § देसीसद्दसंगहो वण्णकमसुहओ ॥२॥
जे लक्खणे ण सिद्धा णय सिद्धा सक्कयाभिहाणेसु ।
णय गउणलक्खणासत्तिसंभवा ते इह निबद्धा ॥३॥
देसविसेसपसिद्धीइ भण्णमाणा अनंतया हुंति ।
तम्हा अणाइपाइयपयट्टभासाविसेसओ देसी ॥४॥‖

'Glory to the language of the Jinendras, which is difficult on account of the employment of parallel passages not explained by the commentators (*gama*),¶ of categories** and of proofs, the secrets of which got to the hearts of the wise, and which comprises all other languages.††

* I mean Hâla's Gâthâkosha, a part of which was published, together with a German translation by Prof. A. Weber, in the *Abhandlungen der D. M. Ges.* 1870.

† *E. g.*, of Bhânudikshita, who quotes a Deśîkosha in his commentary on the Amarakosha, Aufrecht, *Oxf. Cat.*, p. 182a.

‡ Both text and commentary are Hemachandra's work as may be seen from the introductory verse:—Deśî duḥsandarbhâ prâtyaḥ sandarbhitâpi durbodhâ |
A'châryahemachandrastattâm saṃdṛibhati vibhajati vâ, and from the colophon of the book,—ityâchârya s'rî Hemachandravirachitâ svopajñadeśîśabdasaṃgraha vṛittâvashṭamo . . . . tah§

§ Viraijjai jai—MS. suhaaô may also be read suhao.
‖ The metre is Gîti or Udgâthâ.
¶ Tâtparyabhedinaḥ sadṛis'apâṭhâḥ !
** Nayâ vastve kades'agrâhiṇaḥ syâdvâdâ virodhinobhiprâyavishes'âḥ ;
naigamasaṃgrahavyavahâr aṛi jasûtras'abdasamabhirûḍhe vambhûtâbhidhânâḥ ||
†† Apara utkarsho yâdas'eshabhâshârûpatvena pariṇamato |
yadâha devâ daivîm narâ nârîm s'abaras'châpi s'âberîm |
Tiryanchopi tairas'chîm menire bhagavadgiram ||
'evambhûtâ Jinendrâṇâm arhatâm vâṇî jayatîti sambandhaḥ |

2. 'This collection of Desî words, which is easy because they are arranged in alphabetical order, is composed in order (to remedy) the confusion caused (in the minds of students) by the astonishment arising from the fragrance of the Prakrit works.*

3. 'Those words are included here which are not explained in (my) grammar, nor known from the Sanskrit dictionaries, nor owe their origin to the power called gauṇî lakshaṇâ (i. e. are not common words used in a metaphorical sense).†

4. 'Endless are the forms that are used in the various provincial dialects. Therefore the term Desî is (used here) to denote those words only which have been used since immemorial times in Prakrit.'‡

Hemachandra's collection *includes*, therefore, only those words which have been 'used since immemorial times in Prakrit literature or speech,' and which cannot be derived from their Sanskrit prototypes according to the rules of Prakrit grammars, as well as those Sanskrit words which have changed their meaning in Prakrit, provided that the change is not due to a metaphorical use. He *excludes* all Tadbhavas, as well as the greater number of the Tatsamas and the substitutes for Sanskrit roots. These principles have not, however, been strictly adhered to in the body of the work. More than once the example of his predecessors, amongst whom he names Gopâla and Droṇa most frequently, has moved the author to admit verbal derivatives which ought not to have been included. He discusses every one of these cases in the commentary, and tries to excuse his departure from his general rule. In this respect, as well as by the careful examination of the evidence regarding doubtful words, he shows his scholarly taste and raises himself far above the common book-makers, who are so numerous among the writers on the Hindu Śâstras.

As it may interest many Sanskritists to see what the Desî words are like, I subjoin a portion of the words beginning with अ (a), together with their Sanskrit equivalents :—

अअं विस्तारितमादरणीयं स्वकं च

अअंखो निःस्नेहः

अइगयं मार्गपश्चाद्भागः समागतं प्रविष्टं च

अइणीयं आनीतम्

अइरजुवई नववधूः

अइराणी इन्द्राणी व्रतसेविनी च स्त्री

अइरिम्पो कथाबन्धः§

अइहारा विद्युत्‖

अईरो आयुक्तो ग्रामेशादिः

अकंडतलिमो निःस्नेहः कृतविवाहश्च

अंकारी साहाय्यम्

अकासि पर्याप्तम्

अंकियं परिरम्भः

अंकुसइयं अङ्कुशाकारम्¶

अंकेल्ली अशोकतरुः**

अंको निकटम्

अक्खंतं प्रवृद्धम्

अक्कंदो परित्राता

अक्कसाला बलात्कारः। ईषन्मत्ता च स्त्री

अक्का भगिनी

अक्कुड्ड अध्यासितम्

अक्खो दूतः

अक्खोडो छागः

---

* Des'î sabdena des'a's'astrâṇyuchyante |
Nihs'es'hades'is'âstrâṇâm parimalanena pallavitam prâdurbhûtam kvachid arthâsampṛiktatvena kvachidvarṇânupûrvîvis'eshâbhâvena kvachidgatânugatikânibaddhas'abdârthatayâ yaktutûhalam tenâkulatvam |
Ah kathamayamapabhrashtas'abdapankamagno janah samuddharaṇiya iti paropachikîrshûrabhasastena hetunâ des'irûpâṇâm s'abdânâm samgraho virachyatesmâbhiriti s'eshah |

† Lakshaṇe s'abdas'âstre siddhahemachandranâmni ye na siddhâh prakritipratyayâdivibhâgena na nishpannâstetra nibaddhâh |
Yatha vajjarapajjarauppâlapicchasamghavollachavvajapasisasâhâdayah kathyâdinâmades'atvena sâdhitâstenyairdes'ishu pratigṛihitâ apyasmâbhirna nibaddhâh |
Yeshu satyâmapi prakritipratyayâdivibhâgena siddhau samskṛitâbhidhânakosheshu na prasiddhâh |
Yathâ amṛitanirgamachchhinnodbhavâmalasandâdayas'chandradarvâharadishvartheshu |
ye cha samskṛitâbhidhânakosheshu na prasiddhâ api gauṇya lakshaṇayâ vâlankârachûḍamaṇipratipâditayâ s'aktyâ sambhavanti |
yathâ mûrkho baillo gangâtate gangâs'abdasta iha des'îs'abdasamgrahe na nibaddhâh |

‡ Des'a vis'eshâ mahârashṭrâbhîrâdayasteshu prasiddhyâm |
agâ paschât |
Nikkaro lâjitah | ukkharuhamvio takshipuah |
Preyaṇḍo dhûrtah | hingo jârah | viddo prapautrah |
Daḍha mûrkha ityevamâdayah s'abdâ yadyeshvevamanistâh des'avis'eshâṇâmanantatvâtpurushâyushenâpi na sarvasamgrahah syât |
tasmâdanâdipravṛitta prâkṛitabhâshâvis'esha evâyam s'abdenochyate |

§ Has another form airippo.

‖ By metathesis for achirâbhâ.

¶ Corresponds to a Sanskrit ankus'ayitam.

** Hâlahas kankelli.

अखक्कणवेलं सुरतम्।

अखक्कलियं प्रतिफलितम्

अखक्कवो यादृक्

अगंडिगेहो यौवनोन्मत्तः

अगयो दानवः

अंगवट्टणं रोगः

अंगवलिज्जं अङ्गवलनम्

अंगिला अवज्ञा

अगुज्झहरो रहस्यभेदी

अंगुटी अवगुण्ठनम्

अंगुच्छलं अङ्गुलीयम्*

अग्गखंधो रणमुखम्†

अग्गवेओ नदीपूरः‡

अग्गहणा अवज्ञा§

अग्गिओ इन्द्रगोपकीटो मन्दश्चेति‖

अग्घाडा अपमार्गः

अग्घाण तृप्तः

अङ्गुलिनी कालिणीए

अचलं गृहं। उक्तं। गृहपश्चिमप्रदेशः। निष्ठुरः। नीरसः।

अच्छारो साहाय्यम्

अच्छं अत्यर्थं शीघ्रं च

अच्छिघरुल्लो द्वेष्यो वेषो वा‖

अच्छिवडणं Stammering.

अच्छिवियच्छी परस्परमाकर्षणम्

अच्छिहरुल्लो द्वेष्यो वेषो वा

अंजणिया तापिच्छे

अजराउर उष्णम्

अंजसं दर्पणः

अजुअलवण्णा अम्लिकावृक्षाः

अजुओ सप्तच्छदः

* Might be read anguṭṭhalam.
† From agra and skandhah.

अज्जओ सुरसगुरेटकयोः तृणभेदयोः

अज्जवसियं निर्वापितम्

अज्जा गौरी

अज्जु दर्पणः

अज्जो जिनेन्द्रः

अज्झअत्थो पश्चाद्गतः

अज्झओ प्रातिवेश्मिकः

अज्झत्थो आगतः

अज्झपिसाओ राहुः

अज्झरकणं अकीर्तिः

अज्झसियं दृष्टम्

अज्झस्सं आक्रुष्टः

अज्झा असती। शुभा। नववधूः। तरुणीति-चार्थः

अज्झेल्ली दुग्धदोह्या धेनुर्या पुनः पुनर्दुह्यते।

अज्झअत्तो प्रत्यागतः

अज्झो एषः

अज्झोल्लिया क्रोडाभरणा मौक्तिकरचना

अट्ट अष्टास्वर्थेषु। कृशो दुर्बलो। गुरुर्महान्। शुकः पक्षी। सुखं सौख्यम्। धृष्टो वियातः। अलसः शीतकः। शब्दो ध्वनिः। णसत्यपनृतम्।

अट्टखणं प्रतीक्षणं परीक्षणम्

अंट्टतो पर्यन्तः

अट्टजंघा मोचकाख्यं पादत्राणम्

अट्टावियारं मण्डनं मण्डलकं वा

अडउज्झियं पुरुषायितं विपरीतमितिय.वत्

अडओ मत्स्यः

अडखम्मियं प्रतिजागरितम्

अडणी मार्गः

अडयणा असती

अडया असती

‡ Agravegah.
§ Agrahaṇā.
‖ Aguikah.

अडाढा बलात्कारः
अड्डकली कच्चा हस्तनिवेशः
अकाछियारं आच्छिन्नम्
अढणो जारः
अणनू निर्माल्या
अणप्पो खड्गः
अणरामओ अरातिः
अणराहो शिरसि चित्रपट्टिका
अणारिको क्षणरहितः
अणहं अक्षतम्
अणहप्पणयं अनष्टम्
अणहारओ स्कन्धनिम्नमध्यम्
अणाडो जारः
अणिल्लं प्रभातम्
अणिहं मुखं सदृशम्
अनीकं संनिभम्
अणुअलं प्रभातम्
अणुआ यष्टिः

अणइत्त शणकः
आणं आकृतिर्धान्यविशेषश्च
अणुवधियं हिक्का
अणुवज्जियं प्रतिजागरितम्
अणुवहुया नववधूः
अणूसती अनुकूलः
अणुसंधियं अविरतं हिक्का
अणुसूया आसन्नप्रसवा
अणू शालिभेदः
अणेकज्झो चञ्चलः
अणोदयं प्रभातम्
अण्णओ तरुणो धूर्तो देवरश्च
अण्णत्ती अवज्ञा
अण्णमयं पुनरुक्तम्
अण्णाणं विवाहवधूदानम्
अण्णाअ अर्थः क्रमश्ये अण्णियाशब्दश्च
देवरभार्या। पतिभगिनी। पितृष्वसा।
अण्णोसरियं अतिक्रान्तम्

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## MEMORANDUM ON THE SHOE QUESTION AS IT AFFECTS THE PÁRSÍS.

BY REV. JOHN WILSON, D.D., BOMBAY.

A GREAT aversion exists in the Pársí community to the taking off of shoes as they enter public or private houses; and on this aversion they almost uniformly act, even though they decline to render the other token of respect,—the uncovering of the head, customary among tribes and peoples who retain their shoes. They are also indisposed to uncover either their head or feet when taking oaths, standing in the witness-box, or engaging in religious services. Their disinclination to uncover their feet, rests, I am persuaded after much inquiry, on the peculiarities of the religious system which they observe, and not on mere self-assertion or unpoliteness. All who are intimately acquainted with the Pársís will admit that, in matters of mere courtesy, they are a considerate and pliant people. It is in part owing to this feature of their character that all along they have been on such good terms with our countrymen.

A marked feature of the Zoroastrian writings, which the Pársís consider the rule of their belief and practice, is Physiolatry, or the worship of Nature, and particularly of the distinctive Elements recognized by the ancients. The earth and ocean (as well as light and fire, the heavenly bodies, and the treasures of the atmosphere) are with them considered sacred, and preserved, according to recognized rules, from natural and ceremonial defilement.

The Pársís, in consistency with the principle now referred to, consider themselves as guilty of a defilement of the earth when they touch it with their bare feet, except when they are offered bodily to the earth, with effusions of water made upon them *in articulo mortis*. The Pársís, when praying to fire in their own houses, or when repeating general prayers, keep on their shoes.

The Pársí Mobeds, when they enter the *Atishgáh*, or sanctum of the Fire-Altar, leave their walking shoes without, exchanging them for slippers kept in readiness at the entrance of the Atishgáh. Besides slippers, they may have on stockings when they approach the altar. The slippers they leave at the margin of the holy place when they resume their shoes.

The customs of the Pársís in reference to these matters, I am persuaded, are of great antiquity. I have numerous Sassanian coins and a few medals in my collection. On their reverse they have all a fire-altar with one or two worshippers represented having both their head and feet covered.

A plate given by Anquetil du Perron represents a Pársí repeating the prayer of the Kustí, or sacred cincture, with his head covered and shoes on his feet. In describing the Civil and Religious Usages of the Pársís, Anquetil thus writes :—" Les Mobeds sont sans souliers dans l' Atesch-gâh : ils n'ont que des chaussons ; ou s'ils se servent de pantoufles, il faut qu'en sortant ils les laissent dans l'Atesch-gâh. Les mêmes précautions doivent avoir lieu à l'égard de l' Izesch-khanéh. Il n'est guères possible d'aller dans les rues sans que les souliers deviennent impurs, ce qui oblige de les quitter en entrant dans l' Atesch-gâh ; et faire trois gâms les pieds nuds c'est commettre, à chaque gâm, le péché Ferman." In corroboration of this statement, he refers to the Pársí Ravâits, or Collections of Traditions and Correspondence (between the Pársís of India and the Zoroastrians of Persia). I have read his testimony to the chief Dastur of the Kadamí Pársís of Bombay (now holding the office of the late learned Mullah Firoz) ; and he has certified to me its accuracy.

In the collection of fragmentary writings forming the *Zendavesta* of the Pársís, I do not remember to have met with any passage making express mention of the covering or uncovering of the feet, except when a person is enjoined to lay aside his shoes, as well as to strip himself of his clothes, when he enters water to drag from it a dead body (Vendidad, *fargard* VI. 56). In the *Patits*, or Penitential Services of the Pársís, written in old Persian or Gujarátí, such expressions as the following occur : —" If I have gone without the Kustí (the sacred cincture), I repent of it. If I have *defiled my feet*, I repent of it" (Patit Kod, 19). " If I have *walked on the earth with only one shoe on*, if I have buried corpses in the earth, . . . if *I have gone on the earth without shoes*. . . ., I repent of it" (Patit Irání, 7). Other passages of a similar import are to be found in these Penitential Prayers.

Though oaths are allowed to the Pársís, no injunctions about the form of them are given in their sacred books.

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## THE PRITHIRÁJA RASAU,

### OF KAVI CHAND BARDAI.

### Extract from the Kanhapatti Prastav—Fifth Book.

When Prithirâja was a minor, Bholâ Bhima ruled in Gujarat. Sârang Deva was his uncle, whose sons were Pratâp Siñha and his six brothers—Arisiñha, Gokaldâs, Govind, Harisiñha, Syâm, and Bhagwân. They were brave warriors, they owned the sway of no master. They slew Râna, the most powerful of the Jhalâs. When Sârang Deva died, Pratâp Siñha succeeded him, and his brothers served under him. They had five hundred horse. They lived in the Mewâs, plundering the Yâdava's country. A complaint was made to Bhima, who went against them.* He encamped on the bank of a river, and his elephant, bathing in it, was slain by Pratâp and Ari Siñha. They killed also the mahaut. When he heard of it, Bhîma declared that, though previously he had intended only to seize them, he would now think it no fault to slay them. When the brothers heard this they contemplated leaving Gujarat, meantime Prithirâja sent for them : he gave them grants (*pata*) of villages and other presents, and treated them with great respect. The seven Chalukya brothers, crafty and bold, remained faithfully in his service, coming one by one they placed his feet on their heads.

Once on a time the son of Som was seated in his court among his Sâmantas, having made a brilliant . Kanh the Chauhân was also seated there, looking terrible, with Châmand Ray; Narsiñha, Kaimâs, and other warriors. Prithirâja shone in the midst as the new moon on the second day of the light half. Around him shone a cluster of stars. Pratâp, with his seven brothers, paid obeisance to Prithirâja. He came and sat down opposite to Kanh. The Mahâbhârata was the subject of talk. Pratâp put his hand to his moustache. Kanh Chauhân saw it. He drew his sword, the devourer of many. He cut him where the *janeû* was worn. 'Hu!' 'hu!' sounded through the hall. Pratâp fell. Arisiñha was enraged : he struck Kanh on the left arm with his sword. Kanh raged like a lion awakened, or a fire having *ghî* thrown into it. Kunvar Prithirâja rose and retired into his palace. Behind him he closed the door. The fight raged in the hall. Arisiñha struck Narsiñha on the head with his sword, and pierced Rambha the Bargujar. Seeing this Châmand was enraged. The strife was like a forest conflagration. Kanh slew Arisiñha. Govind with a jamdad in his hand furiously attacked the Chauhân. Kanh seized and slew him. Narsiñha threw his arms round Harisiñha, and others rained blows upon him, but he threw Narsiñha down and got above him. Châmand plunged his sword into his back. Harisiñha followed Ari and pierced the mansion of the sun. Well done Châluk! well done his father and mother! who not even in thought attempted to flee.

* About 70 lines descriptive of the army and its march omitted.—J. B.

Narsiñha throwing the corpse from off him rose. Bhagwân attacked him. Narsiñha cast his arm round him and plunged his dagger into his belly: the valiant Bhagwân also fell to the earth; 'alas!' 'alas!' sounded in the world of mortals: 'victory!' 'victory!' in the abode of the Suras. Gokal rushed on like a furious elephant, or like lightning bursting from the sky. He threw himself upon Kaimâs brandishing his *gurj*. Kaimâs cut him down with his sword as one cuts a plantain tree. Vishnu sent Garuda to receive him. Mâdhava Khawâs burst open the door and threw himself between the combatants. Dagger in hand he struck down the Pramâra. The rage of Kanh was appeased. Hai! hai! sounded in the darbâr. The companions and servants of the Châluk, hearing what had happened, pressed into the hall: they beheld the corpses lying in their blood. They fell upon Kanh like shooting stars or like moths rushing to a lamp. They dashed open the doors. Narad began to clap his hands and dance; the sixty-four Devîs *(śaktis)* of the terrible countenance were filling their drinking-cups with blood; Bhairavas and Bhuts sported, Khetrapâlas also, it seemed as if the Kalpa had come to an end. The servants of the Châlukyas and the Chauhân fought: their swords flashed like lightning, Śiva was stringing his necklace; the field of battle was red with blood; the earth shook; human limbs were scattered over it. Bhuts sounded their drums, Vîrs shouted, some piercing the sun's disc attained *moksha*, some passed to *swarga*: debts contracted in a former life were paid off. For *two gharis* (48 minutes) the sword played: a hundred and fifty men were slain by Kanh; the rest fled: the brother of Someśa, raging like Kâla, slew the seven brothers of Bhîma and was victorious. Then he was restrained by his friends. Prithirâja hearing of the matter was angry with Kanh. Kanh heard it: he remained at home and sought not the darbâr. For three days in Ajmir the shops were shut—a river of blood flowed in the bazar.

Finding that Kanh came not to the darbâr, Prithirâja went to his house and said—"Why have you done this? All will say the Chauhân called the Châluk to his house and slew him." Kanh replied, "Why laid he his hand on his moustache?" "O Kanh, if you will attend to what I say our fault will be forgotten. Bind your eyes with a bandage." Prithirâja ordered also that any acting like him should suffer the same punishment. He bound Kanh's eyes with a gold-worked cloth, and ordered him to remove it only when at home with his women or in battle. He made Kanh a present.

The story was wafted as perfume by the wind. Châluk Bhîma heard that the Chauhân had slain the sons of Sârang. He was inflamed with grief and anger, and wrote to the Chauhân demanding "bair," which the Chauhân declared himself ready to grant at any time. Bhîma proposed to his officers to advance on Ajmir. Vîr Pradhân [or "chiefs and ministers"] represented that in the rainy season it was fitting to remain at home, and recommended that the Chauhân should be attacked at Kârtik. The Râja agreed: as the time passed the Châluk's rage abated. The Chauhân, lord of Sambhar, remaining at Ajmir behaved like an *avatar* of Krishna.

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In S. 1138 (A.D. 1081) Prithirâja mounted the throne at Dehli, from which Anangapâla with his queen had retired to Bhadrikâśhrama. Garlands of flowers were bound at the doors, and in the ten directions buffalo calves were sacrificed to the local gods. Shahâb-ud-dîn again attacked him, but was defeated by him and captured by Châmand Ray. The Sultan was fined and released after a month.

On a subsequent occasion, Prithirâja, having discovered property buried in the Khatwan (खटवन), a jangal at Nagor, determined, by the advice of Kaimâs, to call Sâmarsiñha Râwal of Chitror, the husband of his sister Prithâ, to assist him, for he feared three enemies—the Ghori Sultan, Jayachand of Kanauj, and Bhîma. The Ghori, however, made an attack, but was defeated by Prithirâja and Sâmarsiñha, and after a month's confinement he was released—paying a fine. The treasure was then removed from its concealment and shared among the Sâmants.

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## THE CANARESE COUNTRY COMPARED WITH THE COUNTRIES ADJACENT TO IT.

TRANSLATED BY REV. F. KITTEL, MERKARA.

The following lines were written by Sarvagña, the son of Basava Arasa, a Brahmin. His father's home was Mâsûru in the Dharwarḍ district; but Sarvagña was born in a certain village called Ambalûru. He became a clever fellow, and made verses on various subjects, always using the Tripadi metre. He may have lived two centuries ago.

### Description of Countries.

*(Prose version.)*

On each road are thorns of the shabby Ocymum; all that are born speak indistinctly. The road to the *east* is not to be taken (verse 1). Roasted corn is cheap; for an obeisance you get some buttermilk; there are small Solanum fruits to suck (instead of mangos). Can one declare the east to be rich? (v. 2.)

Whithersoever you look you see thorns of the miserable Ocymum; all the people, even when grown up, speak indistinctly. The *north* is not beautiful (v. 3). The villages are far from each other; water is met with every ten miles; there

is no shade to stand under. The road to the north is not to be taken (v. 4).

With your dish of great millet you have many varieties of split pulse and the milk of well-fed buffaloes. Look at the riches of the *middle* country !* (v. 5.) With your dish of Panicum you have suitable split pulse and a lump of butter as big as a sling-stone. Look at the means of the middle country !* (v. 6.) You have your cakes of wheaten flour and the milk of the lusty buffaloes, and enjoy the love of a modest female. I have not seen the like (v. 7). May cake-dust (that does not satiate) fall into the mouth of him who says that the country, wherein Bengal gram and wheat are sown and grown, should be burnt ! (v. 8.)

The forest (of the *west*) is full of immature fruits ; the country is full of huge trees ; promises are not kept. I have had quite enough of the *Hill* country (malanâḍu, v. 9). The climate is damp ; bellies are swollen ; ah, why should one go to a country where sinners stir and eat (their food) with wood (ladles—v. 10) ? There are green ginger and turmeric ; there are jaggary and betel ; there are good jack-fruits to eat. Can one declare the Hill country to be a good one ? (v. 11.) There is rice water, there is mud, there are hot dwellings, there are wives that are gratifying. Oh, look at the relieving features of the Hill country ! (v. 12.)

(But) in *this* (southern) direction Asuras have been born as men ; Daśaśira's (Râvaṇa's) enemy has given them their name and rejected the region of the *Tigulas*† (i. e. Tamulians) (v. 13). There are the Kâḷakûṭa poison, and such malice as you might experience if you trusted a scorpion. I have had quite enough of the wind of the Tigulas, who are like mean dogs that bark in a deserted village (v. 14). Better than a friend of the Tigulas is a barking bitch ; better than the shadow of the Maguḷi tree‡ is the alligator of swallowing habits (v. 15). How shall I tell the self-conceit of the country where reasoning§ has been born ! Śankara's ‖ worship (pûjâ) is practised excessively in the *south* (v. 16).

In the *east* is passion (râga), in the *north* abstract contemplation (yoga), and mere sickness (roga) in the *west* ; the *south* is the residence of sensual pleasure (bhoga, v. 17). In the east people have no proper waists (or perhaps "clothes"), in the north they have no proper words, in the west they are greatly given to anger, in the south they are pompous (v. 18). The east is for whoremasters (viṭa), the north for jesters (vidûshaka), the west for villainous catamites (pîṭhamardaka), and the south for very smart fellows (nâgarika, v. 19). The east is for Hastinis, the north for Chitrinis, the west for Śankhinis, and the south for Padminis¶ (v. 20).

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# NOTES CONCERNING THE NUMERALS OF THE ANCIENT DRAVIDIANS.

BY REV. F. KITTEL, MERKARA

OF the mental faculties of the ancient Dravidians their Numerals bear some witness. From them we learn that when apparently still free from all Aryan influence, they contrived to count up to a hundred. The earliest state of their herds and flocks, and of their bartering, did not make it necessary to go higher. In the same way, not before the tribes that at present form the Aryas of the West had left their brethren, the later Zoroastrians and Brahmanas, &c., did these feel the necessity of the number "sahasra." This sahasra was, in course of time, borrowed from them by the Dravidians, and was also incorporated by them into their own language, wherein it bears the forms sâsira, sâsir, sâvira, âyira.

As we have seen, the early Dravidians were not behind the body of the Aryas in counting. To show their way of thinking in producing the numerals, we give the numerals up to ten, together with the nearest words indicative of their meaning. The longer forms stand by themselves, the shorter are used only as the first members of compounds (compare Gondi Numerals in the *Indian Antiquary*, p. 129)

1. ondu, onru (pronounce : ondu), oñji, or, ôr, om, on. ondu, ottu, to be undivided, be one. A unit without a branch.**

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* Literally, country of growth (belavalu).

† *Tigula* means "a person of abuse."

‡ The Maguḷi tree of the text is probably the Tamil *Magil*, Maguḷa, Magila = *Mimusops Elengi*.

§ Our manuscript has sankhe, which is a corruption (either of šanke, doubt, or) of sankhye, reasoning, or of sânkhye, the system of philosophy.

‖ S'ankara is either S'iva or the Vedântist S'ankara (S'ankarâchârya).

¶ 'The Hindus say there are four classes of women—*Padminis*, *Hastinis*, *Chitranis*, and *S'ankhinis*, of which the first is the most perfect.'—Forbes' *Ras Mala*, vol. I., p. 60. —ED.

** When the affix du is joined to a short monosyllabic root with final r, the root in this case being or, this liquid is sometimes changed into the Bindu. Observe du has become ji (in Tulu), for which peculiarity compare No. 5.

2. iraṇḍu, eradu, eral, raddu, iru, ir, îr, in, ip. ir, îr, to split. The splitting off of a branch.*
3. mûnru (pronounce: mûndu), mûru, mûji, muyyu, mun, mû, mu, mun, mur, to advance, grow. A further advance.†
4. nâlku, nâṅgu, nâku, nâl, nâr, nan, nâ. In the formation of this word the idea of evenness seems already to have guided the Dravidians, as the nearest root is nal, to be beautiful, nice, sufficient (naṅgu, beauty). An evenness.‡
5. aydu, ayndu, añju, aynu, ayñ, ayn, aym, añ, ay. ay, aydu, to go; to obtain (conf. isu, to make go, throw). The counting of the fingers of one hand forms a going or one turn: a turn.§
6. âru, âji aru, âr. âru as a verb is stated to express the meaning of samarthatva, i. e. to be strong, or to strengthen; the numeral, therefore, seems to convey the idea of addition, conf. No. 3: further addition.
7. êlu, êl, el, ep. el, êl, to rise. A still greater rising.
8. eṇṭu, eṭṭu, eṇma, em, eṇ. eṇ, to count. Probably "a computation of two even numbers."¶ conf. No. 4.
9. om-battu, on-badu, om-bay, or-m-ba. One less than the combination, i. e. one from ten.** See No. 10.
10. pattu, pandu, pannu, padin, padu, padi, payin, pay, pa. pattu, parru (pronounce: pattu), to come together, join. A joining or combination of all the ten fingers.††

Hundred with the Dravidians is nûr, nûru, nûdu. Its root is nun, nuṇ nur, nûr, to become small, fine, pointed, smooth or powdered; conf. No. 3. Point, extremity of computation.

## REVIEW.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS, BY H. T. COLEBROOKE, 2nd Ed. Higginbotham and Co., Madras, 1872.

COLEBROOKE'S ESSAYS, contributed in the first place to the *Asiatic Researches* and the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, are memoirs of the highest value, and, from their excellence and accuracy, have from their first appearance been justly regarded as standards of reference on the matters to which they relate. MM. Abel Rémusat, E. Burnouf, and V. Cousin early brought them to the notice of continental *savans*, and in 1833 M. Pauthier prepared a careful version in French of the five essays relating to the Philosophy of the Hindus that had appeared in the *Transactions* of the R. Asiatic Society, adding the Sanskrit texts and numerous valuable notes and appendices. In his preface M. Pauthier remarked: "If ever memoirs deserved a complete and faithful translation they are assuredly those of Mr. Colebrooke, that Indianist so learned and conscientious, that *vir nunquam satis laudandus*, as he has been so justly styled by Dr. Stenzler in the preface to his recent beautiful edition of the *Râghu Vansa*; for we do not hesitate to say that, without the excellent works of Mr. Colebrooke on the Sanskrit language and the most abstruse sciences of India —where he lived thirty years as a member of the administration—the knowledge, so far complete, of the language of these sciences, and of the sciences themselves, might have been almost indefinitely retarded in Europe. For, only to speak of the *Essays on the Philosophy of the Hindus*, Mr. Colebrooke has read all the numerous Sanskrit works on that philosophy he had succeeded in procuring, and it is from the methodical extracts and resumés from these works that he has composed his

* Here the du appears as du, twice with the Bind before it, ḍḍu being only another form of ṇḍu; there are nitya and vaikalpika Bindus in Dravida.

† The primary root appears to be mu, mû (cf. mu + du, growth), and thus the first form, according to rule, is mû + Bindu + du; mûru, in this case, is a secondary form of the root, the ru being frequently used to produce such forms. ru has become ji (in Tulu), which change is also seen in 6. aru, udu has become yyu; conf. padin = payin under No. 10.

‡ By the affix ku a verbal noun is formed. The liquids l, r (n; cf. âne, âle, atrâ—*Antiquary*, p. 228), as seen by nâ and nâku, fall under the rule of s'ithilatva, for which see No. 10.

§ aydu is ay + du, ayndu is ay + *Bindu* + du, añju too is ai + *Bindu* + du, the du having become ju, cf. No. 1. The rule is that when to certain long roots, for instance uny (nî) and bey (bê), du is joined, the root is shortened and the Bindu put between (nindu, bendu); this rule may also in this case explain the short a before the Bindu in añju. Wherever the ju (du) is again dropped and at the same time the Bindu is retained, the theme is optionally añ or ayñ, ayn, aym.

‖ r has become j; see No. 3. âru means also "river," "way." As a kind of analogue of vayiru, bañji, belly.

¶ eṇma = en + ma, this ma being an affix to form verbal nouns; it generally appears as me.

** In ormba the m is the Bindu.

†† The first three forms are quite regular, i. e. par + tu (tu = du, conf. ottu under No. 1), par + du (= pandu, see No. 1). The single d in the three following forms at first sight looks strange; but all difficulty is removed when considering the form pa in the end. This pa is unchangeable, whereas the liquid r falls under the rule of S'ithilatva (cf. No. 4), i. e. the rule that in many cases a liquid before l, g, d is so slightly sounded that no double consonant is formed, and accordingly has simply been dropped, so that pa + du (di) has remained; ede, erde, breast, badaku, barduku, life. d appears twice in the form of y; see under No. 5, and compare the j (a known cognate of y) under Nos 1 and 5. We add that paṅkti, when meaning the number 10, is a Tadbhava of the Dravidian pattu, just as muktâ, pearl, is a Tadbhava of muttu, and sukti, curl, a Tadbhava of suttu.

memoirs—precious models of exposition and philosophical analysis—in which the European scholar withdraws himself to allow us almost constantly to converse with the Indian writers, which secures for these abridged expositions of the philosophical systems of India the highest amount of confidence and accuracy possible."

Colebrooke himself published a selection of his Miscellaneous Essays in two volumes in 1837, but the work soon became scarce, and in 1858 a reprint in small type appeared simultaneously at Leipzig and London, containing thirteen of them, or the whole of the first volume, and three essays—On Indian Classes, the Jains, and the Muhammadans—from the second. Messrs. Higginbotham & Co. of Madras have now issued a careful reprint of Colebrooke's own edition, which, except in the Sanskrit, is not only page for page but line for line and *literatim* the same as the original. This will render the work very useful to those who have occasion to turn up the references to these Essays by more recent writers We cannot help regretting, however, that references to other sources of information have not been added.

A memoir of the author from the *Asiatic Journal* is prefixed.

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## CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

### KHATRIS.

*To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.*

SIR,—I have perused the letter about *Khatris*, contributed by Mr. J. White, Assistant Collector of Futtehpur,* and being myself a member of that caste (Dehliwâl Khatri), I beg to offer a few remarks.

The story of Parasuram and the escape of a pregnant Kshatriya woman in the house of a Brahman is generally believed as the origin of the Khatris. Every one of that caste looks to the Panjâb as his home, and up to the present time it contains the largest proportion of the Khatri population, which gradually lessens as you descend towards the east, until it almost totally disappears beyond Patna. Only very recently a number of Panjâbi Khatris have, for purposes of trade, settled in Calcutta. Khatris are dispersed throughout almost all the large towns of Upper India, but a Khatri family will scarcely be found south of the Vindhya range. Half a century ago a few families settled at Hydrabad when Chandu Lâl Khatri was the Nizam's prime minister.

Judging from their physiognomy, they are of pure Aryan blood. Next to Kashmiris they are the fairest race in Hindustan; next to Brahmans they are the most religious class, reading much of the Hindu scriptures. As Guru Nânak belonged to this caste, he is regarded as the patron or national saint of the Khatris. His and his successors' compositions (ग्रंथ साहिब) are looked upon with great reverence and respect, and generally read. The deistical doctrines and tenets inculcated by the great Khatri reformer have considerably influenced their morals, manners, and customs, weaning them to a great degree from many superstitions still clung to by other Hindu tribes. This leads some to suspect their being genuine Hindus. Not only Lahna but almost all the ten successors of Nânak were Khatris. Nânakshahi fakirs are reverentially received in our families. Chandu Lâl used to feed thousands of fakirs every day. When he had reached the height of his prosperity at the Nizam's Court, he presented to the Akhada of Nirmal fakirs some lakhs of rupees. Its management rests with the Mahant and Pânchs of that large body. They lend the money on good security to Râjas and Mahârâjas. The expenses of food, &c., of the whole body, which contains several thousand members, dispersed all over Hindustan, are defrayed from the proceeds at the Allahabad and Hardwar fairs.

Mr. White says—"Khatris themselves allow that they have comparatively lately come from westward, and this is conclusively proved by the distribution of their sub-divisions" (the Panjâbi, Lahori, Dehliwâl, Purbi, and, I may add, by one more—the Agrâwâl). Panjâb, meaning towns beyond Lahor, and Purab, meaning towns in the east of Allahabad, Mirzapur, Banaras, Patna, &c., which are mostly inhabited by Purbi Khatris, are all situated in Hindustan Proper. There is no ground for Mr. White's conjecture that they have, like the Jats, come from some country *beyond the Indus*. Had such been the case, Khatris, like Jats, would have been denominated by the Brahmans S'udras or Mlechhas. No pious Brahman eats food cooked by a Jat, but most will if prepared by a Khatri. I once asked an elderly member of our family why we, though living at Agra, are called Dehliwâls. He explained that his great-great-grandfather, having fled from Dehli with his family on the general massacre of its inhabitants by Nadir Shah, settled at Agra, consequently by the way of distinction people called them 'Dehliwâls.' It may be fairly conjectured that Khatris, among whom—in order to preserve purity of blood—family relations are still most scrupulously enquired into before forming marriage connections, might split into divisions, when, from the want of facility of communication, intercourse with one another had partially stopped for hundreds of years. Khatris of Lahor, Dehli, Agra, and Purab married, dined, attended social ceremonies with those of their own or adjacent towns only, and in the lapse of time have grown into distinct divisions. They all have the same stories and traditions of their origin, the same

* *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I., p. 289.

religious and social ceremonies, even the same songs among their females and the language peculiar to them.

It is natural that by long intercourse with Hindus and Muhammadans, many customs should be exchanged, and pure Hindi has with them already given place to mixed Urdu. As Khatris mostly inhabit the Muhammadan capitals—Lahor, Dehli, Agra, Lakhnau, &c.—many Moslem customs, as wearing the Sabi on marriage, the use of shoes by females, &c., have crept not only into our society, but also among Kayaths, Agrawál Banias, Oswals,&c. Khatris and Kayaths use a greater number of Persian words in familiar language than other Hindus.

I append the following notes, which may interest some readers:—

1. In the time of Nának the site on which the now commercial town of Amritsar stands, was a forest with a pond, a solitary place well fitted for retired fakirs. Nának, once in company with many others, went to bathe in it; he dipped in and was lost sight of. His associates gave him up for lost, and remained there without food and drink, bewailing the untimely death of their favourite. They searched for his body in the water but could not find it. On the third day, to their great joy and astonishment, he suddenly appeared on the surface of the water with steaming hot *Monbhog* (a sweetmeat), since held sacred to him, in his right hand and repeating the words "*Wáh Gurújí! Dhanyah Gurújí. Sath Gurújí!*" meaning 'Glory to the Teacher. He is blessed. He alone is true.' The terms signifying God are mostly used on solemn occasions and in saluting one another. His companions, thus convinced of his divine origin, became his proselytes. To commemorate the miracle the institution of Kadháyá Pras'áda (कड़ाह प्रसाद) was established* among the Khatris.

2. The Khatris are descendants of a warlike race. The name Khatri occurs in the Indian History since the time of Baber when he visited Guru Nának. They were constantly employed by the Mughal emperors as soldiers. Todar Mall, the celebrated financier of Akbar, belonged to this caste.† Aurangzeb sent all the Khatri forces on the great expedition into the Dekhan against the kings of Golkonda and Bijapur and the Maráthas. Great was the slaughter in the imperial armies; the Khatri and Hindu forces were almost annihilated. On the return of the camp to Dehli, the widows, sisters, mothers, and orphans, loudly bewailing the loss of those dear to them, surrounded the palace asking for support. There was no such thing as a pension under the Muhammadan rule. Promising them to devise suitable means for their maintenance, Aurangzeb bade them go home; and summoned Lallu and Jagdhar, two Khatri chiefs, to take their advice in the matter. The prudent Muhammadan ruler thought of the desirability of re-marrying their widows, but they said, in reply, that it was beyond their power to introduce the system, though very advisable, until they should consult with their caste-fellows on the matter. A grand meeting of the Khatris of Dehli was called for the purpose. Some agreed and signed a bond, but when Lallu and Jagdhar's turn came, they refused until they should get the permission of their old mother. They went home and explained the whole to her. She tauntingly answered—"If you are fully determined to introduce the Muhammadan *Nikah* system among us, which shall for ever stamp your name with the black stain of heterodoxy, select a good old fellow of eighty for my husband." The youths, thus put to shame, went no more to the *Panchayat*.

The meeting waited Lallu and Jagdhar's return from morning till evening; one of the number in despair taking a stone threw it into a well, repeating the words '*aise ki tasi main jaya Lallu aur Jagdhar*,' meaning 'let Lallu and Jagdhar go, I won't wait any longer.' The sentence has since passed into a proverb. The meeting dispersed without deciding the question. On the following day the report was made of this disregard to the royal mandate; the Emperor, in his usual indignation, dismissed all Khatris from the imperial service and proclaimed that they should never be taken into state employ. Thus thousands were thrown out of business and began to starve. One day they suddenly surrounded the imperial palace, humbly supplicating the Emperor to provide for their livelihood. Aurangzeb thought it prudent to appease the enraged mob. He promised them support, but he was not willing to restore them to their former positions. The next day a royal *firman* was granted them, conferring on their caste the sole privilege and monopoly of *Dalâli*, or profession of broker, in the bazars of Dehli and Agra. Since that time the profession, though now humble, has been confined to Khatris. Even under British rule, in which freedom of choice is the privilege of every subject,

* This ceremony is celebrated by Khatris on occasions of marriage or child-birth, and sometimes as a thanksgiving when blest with prosperity in any dealing, or when relieved from distress. The large pan in which the *Monbhog*, a sweetmeat made with butter, wheat-flour, and sugar, in equal proportions, has been prepared, is placed on a wooden elevated plate and covered with a white sheet. A Nának Sháhí fakir, either *guru* of the family, or any one else known for his religious knowledge and merit, presiding, takes a seat just behind the pan; the *Granth Sáhib* or words of Nának and his followers being reverentially placed on a wooden stool before him. He reads from it to the audience, which is chiefly composed of the celebrator's friends, relations, and neighbours, invited for the occasion. When the sermon is over, the presiding fakir stands up, and with him all the party. He repeats aloud the tenets and prayers—*Adis'abd*; composed by Nának in glorification of the one Eternal Being without form, Creator and Protector of the Universe. At the end of each hymn the party joins with the fakir in the acclamation *Wáh Gurújí!* After this every one presents to the fakir something in money (भेटपूजा) according to his means. The ceremony ends with the distribution of the contents of the pan as a treat (*pras'áda*) to all present.

† See my letter on Rajah Todar Mall.—*Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal* for August 1872.

very few dare intrude upon their rights. A greater number now, finding letters more lucrative, attend English schools and colleges. Not a few of them enjoy coveted posts of trust under the Government.

KAS'I NA'TH.

*Sirsa, Allahabad,* 12th Oct. 1872.

*The same.*

SIR,—Your correspondent Mr. White (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. I., p. 289) wishes for information about the caste of Khatris in Hindustan. He says—"One account is that they are sons of a Rajput (Kshatriya) woman by a Sudra father. I am not inclined to place any reliance on statements like this, for the simple reason that every caste which cannot explain its origin invariably invents the Kshatriya theory of paternity." A reference to the Institutes of Manu, chap. V. v. 12, 13, 16, and 28, will show that a tribe called Kshatri existed then and held the same theory of paternity. B.

## EARLY INDIAN BUILDINGS.

*To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.*

SIR,—On the 4th of January 1871 Bábu Rajendralála *Mitra read a paper to* the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the object of which was to expose certain fallacies into which, he believed, I had fallen in treating of the history of Architecture in India.

As my answer was easy and obvious, I thought of replying at once, but on second thoughts it appeared more fair to allow the Bábu to substantiate his accusations by stating his reasons at full length before doing so, and I thought also that in the interval he might see reason to modify the crude statements he then put forward.

Though nearly two years have elapsed since his paper was read, he has made no signs of resuming the subject, and I am now informed that we must wait till the Greek kalends for the publication of his essay. Under these circumstances, as the matter is of importance to the history of art, I hope you will allow me a brief space to state my reasons for dissenting from the Bábu's conclusions.

The passages in which they are principally stated are the following :—

"An opinion is gaining ground that the ancient Aryans were not proficient in the art of building substantial edifices with stone and bricks, but that the primitive Hindus were dwellers in thatched huts and mud houses. Mr. Fergusson, who has adopted this opinion, adds that the Hindus learnt the art of building from the Grecians, who came to India with Alexander, and that the oldest specimens of architecture in the country appear to be in the first stage of transition from wood to stone.

"It is denied" (by the Bábu) "that the Buddhist religion—a mere reformation of the old Hindu faith—could have any influence in originating architecture, and the invasion of Alexander is compared with the British expedition to Abyssinia, in which very little impression was produced on the domestic arts of the Abyssinians. It is difficult to believe that Alexander brought with him any large number of quarriers, masons, and architects, to leave some behind him for the education of the people of this country in architecture ; and it would be absurd to suppose that a king like Asoka, who is presumed to have lived originally in thatched huts, would of his own accord send for architects and quarriers from Greece to build him a palace," &c.*

My first answer to these accusations is, that there is no passage or paragraph in any works ever written or published by me which, if fairly read with the context, will bear the interpretation here put on it, and I defy the Bábu to produce one.†

If, however, he will allow me to extend his own simile, I will try and explain to him what I did say. After the fall of Magdala and the death of King Theodore, the English retired on Egypt, which they had taken possession of on their way to Abyssinia ; and during the next seventy or eighty years keep up a continual and close intimacy, both commercial and political, with their former foes, till the accession of the Great Theodore IV., Emperor of all Central Africa. He formed alliances with the "Chaptaro" kings of France, England, Germany, and Russia, and established missions in their capitals at Paris, London, Berlin, and St. Petersburg ; and, from the reports of his agents and constant intercourse with foreigners, this enlightened monarch was led to introduce into his own country some European arts hitherto unknown in Central Africa, but at the same time adapting them carefully to the state and wants of his own people.

Substitute Bactria for Egypt, and Asoka for Theodore IV., and you get pretty nearly what I believe, and always have believed, in this matter, but a very different thing from what the Bábu represents me as saying or believing.

As for the "mud" and "thatch" of the previous part of the quotation, they are entirely the Bábu's own creation ; no such words occur in any work I ever wrote, nor any expression in any degree analogous to them. My belief on the contrary is, and always was, that the palaces of the Mauryan kings of Palibothra were at least as extensive—certainly more gorgeous—and probably cost as much money as those of the Mughul emperors of Agra and Delhi, yet they certainly were in wood.

I will not ask the Bábu to undertake such a journey now, but if he will take the trouble to examine a set of photographs of the palaces of the Burmese kings at Ava, Amirapura, or Mandalay, or of the 101 monasteries that line the shores of the Irawadi, or of the buildings at Bankok, he will

* *Proceedings Asiatic Society*, January 1871.

† The only passage I can find in any work I ever wrote [illegible]ch Alexander the Great's name is mentioned in with Indian art, is when I say that tradition ascribes to Alexander the erection of certain towers in the Kabul Valley, which I believed to be Buddhist monuments of the third or fourth century A.D.—*History of Architecture*, vol. II., p. 460.

discover the existence of an architecture wholly in wood—above the foundation—infinitely more gorgeous and more artistic than the pukka palaces of Calcutta, to which his knowledge of the art seems to be confined. The truth of the matter is, that except for its one great defect—want of durability—wood is a better building material, especially in hot climates, than stone. It admits of far greater spaces being roofed, with far fewer points of support. It admits of framing, and consequently of immense economy of material; and it allows of carving, gilding, and painting to an extent with difficulty attainable in stone. If the Mauryan kings thought only of their own splendour and comfort, without any hankering after brick and mortar immortality, they were right to use wood instead of stone, as the kings of Burmah and Siam now do. The Mughal emperors thought of posterity, and we are grateful to them for so doing, but I would like to see a wooden palace that had been built by Akbar. Fattehpur Sikri would have been a dwarf and mean in comparison.

The question, however, is not one for argument but of fact. I have before me some hundreds of photographs of caves in Western India and Bihar—of Buddhist rails and gateways—such for instance as those of Sanchi, and of other buildings erected between 250 B. C. and the Christian era. All these, without a single exception, are literal copies in stone of the forms of wooden carpentry, and such as no people could have used who had ever seen or been familiar with stone architecture. Besides this, all the bas-reliefs at Sanchi, in the first century of the Christian era, tell the same tale. The basement of the houses, as of our modern wooden bungalow, the solid parts of the town walls—all in fact that can be called engineering are in stone or brick: all the superstructure is even then in wood, like the ribs in the roof of the caves. These are such patent facts that I do not believe that any one, who will take the trouble to examine the evidence, can arrive at any other conclusion than I have done.

In his haste to find fault, it does not seem to have occurred to the Bábu that he was accusing me of saying that "Alexander brought quarriers, masons, and architects to teach the Hindus"—Greek architecture, I presume—which I never did say; and then that I stated that the Hindus, during the two centuries and a half that elapsed before the Christian era, were employed in elaborating a perfectly original style of their own, without any trace of foreign influence, except perhaps ornament here and there which may be Assyrian or Persian. I am at a loss to guess how the Bábu can reconcile these contradictory statements, unless it be thus. From the first time I wrote on Indian architecture to the present day, I have always asserted that Indian stone architecture commenced with Asoka, 250 B. C.[*] I do not know, and never pretended to know, of any building so old as Chandragupta. The quarriers, masons, and architects whom Alexander brought with him must, consequently, all have been over a hundred years old before they commenced to impart their knowledge to the Hindus. Perhaps they may at that advanced age have been too feeble to impart their knowledge, or perhaps they had forgotten their native arts. I must leave to the Bábu to explain how this may be; but certain it is they left no trace of their art on anything now known to exist in India.

The truth of the matter is, the Bábu has read my works in a hazy, lazy, oriental kind of way, and has hastily drawn from them conclusions much more in accordance with his own personal feelings than with anything he found in any writings of mine.

If he follows the same course in future, and does not read his Sanskrit works with more care, and quote from these with more accuracy than he has done from my works, we may safely predict that anything he may write about the ancient architecture of the Hindus won't be worth much more than the value of the paper on which it is written.

*Langham Place*, Nov. 1872. JAS FERGUSSON.

## *Query.*

I HAVE been lately so fortunate as to discover a MS. of a Prákrita Grammar, by Subha Chandra, entitled S'abdâ Chintâmani. The concluding lines are: iti . . . . srî S'ubhachandra virachitâyâm svopajnas'abda-chintâmanivrittau dvitîyasya adhyâyasya chaturthah pâdah; samâpto 'yam vrittih. From this it would seem that the MS. is complete. It consists of two adyâyas each containing four padas. S'ubha Chandra follows Hemachandra's arrangement of the Prâkrita sûtras, not that of Vararuchi, Bhâmaha, and others. But he gives Hemachandra's sutras here and there in a slightly different order, and adds a few sûtras of his own; thus in the beginning of the work, which commences with a series of samjnâ sûtras (on technical terms); a feature which, I believe, is unique in this work on Prâkrita Grammar. It is clearly later than Hemachandra's Grammar, and appears also to take notice of later Prâkrit formations.

I shall feel much obliged to any one who can give me further information on this work; especially who S'ubhachandra was, and when he lived; and whether there are any other MSS. of his work known to exist, and where.

*Benares*, Nov. 18, 1872. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

## 'HULLE MAKKALU.'

*(See Ind. Antiquary, vol. I., p. 380.)*

THE head-quarters of this sub-division of a caste is a village in one of the talukas of the Bangalor district. Single families are to be found scattered throughout the province, the members of which once a year go round their beat collecting their dues.

[*] *J. R. A. S.* VIII., p. 33. *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindostan*, Intro., p. 2. *Handbook of Architecture*, vol. I., p. 5. *History of Architecture*, vol. II., p. 450; and in lectures and papers passim.

The Komti (merchant) caste have also "Hulle Mukkalu," who are called "Kanchâla vîraru." The "Khanchâla vîraru" wear red-coloured clothes, and a breastplate engraved with a likeness of "Virabhadra." They are entitled to receive from each Komti a yearly fee of one fanam, and the usual dues on the celebration of marriage, &c. This sub-division of the caste, it is said, owes its existence to the following circumstance:—

On the 2nd of the moon's increase in the month Palguna of the year Prabhava, 2628 after the Kaliyuga, Vishnu Verdhana, king of Rajamahendrapura, happened in the course of his conquests to arrive at Pennagonde. Invited by Kusuma Shetti, a member of the Komti or Vaishya caste, the king paid him a visit. Struck with the beauty of Vasavambâ, the merchant's daughter, the king demanded her in marriage. The merchant was placed in a fix. It was impossible to decline the proposed honour, while compliance with the demand would entail loss of caste. The merchant apparently accepted the offer, but secretly he and the heads of the caste determined to commit suicide by burning themselves. Mulla, an old and faithful servant of the merchant, learned his master's secret intention, determined not to be left behind, and begged to be allowed to join his master in his self-sacrifice. To this the Komtis agreed, and Mulla committed suicide with them. In consideration of his devotion to the caste, Mulla's family were created "Hulla Mukkalu," and their descendants have ever since enjoyed certain privileges.

A similar sub-division is to be found among the following castes:—

(i.) Kurubaru (shepherd).

(ii.) Agasu (washerman).

(iii.) Sevacharra, Gowdagalaru (ryots who wear the lingam).

(iv.) Gandigaru, Vokkaliga (a sub-division of the caste which furnishes most of the ryots in Mysore).

(v.) And, strange to say, the "Malidigaru," or lowest left-hand caste, and who live by working up leather.

The "Hullo Mukkalu" of each caste will receive alms only from the members of its own parent stock. Beyond learning their names I have been able to glean nothing of their origins. The principal duty of the "Hullo Mukkalu" appears to be learning the pedigree of those members of the parent caste in his immediate neighbourhood, which he carefully repeats when on his beat.

J. S. F. MACKENZIE.

*6th December* 1872.

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SELECTIONS FROM MR. SHERRING'S WORK ON "HINDU TRIBES AND CASTES."

GOSAIN.

Gosain is so vaguely employed by ", that it becomes necessary to explain its various significations, and also to show in what sense it furnishes the name to a distinct caste. Commonly, any devotee is called a Gosain, whether he lives a life of celibacy or not, whether he roams about the country collecting alms or resides in a house like the rest of the people, whether he leads an idle existence or employs himself in trade. The mark, however, that distinguishes all who bear this name is, that they are devoted to a religious life. Some besmear their bodies with ashes, wear their hair dishevelled and uncombed, and, in some instances, coiled round the head like a snake or rope. These formerly went naked, but being prohibited by the British Government to appear in this fashion in public, bid defiance to decency nevertheless by the scantiness of their apparel. They roam about the country in every direction, visiting especially spots of reputed sanctity, and as a class are the pests of society and incorrigible rogues. They mutter sacred texts or mantras, and are notably fond of uttering the names of certain favourite deities. Some of them can read, and a few may be learned; but for the most part they are stolidly ignorant. Others, of a much higher grade, reside in *maths* or monasteries, where they lead a life of contemplation and asceticism. Yet they quit their homes occasionally, and, like the first-named, undertake tours for the purpose of begging, and also proceed on pilgrimage to remote places. Most of them wear a yellowish cloth, by which they make themselves conspicuous. Fakirs or devotees of both of these classes usually wear several garlands of beads suspended from their necks and hanging low down in front; and carry a short one in the hand, which, by the action of a thumb and finger, they revolve perpetually but slowly, keeping time with the low utterances proceeding from their lips. They also bear upon their foreheads, and frequently on other parts of their bodies, particularly the arms and chest, sacred marks or symbols, in honour of their gods.

In addition, there is a considerable number of Gosains, not however separated from the rest by any caste distinctions, who, although by profession belonging to this religious class, apply themselves nevertheless to commerce and trade. As merchants, bankers, tradesmen, they hold a very respectable position. Some carry on their transactions on a large scale. One of the principal bankers in the city of Mirzapur is a Mahant or high-priest of Gosains—a certificate of great wealth and influence.

One of the chief peculiarities of this caste is, that besides its natural increase from within, it is constantly adding to its numbers from without—Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śudras; the two former specially may, if they choose, become Gosains; but if they do so, and unite with the members of this fraternity in eating and drinking, holding full and free intercourse with them, they are cut off for ever from their own tribes. It is this

circumstance which constitutes the Gosains a distinct and legitimate caste, and not merely a religious order.

The ceremony observed at the creation of a Gosain is as follows. The candidate is generally a boy, but may be an adult. At the S'iva-ratri festival (in honour of S'iva), water brought from a tank, in which an image of the god has been deposited, is applied to the head of the novitiate, which is thereupon shaved. The *guru*, or spiritual guide, whispers to the disciple a *mantra* or sacred text. In honour of the event all the Gosains in the neighbourhood assemble together, and give their new member their blessing; and a sweetmeat called *laddu*, made very large, is distributed amongst them. The novitiate is now regarded as a Gosain, but he does not become a perfect one until the Vijaiya Hom has been performed, at which a Gosain, famous for religion and learning, gives him the original *mantra* of S'iva. The ceremony generally occupies three days in Benares. On the first day the Gosain is again shaved, leaving a tuft on the top of the head called in Hindi Chundi, but in Sanskrit, Shikha. For that day he is considered to be a Brahman, and is obliged to beg at a few houses. On the second day he is held to be a Brahmachari, and wears coloured garments, and also the *janeo* or sacred cord. On the third day the *janeo* is taken from him, and the Chundi is cut off. The *mantra* of S'iva is made known to him, and also the Rudri Gayatri (not the usual one daily pronounced by Brahmans). He is now a full Gosain or *vanparast*, is removed from other persons, and abandons the secular world. Henceforth he is bound to observe all the tenets of the Gosains. The complete Gosains, who have performed the ceremony of Vijaiya Hom, are celibates. It is customary therefore for men not to perform it until they are forty or fifty years of age, as it involves the abandonment of their wives and families. Gosains will eat food in the houses of Brahmans and Rajputs only. At death their bodies are not burnt, but are either buried or thrown into the Ganges.

DANDI.

The Dandis are neither a caste nor a tribe of Hindus, but are an order of devotees. As they keep themselves very distinct from the rest of the community, they demand a separate notice. Their habits are peculiar. One of them has supplied an appellation for the entire class, derived from their habit of always carrying a staff in the hand. Hence the name Dandi, from *danda*, a stick. They are Brahmans and receive disciples only from the Brahmans.

The Dandis do not touch fire, or metal, or vessels made of any sort of metals. It is impossible, therefore, for them to cook their own food like other Hindus; it is equally impossible also for them to handle money. They wear one long unsewn reddish cloth, thrown about the person. Although they are on principle penniless, yet they do not beg. Their dependance on the kindness and care of others is thus of the most absolute character, yet they are not reduced to want, or even to distress: they are fed by the Brahmans, and the Gosains, another class of devotees, but of lax principles, and not restricted to any one caste. The Dandis do not marry, and have no houses of their own. They have literally nothing they can call their own, except a diminutive mat to lie upon, a small pillow, the cloth they wear, a stick, and a *kamandal* or hermit's pot for holding water. The stick they use at the age of fifty, previously to which they are only disciples, and are not called Dandis.

Not a few of this religious order are learned men, and devote a large portion of their time to study and meditation. They are great readers of the S'astras, such as the Mimansa, Nyâya, Manjuka, and others, and also of the Purânas. Many Brahmans, even Pandits, or learned Brahmans, come to them for instruction, which they impart freely without the smallest recompense. All classes of the community pay them the greatest honour, even to worshipping them. They are addressed as Swâmî Ji, that is, master, lord, spiritual teacher. Although they are said to worship idols, yet they make no obeisance to them. They are singularly independent in all their actions, and make no *salâm* or sign of respect to any object, human or divine.

TRIDANDI.

A species of Gosains, originally they bore a trident as their emblem; hence the name which they assume. This practice, however, has ceased to be observed. They are S'aivas, or worshippers of S'iva, and in habits are like Gosains. The Tridandis do not marry. Their bodies after death are buried, not burnt.

JOGI.

This class, or order, is of many kinds. Some are prognosticators of future events; others lead about animals of monstrous formation in order to excite religious wonder and curiosity; others have their ears split and wear in them a kind of ear-ring for sacred purposes. Persons of all castes can, in these latter days, enter the order; but this was not the rule originally. Jogis are not particular on the subject of marriage, and some of them take to themselves wives. At death their bodies are buried; and their tombs, termed *Samadh*, are held in sacred estimation, and are often visited by pilgrims for idolatrous purposes.

The term Jogi or Yogi is properly applicable, says Mr. Wilson, "to the followers of the Yoga or Patanjala school of philosophy, which, amongst other tenets, maintained the practicability of acquiring, even in life, entire command over elementary matter by means of certain ascetic practices."

BRAMHACHARI.

This name is given to a sect of Brahman ascetics. They wear red cloth and the *rudraksh*, let their hair and beard grow, and besmear their bodies with

ashes. They are worshippers of Śiva. The Bramhacharis live as recluses apart from their families and at death their bodies are burnt.

The word Bramhachari is also applied to a religious student, to persons learned in the Vedas, and in various other ways.

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## THE HILL TRIBES OF THE NEILGHERRIES.

(*Madras Standard, Oct.* 18.)

NEXT to the Badagas, in importance and numbers, are the Kotahs. They live in seven Kotagherries or villages situated far apart on the hills, so that each Kotah village has its own set of Badagas, for whom they make tools, ropes, baskets, jewels, and whose funerals they attend with their musical instruments. The Kotahs are of very low caste, they will eat from any one, and do not object to devouring carrion of all sorts; they are not particular how an animal dies, and during a murrain the Kotahs feast and fatten. They cultivate the soil with a little more care than the Badagas, but grow the same grains, &c., and in the same style. They keep cattle, which they sometimes kill for food, but strange to say they do not milk them. Their Shukars (funeral ceremonies) and marriage ceremonies are much the same as those of the Badagas, though they do not spend as much money on those occasions. They are far more independent than the Badagas, and do not care to work for Europeans. Their iron-work is of the coarsest description. They, however, make hatchets, adzes, and bill-hooks pretty well, and their neighbours like them better than English tools. They are very keen after game. A few can shoot, and if any one they know to be a good shot gives notice at a village, the inhabitants will all turn out, yelling and shrieking after sambur. They make a strong durable rope out of buffaloe hide, much sought after by Badagas for fastening their cattle, &c. Their women work up a sort of black clay, found in swamps, out of which they make pots for themselves and neighbours; but of a very inferior kind. One most remarkable circumstance amongst these people is that they actually court venereal disease; a young man who has not suffered from this before he is of a certain age is looked upon as a disgrace! It is hardly necessary for me to say that they are vilely dirty in their habits, and most immoral. Their language is a most discordant jargon, entirely different from that spoken by any other of the hill tribes, and I have heard them boast of the fact that no one but themselves can understand it.

Next to these gentry come the Todahs: their men are generally fine handsome fellows, and I have heard some of their women spoken of as beauties. They are, however, a lazy, good-for-nothing lot; they do no work at all beyond tending their buffaloes, cutting sticks, seeking honey and building their munds or villages, for which they certainly choose very pretty sites. They get all their grain from the Badagas and Kotahs; a good part of it is paid to them as a sort of black-mail, which they used to levy with much rigour and authority; but since their neighbours have got more independent, and know that Government will protect them from injustice, this levy is paid more from custom than fear, and I dare say before long the Todahs will have to buy all the grain they require. The Todahs formerly would not allow the Badagas to graze their cattle in the neighbourhood of their munds: now, however, the latter tribe build kraals far out amongst, and even beyond, the Todah munds, and feed their buffaloes with those of their would-be masters with impunity. They burn their dead without much ceremony at the time, except that the corpse must be burned only at [certain] phases of the moon. Should a man die on what [they consid]er a bad day, his body is kept in the hut over 10 or 15 days till a "good day" comes! They after[wards have] a "Kerd" or killing of buffaloes, which are supposed to minister to the wants of their owners in the happy land of departed Todahs. Formerly all the buffaloes a man had were despatched after him. Government has now put a restriction on the number, and the Todahs are not allowed to kill them without notice being given to, and permission obtained from, the authorities. The Todahs greatly object to this restriction; but I know they are really very glad, because the greater number of cattle they have, the more ghee, and consequently the more rupees, are procured. They do not like to have many women amongst them, and it used to be a custom among them to kill all the female children but one which a woman might bear. In former times these murders were perpetrated with much ceremony and feasting; latterly they were more quietly performed, till Government put a stop to them altogether. The Todahs do not, however, seem any better for it. Three and four men are supposed to have only one wife in common. Any children she may bear are common to all. Like the Badagas and Kotahs, they are very immoral. The women do nothing but lounge about the munds, butter their hair and cook. The Todahs eat a variety of greens, the heart of the thistle, fungi, tender shoots of bamboo, and meat, when they can get it. They kill young bull calves and eat the flesh, but will not touch that of grown cattle; they will do anything for sambur or ibex, though they never shoot or capture game themselves. They are terrible thieves, and many sportsmen have lost game through the tricks of their Todah shikaries.

Last come the Kurumbas; they are not very numerous about the Neilgherries; they live in horrible dirty villages at the foot of the hills, amongst the thickest forest teeming with jungle fever; they are of the sect known in Wynaad as "Jeun" or "honey" Kurumbas. They get this name from their chief employment, which is seeking honey. They used to live almost entirely on roots, but of late years they have found it remunerative to cultivate their soil, and their clearings are much larger than they used to be. They never take more than three or four crops off the same piece. They burn their dead with very little tamasha. Besides supplying the Badagas with the elephant pole required at their Shukars, the Kurumbas have to sow the first handful of grain for the Badagas every season, for which service they receive a small quantity of the crop. Unlike their neighbours, the Kurumbas are a very small, emaciated lot; nevertheless they are very active and will out-walk any other natives. They have incredibly keen eye-sight, gained from constantly watching the bee to its hive. When they find one not quite ready to take, they place a couple of sticks in a certain position; this sign will prevent any other Kurumba from taking the honey ("a rule of their own"), and no Badaga or other hill man would meddle with it on any account, for fear of being killed by sorcery, for they dread the Kurumba more than any wild beast; indeed their fear of them is so great that a simple threat of vengeance has in some cases proved fatal. This, I believe, has originated from Kurumbas having at different times poisoned Badagas in a secret underhand way, so as to make their deaths appear as if caused by supernatural agency. In times gone by, when the Kurumbas of a village became very notorious, Todahs, Badagas, and Kotahs would combine, surround the village at night, and murder all the inhabitants. For following elephants and bison they are invaluable assistants, as they will never lose or mistake a track. They, however, dread the charge of an elephant, and though they will put you near the game very well, they scamper up trees the instant any danger appears; indeed I have known them vanish almost mysteriously when a rogue elephant was in question before a shot was fired. They have a jargon of their own, apparently a mixture of Canarese, Malayalam, and Tamil.

RIFLE.

# THE CHANDEL THÂKURS.

BY F. N. WRIGHT, B.A., Oxon., B. C. S.

AMONG the many tribes that by migration, whether its cause were conquest, or the mere desire to obtain relief from an over-crowded home, have established themselves in the Antarbed, the Chandel Thâkurs present perhaps as interesting a history as any. The following particulars are derived from two family histories (Banswala)—the one belonging to the now extinct branch of Sheorâjpûr, and the other to that which, first establishing itself in Sachendi, has covered with its numerous ramifications the whole of the south of parganah Jâjmau, zilla Kânhpûr. The former history is in Persian, the latter in Hindi; and the characteristics of each are so strongly marked, and have so important a bearing on the accuracy of the facts which they relate, that it is necessary briefly to call attention to them.

The account contained in the Persian MS. was compiled by order of the last râjâ, Sati Prasâd, in A. D. 1841. The main object of the compilation being an elaborate statement of the rights due to, and the wrongs suffered by, the Sheorâjpûr râj, little space is devoted to the pre-historic period; but the details of the more recent events are concise and particular. Though, however, the phraseology is elegant, and graceful couplets on the attributes of various râjâs break the monotony of somewhat dry detail, the reader is not encouraged to linger till he arrives at the commencement of English rule, when the fortunes of the powerful clan began to totter—their final ruin being *accomplished by the disloyalty of their chieftain* in 1857, and his imprisonment and subsequent death in a stranger's house. The Hindi MS., also of comparatively recent date,* is the compilation of one or more bards; and containing probably the material for many an epic, chanted to admiring and wondering audiences round the village *chaupâl*, it is full of mythical and exaggerated details, which, whatever lustre they may lend to the proud family to which they refer, decidedly lessen our faith in the accuracy of all that is not supported by collateral evidence. While, therefore, the Hindi MS. is of value in so far as it corroborates the more precise record of the Persian document, compiled from papers actually in possession of the writer at the time of writing, though lost subsequently in the mutiny, it is to the latter we must look for a trustworthy description of the manner in which the Chandels came to establish themselves so far from their original home.

The Chandels trace their origin through Chandra, the moon, up to Brahma, the great creative principle, including in their pedigree historic names, such as Jijât and Pûr.† From Brahma to Sati Prasâd, the last acknowledged râjâ, 118 generations are numbered; but the various pedigrees collated contain several discrepancies in the earlier names, some of which are noted below. The mythical origin of the Chandels is thus described by the Hindi MS.:—"Hemvati was daughter of Indarjit,‡ Gahlwâr Thâkur, Râjâ of Banâras; with her at midnight the Moon had dalliance: she awoke when she recovered her senses, and saw the Moon returning to his own place. She was about to curse him, and said—"I am not a Gautam woman" (this allusion is obscure), when he replied—"The curse of Srî Krishn has been fulfilled; your son will become very great, and his kingdom will extend from sunset to sunrise." Hemvati said—"Tell me that spell by which my sin may be absolved." Chandra said—"You will have a son, and he will be your absolution;" and he gave her this spell—"Go to Âsu, near Kâlingar, and there dwell. When within a short time of being delivered, cross the river Kin (?), and go to Khajrain, where Chintâman§ Banya dwells, and live there with him. Your son shall perform a great sacrifice. In this iron age sacrifices are not perfect. I will appear as a Brâhman and complete the sacrifice: then your absolution will be perfect."

The fruit of this intrigue was Chandra Varma (called in the Persian MS. Chandra Puras, or Chandra Deo); and the date of his birth is given as Kâtik Badi 4, Sambat 204. From him to the well-known Parmâl Deo, whose fort, Kâlingar, was taken by Kûtb-ûd-dîn, A. D. 1202 (Sambat 1258),‖ there are, according to the Persian MS., 49 generations; but the Hindi MS. reckons only 28. The chronology of the

* I have in vain attempted to fix the *exact* date of compilation: it is probably not the work of one time only.

† This pedigree I have collated most carefully with others in possession of cadet branches. As it is a mere list of names, I do not give it here.

‡ "Of Hemrâj, Brâhman in Indarjit's service."—*H. Elliot.*

§ The descendants of this Chintâman for many years retained the office of Diwân to the Chandel râjâs.

‖ Elliot's *Ind. Hist.*, II. 231.

latter, however, is glaringly incorrect: the duration of the reigns of successive râjâs never agrees with the period given in the dates of each succession; while Pârmâl Deo's reign is dated 1044 Sambat, or a discrepancy of over 200 years from the date mentioned above. The date given by the Persian MS. of the succession of Sabhâjit, son of Parmâl Deo, 1223 Sambat, agrees more closely with that of the Hindi MS. The Persian MS. probably errs in excess of names; as, for instance, when brother succeeds brother on the *gaddi*, and the reign of the second is reckoned as that of a separate generation. It is clear, however, that no correct date can be assigned to any tribe in the long pedigree till the invasion of the Muhammadans.*

Chandra Varma, then, the reputed son of Chandra, established his dynasty after a series of battles waged, according to the Hindi MS., by countless hosts of horsemen, who were paid from extravagantly exaggerated treasures in Chande Chandâwal in the Dakhan. To him and his successors the same MS. gives almost universal empire in India: he is represented as annually making expeditions with enormous armies and immense treasures, conquering râjâ after râjâ, and exacting tribute from the kings of Rûm and Ceylon. He, it is said, founded the fort of Kâlingar; and branches of his family settled themselves in the Kârnâtik, in Kallu Kanhâr, in Mîrat, the Sambal country (Rohilkhand), and Kumâon. The latter râj was founded by Mânikchand, fifth in descent from Parmâl Deo, and son of Bihr Deo, who reigned at Kanauj, according to the Persian MS.; while the Hindi MS. gives Kândar Varma, grandson of Chandra Varma, as the founder.†

It would seem fruitless to endeavour to define the exact limits of the territory actually subject to any one râjâ (as is attempted in Elliot's *Supp. Glossary*); for the claims of each to universal empire are mere romance, dexterously coloured by the bard with glowing accounts of huge armies, countless treasures, and innumerable marriages.

I divide the history of the Chandels into the following dynasties:—

The Chande Chandâwal.

The Chanderi—
founded by Damkhoh (Persian MS.)
Bir Varma (Hindi MS.)

The Mahoba—
founded by Madan Varma (Persian MS.)
Mân Varma (Hindi MS.)

The Kanauj, founded by Sabhâjit.

The Sheorâjpûr, founded by Sheorâj Singh.

Of these five dynasties, those preceding the Mahoba line are pre-historic. Instead of the 18 râjâs of Mahoba given in Elliot's *Glossary*, the Persian MS. gives but 8, and the Hindi MS. but 14. I give them here.

Mân Varma.
Gyân Varma.
Jân Varma (? Nandâ, Gandâ—Ell. *Gloss.*)
Gaj Varma.
Kîi Varma (? Kîrat Varma—Ell. *Gloss.*)
Sakat Varma.
Bhagat Varma.
Jagat Varma.
Rahlia Varma.
Sûraj Varma.
Rûp Varma.
Madan Varma.
Kîrat Varma.
Parmâl Deo,

after whom the suffix "Deo" was invariably used.

Of the causes of the several migrations, no satisfactory explanation is given in either MS. If we accept the Mahoba as the only genuine Chandel dynasty, the two preceding dynasties can represent only the settlement of junior branches of original stock in convenient situations. It is, however, quite as reasonable to consider the whole lineage as one, and the migration to Mahoba (which is certainly not the original birth-place of a Chandel tribe, if name is any guide) as induced by the same causes as those that led to the subsequent migrations. With respect to the migration to Mahoba, the Persian MS. says:—"At this time the râjâ of Kanauj, a Gahlwâr, who till this time was rich and prosperous, first from the blows received at the hands of Rai-Pithaura, and afterwards from the pressure of Shahâb-ûd-dîn Afghan Ghori, left his home and established himself in Banâras. Then Sabhâjit, by advice of his wazîrs and khedives, established himself in Kanauj." The Hindi MS., in a long involved passage attributing the destruction of Kanauj to Prithirâj, says—"Then Sabhâjit left Mahoba for Kanauj." This leaves the impression that the Chandels, finding the reputedly fertile and wealthy Kanauj open

* I regret I have not General Cunningham's account of this interesting race to verify the date, 800 A.D., given as that of their rise (it would seem to me to be that of Chanderi, the râjâs of Chande Chandâwal being eliminated); this sketch, however, is intended to show only what is contained in genuine native histories.

† I have endeavoured, without success, to obtain accurate information on this point.

to them, crossed the Jamuna for the fertile plains of the Doâb.

Both MSS. are agreed that for eight generations the head-quarters of the clan were at Kanauj, though the year of the migration thither is given by the Persian MS. at Sambat 1223, and by the Hindi one as 1180—a comparatively trifling discrepancy.

The eight râjâs of Kanauj were—

Sabhâjit.
Gyâs Deo.
Ghansyâm Deo.
Bihr Deo.
Lahr Deo.
Sûp Deo.
Bâs Deo.
Khakh Deo.
Dhâm Deo.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sheorâj Deo founded Sheorâjpûr. | Pat Deo founded Pachor. | Lag Deo founded Sapihi. |
| Raja. | Rawat. | Rao. |
| From this branch descended the *Râwat* of Onha. | From this branch descended the *Rânâ* of Sakrej. | From this branch descended the *Râwat* of Râwatpûr. |

A sort of intermediate migration was made from Kanauj to Râdhan, where the remains of a large fort overlooking a wide expanse of country bear silent witness to departed greatness. The Persian MS. gives the following account:—"Sheorâj Deo founded Sheorâjpûr and called it after his own name, so that from Kumâon to Karra (Mânikpûr*) the whole country of Kanauj was in his possession. Since the rule of the Muhammadans had been established now for some time, all the râjâs and great men of the country attended the emperor's court, and amongst them Sheorâj Deo, regarding whom it was ordered that leaving Kanauj" (where he was probably too strong) "he was to reside in Tappa Râdhan and Bilhat, in the parganah of Bithûr, where is 'Sita Rasoi.' Sheorâj accordingly, obeying the emperor's order, left the fort of Kanauj, and first building a fort in Râdhan lived there; and afterwards founding Sheorâjpûr, he established his rule there. While he lived in Kanauj he had soldiers, horse and foot, numerous as the waves of the sea, so that to enumerate them is impossible. They say that when the râjâ went for a short time to Karra, horsemen carried to him the betel leaf prepared for him daily in his home, before the hour of midday meal." The Hindi MS. simply says:—"In 1383 Sambat. Sheorâj Deo came to Sheorâjpûr, and, destroying the fort of Râdhan, founded Sheorâjpûr." The fort at Râdhan certainly appears too massive to have served as head-quarters for so brief a time as would appear from the Persian MS. It probably dates from before the Chandel incursion.

The object, therefore, of this last migration is not clearly brought out. From the analogy of the settlements of Gaur Thâkûrs in Nârh, parganah Rasûlabad, the Mughuls of Bârah and the Chauhâns of Mohânâ, parganah Akbârpûr, zilla Kânhpûr, it would seem that the Meos (Mewâs, Mewatis, whose rule is invariably put at 500 years back, as having preceded the existing clans) becoming turbulent and lawless, the aid of the stronger Hindu râjâs was accepted by the emperor, and grants of land bestowed upon them for their services. In Elliot's *Glossary* it is said:—"The Chandels of Sheorâjpûr in Kânhpûr are represented to have received from the Gautams 62 villages in that parganah, having been induced to leave Mahoba after the defeat of their chief, Birnaditya,† by Prithirâj." This account of the origin of the Chandel influence in zilla Kânhpûr is not confirmed by either of the MSS.; nor is it perhaps probable that it would be, even if true. It takes, moreover, no account of the Kanauj dynasty. The 62 villages, however, are well known to the present day, and formed the râjâ's tâlûka under our settlements.

I have shown above the principal branches of the original Chandel stock; of these, the Pachor branch is extinct, and the Sakrej branch practically so. The rânâ still grasps at some remnant of clan-authority, and his attendance at weddings is sought after to give the ceremony *éclat*. On the death of the rânâ, those of the brotherhood who still warm to their old nobility meet and, contributing small presents of grain, clothes, and money, go through the ceremony of imprinting the *tilak*. The other branches still flourish, the representative of Onha being the picture of a Râjpût squire. The last titled occupant of the Sheorâjpûr *gaddi*, accused of disloyalty, was stripped of all his landed property—mutilated as its value was by the conferment of sub-proprietary rights on the Mukaddams at the last settlement—and thrown into jail; and after the expira-

* Zilla Fattehpûr.

† No such name in the pedigrees.

tion of his sentence he died dependent on the charity of a Brâhman landowner, to whom all the *sanads* were left. Of the original given by Akbâr to Râjâ Râmchandra, I append a translation.

The original branches, therefore, possessed themselves of the old parganahs, Sheorâjpûr, Sheoli, and Bithûr, and also stretched over the river Pandu into parganah Akbârpûr. One branch, however, the renegade branch of Sachendí, remains to be noticed. The Persian MS., which gives a clearer account than the Hindi one—belonging to the Sachendi family—says, regarding their rise:—"They say that Harsingh Deo, son of Karkaj Deo, a brother of Karchand, who lived at Bihâri (? Pyâri), on the banks of the Ganges, had a son, Hindu Singh, very strong and great, but infamous for his oppression of the rayats. At that time Râjâ Indarjît, hearing of this, was grievously offended. One day that very man, passing through Lachhmânpûr Mierân, got up a quarrel with the inhabitants, and began to oppress them greatly. The Brâhmans complained to the râjâ, and set forth all the oppression they had undergone. The râjâ, becoming very angry, wrote to him, ordering him to leave his home and seek another country, and warned him that to eat and drink in this country was forbidden him : it were better he went elsewhere. He then, with all his belongings, went and settled in Tappa Sapihi (v.s.), and became the servant of the Râo of Sapihi. At that time fortune so favoured Hindu Singh that he rose to great power, and built forts in Behnor and Sachendi, and established his rule over a large tract of country, and engaged thousands of soldiers, horse and foot, and obtained victories in many battles waged against him. His fame was noised abroad, and he assumed the title of Râjâ of Sachendi." From the Hindi MS., however, the family history of the Sachendi line, we obtain the following account of the rise of that family, which overran the whole south of Jâjmau, and eventually got the territory under the old family temporarily in its grasp. "The 35th was Gargaj Deo, who had two sons—Karchan Deo, by a concubine, and Harsingh Deo, the sister's son of the Tilakchand Bais. When Gargaj Deo died, Karchan Deo and Harsingh Deo disputed about the succession, hearing which Tilakchand came to the râni and desired she would give the râj to Harsingh Deo. She refused, and set Karchan Deo upon the *gaddi*. ... Deo left Sheorâjpûr, came to Behnor, and founded Bir-(? Har-)singhpûr and a second *gaddi*." The truth appears to be more with the latter account, Hindu Singh being a descendant some generations distant of Harsingh Deo, and living in the reigns of Indarjît and Hindûpat, cotemporary of Firoz Shah, to which râjâs, says the MS., "Hindu Singh, in spite of his power, never failed in respect, nor committed so grave an offence as that of his son, Sambhar Singh." Hindu Singh's power indeed became so great, and his contumacy so determined, that the reigning emperor got the Badauria râjâ to attack him and expel him the country, the great forts of Behnor, Sachendi, &c., being given over to the Badaurias. Sambhar Singh, however, returned 18 years after, and recovered the whole of the lost territory. This same Sambhar Singh rose to such power, that he ousted the young Risâl Singh (who had to fly the country), and obtained title-deeds to the greater part of the country, and established a "Thâna in Sheorâjpûr." With the aid, however, of Nawâb Najaf Khân, Nâzim of Nawâb Wazîr-ûl-Mamâlik Asf-ûd-Daulah, he (Risâl Singh) re-established his authority over the whole parganah of Sheorâjpûr.

Thenceforth the history is but of local interest, the Persian MS. being an account of the râjâ's relations with the English, and the Hindi MS. a barren list of names, useless except for the purpose of tracing the founding of any particular village.

The above pretends to no scientific accuracy, but is merely a *resumé* of the more interesting portions of two genuine family histories translated by the writer. In reality the Hindi MS. is devoted to the wonderful doings of Parmâl Deo and his heroes, Ala and Udal, whose feats absorb quite half the volume. For grace of style (notably in the account of how Hindûpat was persuaded to marry again, though blind, after the death of a favourite son) the Persian MS. is greatly to be preferred, but for a thorough sample of a family history the Hindi MS. is specially valuable.

*Sanad of Jalal-ûd-dîn Akbâr to Râjâ Râmchand.*

Since it has been brought to our notice that from time of old, according to immemorial custom, Rs. 15,000 for support, and one "tinka" per cultivated bigha by right of seigniory from the villages of parganah Bithûr, Sirkâr Kanauj, by title of zamindâri, have been received by my good friend Râmchandra Chandel, and that he is in possession of full enjoyment of that grant and fees : he has petitioned our majesty that an

order be passed that the abovementioned grant and fees, by title of *zamîndâri from the villages* above mentioned, according to former custom, be continued in his possession and enjoyment from Rabi; that from year to year, and from harvest to harvest, he may enjoy and possess them; and being a true and loyal servant, may for ever pray for our greatness and prosperity. Be it ordered, therefore, that all officers and servants, Jâgîrdârân and Croriân, now and for ever, obeying this order, and accepting those rights as free, complete, and fixed, leave them in his possession, nor change nor alter in any respect, nor interfere in any way, nor demand a fresh title.

95 *Villages.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Râdhan ... | 44 villages. | Bhaibedi... | 6 villages. |
| Bilhat ...... | 12 ,, | Haveli...... | 18 ,, |
| Phalphandi | 7 ,, | Barua ...... | 8 ,, |

*Note.*—Of the above, only Râdhan and Barua are names of villages: the remainder are local definitions of areas now extinct.

## THE EARLY VAISHNAVA POETS OF BENGAL.

### I. BIDYA'PATI.

By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

Having, in the introductory essay, given a general view of the subject of Vaishnava literature in its philosophical and general aspect, I propose now, in this and succeeding papers, to analyze more in detail the writings of some of the principal early masters, with special reference to their language. The Vaishnavas are the earliest writers in Bengali, and in them we trace the origin of that form of speech. In Bidyâpati indeed the language is hardly yet definitely Bengali: it is rather an extremely eastern member of the wide-spread group of dialects which we call, somewhat loosely, Hindi—a group whose peculiarities are, in the western portion of its area, allied to Panjâbi and Sindhi, while in the east they have developed characteristics which find their extreme, and almost exaggerated, expansion in modern Bengali.

Very little is known about Bidyâpati. Native tradition represents him as the son of one Bhabânanda Rai, a Brâhman of Baruator in Jessore. His real name was Basanta Rai, and he is mentioned by this name in one of the poems of the *Pada-kalpataru* (No. 1317). The date of his birth is said to be A.D. 1433, and of his death 1481. These dates are probably correct, as his language exhibits a stage of development corresponding to the beginning and middle of the fifteenth century. He mentions as his patrons Rai Sib Singh, Rûpnarâyana, and Lachhimâ Debi, wife of Sib Singh; and in one passage he prays for the "five lords of Gaur" (chiranjiva rahu pancha Gauреswara kabi Bidyâpati bhane). From these indications I should place the poet at Nadiya (Nabadwîpa), afterwards the birthplace of Chaitanya, Rai Sib Singh and the other "lords of Gaur" being wealthy landowners of that district; and we may accept his language as a type of the vernacular of Upper Bengal (Gaur) at that period.

A considerable number of this master's songs, under his *nom de plume* of Bidyâpati (lord of learning), are contained in the *Pada-kalpataru*; and his popularity is probably due to his being only just dead and still in great repute when Chaitanya was born. The reformer is said to have been fond of reciting his poems, as well as those of the Birbhûm poets, Jâyadeva and Chandî Dâs, the former of whom wrote in Sanskrit and the latter in Bengali. The printed edition of the *Pada-kalpataru* is unfortunately very uncritically edited; and the compiler, Vaishnaba Dâs (or, as modern Bengalis would pronounce his name, Boishtob Das), is a man of very modern date, so that there is reason to suspect that a general modernization of the text has taken place, individual instances of which will be pointed out hereafter. Bengali scholars themselves admit this, and do not deny that the process has been ignorantly conducted, many a good racy word of *gánwárî*, or village Hindi, having been mangled to make it bear some resemblance to the modern Bengali, with which alone the editor was acquainted. A reconstruction of the text is not possible until the subject has been more thoroughly handled. Working alone in this virgin field, I am especially anxious to avoid all hasty and unsupported conjectures, and shall therefore treat the existing text as tenderly as possible, only suggesting such amended readings as are obviously demanded by the context, and bearing in mind that the great divergence of modern Bengali pronunciation from the ancient standard may have had some influence on the

spelling, inasmuch as the poems were handed down orally for a long time before they were reduced to writing.

In making selections from this master, we are to a great extent confined to the amatory portions of the collection. The contemporaries of Chaitanya were the first to introduce the chaster poems, which treat of Kṛishṇa's early life in Braj (goshṭha) and Jasodâ's maternal cares (*bâtsalya*). The pre-Chaitanya writers seldom speak of any thing but love of the grossest and most sensual kind.

In transliterating there is much uncertainty and irregularity in respect of the short final *a* sound. Strictly speaking, though omitted in prose, it should always be pronounced in verse; but if this rule were observed in these poems, the metre would be destroyed. As a general rule, Hindi words end with the consonant, and words still in their old Sanskrit form sound the vowel; thus we should read *jab*, *hám*, but *bachana*, not *bachan*. This rule again, however, is constantly neglected; and I have therefore been guided by the practice of the Kirtanias,—or professional singers, whose method of pronunciation depends upon the tune, and has been handed down by immemorial tradition. The Sanskrit *v* and *b* are both pronounced *b* in Bengali, and I have so written them throughout. The text and translation will be accompanied by a few notes explaining the difficult words or constructions; and I shall conclude with an attempt at sketching an outline of the grammar used in the poems.

I.

(Râdhâ's *confidante*, instructs her how to behave at her first interview with Kṛishṇa)

Śun, śun, e dhani, bachana biśesh !
'Aju hâm deyaba tohe upadeś :
Pahila hi baiṭhabi śayanaka sîm,
Heraite piyâ moṛabi gîm,
Paraśite duhun karo bârabi pâni,
Mauna karabi pahun kaïrate bâni,
Jab hâm sonpaba kare kara âpi
Sâth ee dharabi ulaṭi mohe kânpi.
Bidyâpati kaha iha rasa saṭhâṭ,
Kâmguru haï śikhâyaba pâṭ.—I. ii. 22. (49.)*

*Translation.*

Hear, hear, O lady, a special word !
To-day I will give thee instruction :
First indeed thou shalt sit on the edge of the couch ;†
When thy lover would look (at thee), thou shalt turn away (thy) neck ;
When he touches (thee) with both hands, thou shalt put aside (his) hand ;
Thou shalt be silent even when he speaks a word ;
When I shall deliver thee (to him) hand to hand,
Quickly turning thou shalt seize me tremblingly.
Bidyâpati saith—This is delight indeed ;
The tutor of love (am I), I will teach you the lesson.

II.

(Speech of Kṛishṇa's messenger to Râdhâ.)

Jibana châhi jaubana baṛa raṅga,
Tabe jaubana jab supur ukha saṅga ;
Supurukha prem kabahu jâni chhâṛi,
Dine dine chând kalâ sama bâṛi.
Tuhun jaichhe nâgarî kânu rasabant,
Baṛa punye rasabaṭi mile rasabant.
Tuhun jadi kahasi, kariye anusang,
Chauri piriti haye lâkh guṇa sang,
Supurukha aichhan nâhi jag mâjh,
'Ar tâhe anurata baraja samâjh :
Bidyâpati kahe ithe nâhi lâja
Rûp guṇabatikâ iha baṛa kâja.—I. iii. 4. (63.)

*Translation.*

Youth is the greatest delight in life.
Youth is then, when with (one's) lover.
Having (once) known the good man's love, when wilt thou leave it ?
Day by day, like the digits of the moon, it grows.
Sportive as thou art, just so amorous is Kânh :
By great virtue the amorosa meets the amoroso :
If thou sayest, influenced by desire,
Stolen love has a myriad merits,
(Yet bethink thee) such a lover there is not in the world :
All the denizens of Braj are enamoured of him.
Bidyâpati saith—In this there is no shame ;
This is the great business of a beautiful and virtuous woman.‡

III.

(Râdhâ's *confidante* describes her mistress's condition to Kṛishṇa.)

Khelata nâ khelata loka dekhi lâj,

* The first number is that of the S'âkhâ of the Pada-kalpataru ; the second, the Pallab ; the third, the song ; and brackets is the consecutive number which runs ... whole collection, and is after all the easiest to

† cf. Horace Epod. iii. 21—Manum puella suavia opponat tua, *extrema et in sponda cubet*.

‡ To wit, the gratification of sensual desires ! One cannot help wondering what results such teaching as this can be expected to produce ; fortunately these parts of the Vaishnava creed are not often sung before women

Herata nâ herata sahachari mâjh.
Śuna, śuna, Mâdhab, tohâri dohâï!
Bara aparûp âju pekhalu Râï;
Mukharuchi manohar, adhara surang,
Phutala bândhulî kamalaka sang.
Lochana janu thira bhṛinga âkâr
Madhu mâtala kiye uraï nâ pâr.
Bhâṅaka bhaṅgima thori janu.
Kâjare sâjala Madan dhanu
Bhaṇaye Bidyâpati dautik bachane
Bikasala anga nâ jâyat dharaṇe.—I. iv. 5. (80.)

*Translation.*

Sporting, (or) not sporting, on seeing folk (she feels) shame;
Seeing, (or) not seeing, (she remains) among her companions.
Hear, hear, Madhab, the cry for help to thee!
In ill guise have I seen Râï to-day;
The charming brilliance of her face, her tinted lip
(Were as though) the *bândhulî* flowered beside the lotus.
(Her) eye like a fixed bee in shape,
(Which) drunk with honey flies not away.
The slight curve of her eyebrows (is) as though
Love had adorned his bow with lamp-black.
Quoth Bidyâpati—A messenger's word indeed
The budding limbs are not being embraced.

The next example is historically interesting as containing the names of the master's patrons. Legend says that Lachhimâ Debi was to Bidyâpati what Beatrice was to Dante, and Laura to Petrarch; and it is hinted that she was something more; but this latter insinuation seems to be contradicted by his attachment to the husband, Sib Singh, so I prefer not to believe it.

IV.

Sundara badane sindûra bindu sâṅala chikura bhâr;
Janu rabi śaśi saṅgahi uyala pichhe kari andhiyâr'
Râmâ he adhik chandrima bhel:
Kata nâ jatane kata adabhûta bihi bahi tore del.
Uraja ankura chire jhâpâyasi thor thor darśây;
Kata nâ jatane kata nâ gopasi hime giri nâ lukây.
Chanchala lochane baṅka nehârini aṅjana śobhana tây,
Janu in dibara pabane pelila ali bhare ultây.
Bhaṇa Bidyâpati śunaha jubati e sab e rûpa jân,
Rây Sib Singh, Rûpanarâyaṇa, Lachhimâ Debi paramân.—III. xxiv. 7. (1352.)

*Translation.*

On (her) fair face the vermilion spot, black (her) weight of hair,
As though the sun and moon rose together driving away the darkness.
Cho. Ah lady! the moonlight has increased:
With what labour how many charms fate has given to thee!
Thy budding breast thou coverest with thy robe, showing it a very little;
With how much soever labour thou hidest it, the snowy mountain cannot be hid.
Looking sidelong with glancing eye, adorned with collyrium,
Like a lotus shaken by the wind, tilted by the weight of the bees.
Quoth Bidyâpati—Listen, maiden, know that *such as is all this,*
Rai Sib Singh and Rûpnarâyan, (such is) Lachhimâ Debi in truth.

V.

(Description of Spring.)

Âola ṛitupati râja Basant,
Dhâola alikula mâdhabi panth;
Dinakara kiraṇa bhel paugaṇḍ;
Keśara kusuma dharala hema daṇḍ,
Nṛipa âsana naba piṭhala pât;
Kânchana kusuma chhatra dharu mâth;
Mauli rasâla mukuṭa bhel tây,
Samukhahi kokila paṅchama gây.
Śikhikula nâchat alikula jantr,
Ân dwijakula paṛhu âśish mantr.
Chandratap ure kusuma parâg,
Malaya paban saha bhel anurâg.
Kunda billi taru dharala niśan,
Pâṭala tula aśoka dalabân,
Kinsuka labangalata eka sang,
Heri śiśira ṛitu age dila bhang;
Sainya sâjala madhu makhyik kul,
Śiśiraka sabahun karala nirmûl.
Udhârala sarasija pâola prâṇ,
Nija nabadale kara âsana dân.
Naba Bṛindâbana râjye bihâr;
Bidyapati kaha samayaka sâr.—III. xxvi. 7 (1450.)

*Translation.*

The lord of the seasons has come, King Spring; the bees hasten towards the *Madhavi*: the rays of the sun have reached their youthful prime: the *kes'ara* flower has set up its golden sceptre, a king's throne is the fresh couch of its leaves; the *kânchan* flower holds the umbrella over his head, *its fragrant garland is* a crown to him; in front (of him) the koïl sings its sweetest note. The tribe of peacocks dances (like) a swarm of bees, (like) another crowd of

Brâhmans reciting invocations and spells. The pollen of flowers floats like a canopy, toying with the southern breeze. Jasmine and *bel* have planted their standard, with *pâtala*, *tula*, and *as'oka* as generals, *kins'uka* and clove-vine tendrils along with them: seeing (them) the winter-season flies from before (them). The tribe of honey-bees have arrayed their ranks, they have routed entirely the whole of the winter; the water-lily has raised itself up and found life, with its own new leaves it makes itself a seat. A fresh spring shines in Brindâban; Bidyâpati describes the essence of seasons.

VI.

E dhani kamalini śuna hita bâṇi!
Prem karabi ab supurukha jâni.
Sujanaka prema hema sama tul,
Dahite kanaka dwiguṇ haye mûl.
Ṭuṭaïte nâhi ṭuṭe prema adabhut,
Yaichhane bâṛhata mṛiṇâlaka sut.
Sabahu mataṅga jemoti nâhi mâni;
Sakal kaṇṭhe nâhi kokila bâṇi;
Sakal samay nahe ṛitu basant;
Sakal purukh nâri nahe guṇavant;
Bhaṇaye Bidyâpati śuna bara nâri,
Premaka rît ab bujhaha bichâri.—I. v. 8. (109.)

*Translation.*

O lotus-like lady, hear a friendly word! Thou shalt practise love now, having known a good-man. A good man's love is equal to gold, (like) gold in burning it has double value. In breaking, it breaks not (this) wonderful love: it increases like the fibres of the lotus-stalk. All elephants are not of equal breed: not in every throat is the koïl's voice: not at all times is the spring season: not all men and women are excellent: quoth Bidyâpati—Listen, good lady, now having pondered, understand the ways of love.*

I may now attempt to give a sketch, though necessarily little more than a sketch, of the grammar of Bidyâpati, regarded as the vernacular of Upper Bengal at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It will be observed that the distinctive forms of modern Bengali have only just faintly begun to show themselves, and where they do occur they are not so much definite forms as incipient dialectic variations.

The noun has lost all trace of inflection. The nominative is the crude form or base of Sanskrit. Occasionally an *e* is added, sometimes for the sake of the metre, sometimes for emphasis, thus—

Taichhana tohari śobâge (sohâge=saubhâgyâ)—
"Of this kind is thy beauty."
Âpana karama doshe—
"(Your) own deed is (this) fault."

The objective case (under which we must include both accusative and dative) is most frequently left without any sign. The context supplies the sense.

Chintâ nâ kara koi—
"Let no one take thought."
Ropiyâ premer bija—
"Having planted the seed of love."

* In No. I. the following words deserve notice:—

*Baiṭhabi*, the Hindi form of the root with old Bengali termination: modern Bengali would be *basibi gim*=Sanskrit gatvâ.

*Pahun*; this curious word is generally='near,' Skr. pârsve; but it must sometimes be rendered 'again,' and sometimes, as in this instance, it is almost pleonastic.

*Saḍhât*. I am not sure about this word. *That* means generally form, shape,' and in this place we may perhaps render 'this is delight in (full) shape in true guise,' &c.

In No. II., the first line is literally 'having looked at life, youth is the great pleasure,' from which the rendering in the text flows naturally.

*Piriti*=Skr. prîti. Any one familiar with any of the Indian vernaculars will need no aid in this song. The grammatical forms are given further on.

No. III. Strictly speaking, we should read *khelat*, but the metre demands a final short *a*. The eighth line is literally 'having made (*kiye*) drunk (*mâtala*) with honey (*madhu*) is not able (*nâ pâr* for *pâre*) to fly (*urai* for *uraïte*). *Bhâna*='eyebrow.' *Nâ jâyat dharaṇe* is a difficult phrase. It may be *nâjâyat*, 'does not go,' *dharaṇe*, 'in holding'='is not held or embraced;' but this is stiff, and I seek for a better explanation

No. IV. *Sâôla*=Skr. syâmala, Hindi sânwlâ. The third line means 'the moonlight has grown brighter from thy presence' In line 4, *kata nâ* literally 'how much not?' that is, 'what efforts has he not made?' *jatane*=Skr. yatne; *bahi*, 'having brought, having collected.' *Lukây*—present 3 sing from lukâite; lit. 'one does not hide;' this usage is equivalent to a passive. In *pabane pelila* the pret. still shows indications of its old participial origin: it is here 'shaken'=Skr. pîḍitam. The construction of the last two lines is peculiar: the first line is addressed to *Jubati*=yuvati, *i. e.*, Lachhimâ (Lakshmî) Debi herself; but in the second, Rai Sib Singh would seem to be addressed. The translation above aims at reconciling the difficulty by treating the latter as though he were incidentally introduced out of compliment, as usual.

No. V. I leave the names of the flowers in their native dress. Most of them are to be found in any native garden, and they seem more natural and poetical in their own names than if we called them by the sweet dog-latin of the botanists. Tastes differ, but *I* prefer *kes'ari* and *mâdhavi* to *Wrightia antidysenterica* and *Rottleria tinctoria*. The metaphor by which the pistil of the *kes'ari* is compared to a sceptre, and its wide-spread petals to a throne, will be understood by those who know the flower.

*Panchama* is the fifth note in the native scale of music. The notes are *sâ*, *ri*, *ga*, *ma*, *pa*, *dha*, *ni*. The koïl's note is always compared to *pa*, or the *fifth* of these sounds. As I know nothing whatever of music, I can only hope those who do will understand what is meant.

In line 9 the dancing of the peacocks is compared to the intricate movements (*jantra yantra*) of a swarm of bees, and their shrieks, most disrespectfully, to Brâhmans reading. *Madhu makhyik*=Skr. madhumakshikâ; *Isha* is in Bengali *îsha*.

No. VI. It is only necessary to note the form *haye*='is,' the original of modern Bengali *hay*. The grammatical forms are partially explained in the text.

In rare cases, however, the modern Bengali *ke* occurs:

Kânu*ke* bujhâi—
"Having explained to Kânh."

The genitive is most usually left unmarked, the word which governs it being placed after it, in the manner of a Sanskrit Tatpurusha compound. This practice is universal with the early Hindi poets, as *taila bindu*—"a drop of oil;" *rasa gâna*—"song of delight," and the like. Bidyâpati's favourite method of forming the genitive is, however, by the addition of the syllable *ka*; thus—

Sujana*ka* piriti pâshâṇa sama rehâ—
"The love of a good man is firm as stone"
Marama*ka* dukha kahite hay lâja—
"To tell the grief of (my) heart is shame (to me)."
Prema*ka* guṇa kahaba sab koi—
"Every one will say (it is) the effect of love."

This form, in which the final *a* is not always pronounced, is a shortening of the fuller form *kara* or *kar*, which is found—(1) in Bidyâpati's pronouns, as *tâkara bachana lobhâï*, "having longed for his voice;" (2) in the pronouns of the modern Bhojpûrî dialect, as *ikarâ, okarâ*; (3) in a few Bengali words, as *âjkar kâlikar*, "belonging to, *or* of, to-day, to-morrow," &c.; (4) in the plural genitive of Oriya, both in nouns and pronouns, as *râjânkar*, "of kings," *ambhankar*, "of us," where the rejection of the final *r* is also common, so that they say and write *râjânka, ambhanka*; (5) in Marâthî surnames, as *Chiplunkar*=of or from Chiplun. There are several passages in Chand in which the genitive seems to be thus expressed by the addition of *k* only; the context is, however, so obscure, that I fear to quote them in support of the form itself.

In the passage quoted above, *ropiyá premer bîja*, we have the modern Bengali genitive in *er*; but this is, I think, an intentional modernization of the copyist. The line would run just as well if we read *premak*, and this would be more in keeping with Bidyâpati's usual style. It is very unusual in his poems to find the genitive in *er*.

The instrumental and locative cases are both indicated by *e*.

Jo prem*e* kulabati kulatâ hoï—
"That a virtuous woman should become unchaste *through* love."
Man*e* kichhu nâ gaṇalu o ras*e* bhola—
"*In* (my) mind I nothing considered, being foolish *through* that love."
Supurukha* parihar*e* dukha bichâri—
"*On account of* the absence of the lover, having experienced grief."
Ambar*e* badana chhâpâi—
"Hiding (her) face *in* (her) garment."
Dipaka lobh*e* śalabha janu dhâyala—
"*From* desire of the lamp as a moth has run" (*i.e.*, flown).

Occasionally the Hindi *se*, 'with,' occurs, but rarely, as it is liable to be mistaken for the Bengali *se*, 'he.'

E sakhi kâhe kahasi anuyoge,
Kânu *se* abhi karabi premabhoge—
"Ah, dearest! why dost thou question (me)?
Even now thou shalt enjoy love *with* Kânh."

Here again the *e* is added to the objective; *kahasi anuyoge*, "thou dost speak a question;" *karabi prema bhoge*, "thou shalt make an enjoying of love."

Kole leyaba tahunka priyâ—
"Thy love shall take (thee) *in* his arms."

Other postpositions are used with the genitive in *ka*, as *mâjh*, 'in,' *sang*, 'with,' thus:

Haṭha sañe paiṭhaye śrabana*ka mâjh*—
"Suddenly it penetrates *into* the ear."
Phuṭala bândhuli kamala*ka sang*—
"The bândhuli has flowered *with* the lotus."

Sometimes we have the old Hindi form in *hi*, which is there used for all cases of the oblique, though properly a dative, as in the line quoted in a former article (*I. A.*, Vol I. p. 324).

Jâminî bañchasi âna*hi sâta*—
"Thou passest the night *with another*."

There is no distinctive form for the plural. When it is necessary to express the idea of plurality very distinctly, words like *sab*, 'all,' *anek*, 'many,' and the like, are used. Occasionally also we find *gana*, 'crowd,' as a first faint indication of what was subsequently to become the regular sign of the plural in Bengali.

We may now draw out our noun thus—

| | |
|---|---|
| N. | Prema, love. (emphatic) preme. |
| A. | id. |
| D. | id. |
| Instr. | preme, by love. |
| Gen. | premaka, of love. |
| Abl. | premaka mâjh, sang, &c., with, by love. |
| Loc. | preme, in love. |
| Crude form. | premahi. |

In the case of nouns ending in short *i* or *u*, no special inflections have yet been observed. The

* *I. e., supurusha*, 'good man,' used for Krishna, the lover of Râdhâ; *kh* for *sh* as usual in Hindi, though not in Bengali.

Hindi rejects these short vowels, and Bidyâpati seems to follow this rule, changing *rîti* into *rît*, and *vâyu* into *bây* or *bâo*. Nouns ending in long î and û frequently follow the Bengali mode, and shorten those vowels: so we see *dhani* for *dhanî*, *badhu* and *bahu* for *vadhû*.

The pronoun, especially in the 1st and 2nd persons, is singularly Hindi in its general type, leaning towards the Bhojpûri dialect.

The 1st person has lost its real singular, which would probably have been either *haun* or *mu*, and instead thereof the plural *hâm* is always found. This is the case in Bhojpûri, and is introductory to the universal employment in Bengali of *âmi* for 'I,' though this is really a plural, the genuine singular *mui* being now considered vulgar and banished from polite speech. Thus we have

Nâri janame *hâm* nâ karinu bhâgî—

"Born a woman, *I* have not been fortunate."

Jâti goyâlinî *hâm* matihîn—

"*I* am by caste a cowherdess, without wisdom."

Aju bujhaba *hâm* tayâ chaturâî—

"To-day *I* shall understand thy craftiness."

Of the oblique case in its most usual crude form, there are several variations :—

Ki kahasi *mohe* nidân—

"What dost thou say *to me* after all?"

*Mo* bine swapane nâ herabi ân—

"Even in sleep thou shalt see no other but *me*."

Ingite bedan nâ janâyabi *moy*—

"(Even) by a sign thou shalt not show *to me* thy pain."

We even get a form closely approaching modern Bengali in

Bihi *more* dâruṇa bhel—

"Fate has been harsh *to me*."

Here the text has probably been modernized; the poet perhaps wrote *mohe*. The genitive exhibits the Bengali form.

Ki lâgi badanas jhâpasi sundari,

Harala chetana *mor*—

"Wherefore dost cover thy face, O fair one? It has snatched away *my* senses."

Kata rûpe minati karala pahun *mor*—

"In how many ways did he intreat me!"

(Literally "make supplication *of me*:" *minati*=*vinati*).

Sugandhi chandana ange lepala *mor*—

"He rubbed fragrant sandal on *my* body."

In order to avoid lengthening this paper too much, I will for the rest merely give the words which I have found, omitting quotations :—

1st Person.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Sing.* | *Nom.* hâm. | *Plural.* | hâm. |
| | *Obl.* mo. | | [hame.] |
| | moy. | | [hamahin.] |
| | mohe. | | |
| | [more.] | | |
| | mujh. | | hâmâr. |
| | *Gen.* mor. | | hamâri. |

The oblique form used as in the noun for all cases, with or without postpositions.

2nd Person.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Sing.* | *Nom.* tuhun. | *Plural.* | tum, tumhi. |
| | tunhi. | | |
| | *Obl.* to, tore. | | tumahin. |
| | tohe. | | |
| | tuyâ. | | |
| | toy. | | |
| | tujh. | | |
| | *Gen.* tor. | | tuhunka. |

3rd Person.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Sing.* | *Nom.* so, se. | *Plural.* | [tini.] |
| | *Obl.* tâ, tay. | | |
| | tâhe. | | |
| | *Gen.* tâkar. | | tâhâri. |
| | târ. | | |

Leaving the subsidiary pronominal forms, which exhibit no striking peculiarities, I proceed to the verb, all the tenses of which have not yet been found, though the principal parts can either be pointed to in various passages, or inferred by analogy. The latter are inclosed in brackets.

Root Dharaṇa—'holding.'

*Present Tense.*

1. [dhara], I hold.
2. dharasi, thou holdest.
3. dharai, dhare, dharaye, dhara, } he holds.

All four forms of the 3rd person are found, and sometimes even a sort of double form in *eye*, as *mageye*.

*Past Tense.*

1. dharinu, dharalu, } I held.
2. dharali, thou heldest.
3. dharala, he held.

*Future Tense.*

1. dharaba, I shall hold.
2. dharabi, thou shalt hold.
3. dharaba, he shall hold.

*Imperative.*

2. dhara, dharaha, dharahu, } hold thou.
3. dharuk, let him hold.

*Present Participle.*

1. Dharu holding.
2. Dharat (or dharata), holding.

*Infinitive.*

Dharite, } to hold.
Dharaïte, }

This is really the locative case of the present participle *dharat*, and though it is now used as a regular infinitive in modern Bengali, yet in our text it must in most places be translated as a locative. Thus in song No. I. given above, *heraïta* is "in (his) looking," *i.e.* 'when he looks;" *paras'ite*, "in (his) touching," *i. e.*, "when he touches." This sense is retained in the compound present of modern Bengali; thus *dekhitechhi*, "I am seeing," is *dekhite* + *achhi*="I am in (the act of) seeing."

*Conjunctive Participle.*

1. Dhari, }
2. Dhariyâ, } having held.
3. Dhariye, }

The first of these is the old Hindi form so common in all the poets, the second is the modern Bengali form, the third is an intermediate form from the older *dhariyai* of some Hindi poets.

No distinction is made between singular and plural; this is very much the case in modern Bengali, and especially so in the rural dialects, thus—

Sab sakhi meli *sutala* pâśa—

"All (her) friends meeting *slept* beside her."

Where *sutala* agrees with the plural noun. Of the 3rd person imperative, a good example is

Mâna rahuk puna jâuk parâṇa—

"Let honour remain, but let life go."

I do not, of course, pretend to have exhausted Bidyâpati's grammar in these few remarks; but the more salient points have been indicated, partly with a view to fix the master's place in philology, and partly to exhibit the rise of the distinctive formations of modern Bengali.

## NOTES ON JUNNAR TÁLUKA.

By W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C. S.

(*Continued from page 12.*)

Four miles below the Manik Dho stands the city of Junnar, commonly called *Jooner*—a typical specimen of an old Mughul garrison town. It lies upon the slope between the river on the north and the fort of Śivner on the south, and fills up altogether a space of about one mile and a half long and one mile broad, besides the usual contingent of garden-houses, mosques, and cemeteries. In the days of Aurangzeb it was for a long time one of the chief posts of the imperial army, frequently of the Viceroy in person, lying, as it did, in the centre of its group of fortresses, blockading the great routes of the Nânâ and Malsej ghâṭs, and offering every convenience for observing and incommoding the restless Śivâji in his Swarâj.* The population of Junnar, exclusive of fighting-men, must in those days have been from 35,000 to 40,000 souls. It now contains about 8,500, and reminds one, within its ample *enceinte*, of the old pantaloon in "his youthful hose well saved, a world too wide for his shrunk shank." The name Junnar is said to be a corruption of *Jûnâ Nagar*—"the ancient city;" and indeed it is probable that there has always, since traffic and population got any hold on the country, been a considerable town either on the site or in the neighbourhood of the modern Junnar. In the little village of Amarapura, about two miles east of the present city, there are great numbers of sculptured stones built into wells and tombs, apparently themselves the remains of Hindu temples. In the same place Mr. Dickinson, an English gentleman settled on the spot, found a stone which, I think, has been either a lintel or part of a frieze sculptured with a row of sitting figures, apparently Buddhist. There was within a few years ago an old Musalmân Jemadâr hanging about the fort of Châkan, 18 miles north of Puṇâ, in whose family, he said, was a tradition that Malik'ul Tijâr, when he built the fort, brought a great number of large stones from the temples which he destroyed in Amarapura of Junnar. The Châkan fort itself is very much overgrown with prickly-pear and rubbish, and has been many times besieged, and at least twice mined, since the days of Malik'ul Tijâr, which perhaps in part accounts for the fact that I, at any rate, could find no stones there at all corresponding to those of Amarapura. Of an earlier date, probably, than even these ancient remains are some at least of the Bud-

* The Marâthî name of the original kingdom of the Bhonslas, lying between the Bhîmâ and the Nîrâ.

dhist caves that abound in the hills all round the present city, and at about an equal distance from it. This looks as if there had been somewhere near its site an object serving as a centre to them all—*e. g.* a bazâr where the monks could beg.

The best-known is the group called the Ganeśa Lenâ, situated south of the Kûkrî, and about three miles from the city, in the steep face of a hill[1] which the Hindus call Ganeśa Pahâr, and the Musalmâns Takht-i-Sulaimân. The Sulaimân in question was not the son of David, but a fakîr who lived on the top in former days. This hill is the north-east point of the Hattakeśwar range, to be hereafter described. The caves are cut in a ledge of hard rock on its north face, and are in two groups, altogether about a dozen in number. The chief group contains one large vihâra about the size of a three-table billiard-room, one end of which is now occupied by an image of Ganapatí, or, as a pert young Brâhman once put it in my hearing—"Yes; we have set up our *Apollo* there"! This Apollo—not of Belvedere, nor yet of Delos—gives to the hill and the caves the name of Ganeśa Pahâr and Ganeśa Lenâ respectively, and to the neighbouring camping-ground that of Ganesa Mal. He is rather a fashionable deity in Junnar, and in my time used to be an object of pilgrimage from considerable distances. East of the large vihâra is a beautiful little chaitya, having pillars carved in the Kârle style, but with more spirit and execution. The figures are elephants and tigers. The roof has horse-shoe ribs of stone, cut in the living rock; and this, with the superiority of the carving, indicates, I should think, a later date than that of Kârle. The other caves are not in any way specially remarkable, unless that one of them contains a spring of very good water, which the pujâris of Gaṇapatí try to prevent chance visitors from drinking. There is a good flight of steps part of the way up to this group, and a rough path the rest of it. The other half of the Ganeśa Lenâ lies about half a mile further east, in a gorge, and is remarkable for the carving of one doorway (in a chaitya), and for the utter inaccessibility of some of the caves. Whether they were originally approached by means of ropes and ladders, or whether the steps have been destroyed by time, I cannot say. At any rate they are a great comfort to birds and bees. There are some inscriptions in these and the other caves, but they have all, I believe, been recorded by Dr. Bhâu Dâji, and most of them by other people too. The next group of caves is called the Tulsî Lenâ, and is situated about three miles south-west of the town. They are, as far as I understand the matter, rather inferior to the Ganeśa Lenâ, but in much the same style, and worth seeing in any case. The third group however, in the south-western face of the fort of Siwner, presents something new. For whereas the pillars of the Ganeśa and Tulsî caves were of stone, and hewn, as far as possible, out of the rock, generally with a lotus-head, those of this group appear to have been either of wood or of stone deliberately built up; for they are quite gone, and nothing remains but the capitals in each case carved downwards from the lintel of living rock, and having a hole about one inch in diameter in the centre of the inferior face, as if to receive a point or rivet. The shape, too, of the capitals differs, for these are carved in (so to speak) concentric squares. The remains of a similar pattern in red, yellow, black, and white fresco still remained in 1871 on the ceiling of the largest cave—a vihâra, not quite so big as that in the Ganeśa Pahâr. The native legend, as usual, is that the five Pândus hewed out the caves in a night in pursuance of some bargain, that they parcelled out the work among them, and that he to whom this part of it fell was overtaken by morning, and left the pillars unmade. Who the lazy hero was, they cannot tell, but it was not Bhîma, for we shall meet with his handiwork further on. In the north-east face of the fort are two more groups of caves, none of which are of any size. They are mostly small vihâras, with their fronts supported by lotus-headed stone pillars; and the pendant capital which I have described is not found, as far as I recollect, in any of them. In one, however, the same frescoed ceiling-pattern was in existence in my time.

The last of the cave-hills is the Mân Môrî, a long ridge lying east of the fort, and separated from it by a gap called the Bârao Khind. There are three small groups of caves in it, the chief being that attributed to the hero Bhîma, and called after him Bhîma Śankar These are not to be confused with the famous temple of Bhîma Śankar built by Nânâ Faḍnavis at the source of the river of that name. The top of this Mân Môrî hill is the site of a fakîr's shrine, with a cistern, said never to run dry; and the same is the case with a similar shrine and cistern on an

isolated hill opposite. They certainly did not dry up in 1871, but that was after a wet year. These springs on the tops of hills are not uncommon here: there is a very fine one, for instance, on the fort of Nârâyaṇagaṛh, which lies about three miles east of the Puṇâ and Nâśik road, and forms part of the ridge between the Kûkrî and the Minâ, with which we have been dealing. The Nârâyanagaṛh spring has an illegible inscription, apparently in Persian.

But the great lion of Junnar is the fort of Śivner, a huge mass of black rock cresting a green hill—something like an iron-clad on an Atlantic wave—that guards a double pass through the range south of the town. The rock, as has been already mentioned, is honeycombed with many caves, the refuge of hawks and vultures, pigeons and bees innumerable. On the south side it is approached by nine gates, one within the other; and on the north was formerly a secret passage through the rock leading from the Pâga, or cavalry cantonment, that lay at the base of the hill. The Pâga, however, is now marked only by bare mud walls, and a crack in the cliff shows where the English powder-bags destroyed the postern stair. The most conspicuous buildings on the top are a large-domed tomb, and an 'Idgâh, erected in honour of some old Pîrzâdâ. Lower down is a beautiful mosque overhanging a tank. The two minarets are united by a single arch, and form a figure of the greatest simplicity and beauty, standing, as they do, sharp against the sky. I have seen no other building of this design, and do not know whether it is not unique. The idea is said to have occurred to the architect of the church of SS. Michel et Gudule in Brussels, but he was unable to carry it out. This mosque is said to have been designed by, and afterwards finished in memory of, Sultana Chand Bibi, the last and heroic queen of Ahmadnagar; and the tradition of the place is that it was here that she fell a victim to mutineers stimulated by the gold and intrigues of the Mughul. If this be true, it is a most striking instance of historic justice that he who brought down the grey hairs of Aurangzeb with sorrow to the grave, the Marâṭha champion Râjâ Sivâji, was born on the other side of this same fort in, it is to be supposed, the heap of now ruined buildings beside the upper gate, still pointed out as having been the Killadâr's house. There are no remains of any other building likely to have been used as the dwelling of so considerable a lady as the wife of the powerful Shahji Bhonsle. The architecture matches with that of other buildings in the town whose antiquity is proved by their inscriptions, and therefore I have little doubt that in this very building was born the great founder of the Marâṭha power. It is to be regretted that no inscriptions are in existence on the fort. Sayyid Jamâl Alî, the principal Muhammadan inhabitant of Junnar, told me that he remembered a Persian inscription purporting to have been engraved by order of Chand Sultana in the mosque still known by her name. He had too, he said, made a copy of it many years ago for a European sahib, but the inscription had disappeared in my time. The whole top of the fort is covered with rock-hewn cisterns, which contain rain water all through the year, and keep it pretty sweet. The late Dr. Gibson used the fort as a sanitarium, and as a place of confinement for his Chinese convict labourers, one of whom was dashed to pieces in trying to escape over the cliff.

The town below contains many remains of Musalmân grandeur. It was supplied with water by no less than eight different sets of water-works, besides a fine ghâṭ to the Kûkrî. It is said, and the existing remains in part bear out the assertion, that the garrison could, when they pleased, fill the moat from some of these sources; and one of them supplied a curious underground bath still existing in the city fort or gaṛhî (to be distinguished from the hill fort of Śivner) This gaṛhî was itself a place of considerable strength, with large bastions and a flanker to the main gate, which opens north-east. It is now the head-quarters of a Mamlatdâr and subordinate judge, and the flanker is given up for municipal purposes.

In the town itself are some good cisterns of various ages, a fine Jammâ Musjid, and a rather curious, though not ornamental, building known as the Bâwan Chaurî, which, as an inscription on its face records, was built by Akhlis Khân, governor of the fort and city, at a date expressed by the line—"This is the glory of Akhlis Khân;" but what the date was I have forgotten. The building was very ruinous, and has probably been pulled down by this time. There were certain disputes about the proprietorship of this chaurî, and many as to the derivation of the name. Some derived it from the guard of 52 soldiers stationed there, and some from its having been the head-quarters of 52 sub-divisions of the city. The partiality of natives for the number 52 is curious: throughout the

Dakhan, for instance, men speak of the "Fifty-two Berars," which we call East and West *Berar*; and *Tod* quotes a Hindi rhyme—

> "Bâwan Bûrj, chhapan darwâja,
> *Maina mard, Naen kâ râjâ.*"

However, it is possible that the name of this chauri, a purely colloquial one, may be only a corruption of "Bhâwan Chauri," from its Martello-tower-like form. In the suburbs, besides the remains already mentioned, are several fine tombs, especially one very large one said to have been erected over a "Habshi" of the Jinjira family. This, however, I doubt, as the tomb contains several inscriptions in honour of Ali (now defaced by some Sûnnî bigot), and I do not think any of that family have ever been Shîahs. Near to these is a fine garden-house, said to have been built by the same Habshi when viceroy, or deputy viceroy here. But the tradition is obviously unreliable, and even the property in the garden had been lost and abandoned when Mr. Dickinson, mentioned above, came here some 30 years ago, and took up his abode in the old summer palace, which he still inhabits.* This place is called the *Afiz Bagh* which Europeans, rightly or wrongly, improve to *Hafiz Bagh*. The garden is now probably the best in its way in the Dakhan, containing besides all the fruits and vegetables common to Western India, many imported from the Antilles by the proprietor, and a little coffee plantation which thrives exceedingly well, as do also oats. Junnar, however, with all its old buildings and beautiful gardens (for the Hafiz Bagh is only the best among many), is sorely decayed and poverty-smitten; and a Musalmân subordinate of my own once complained bitterly to me of his exile to such a place, "where he could not get a copper big enough to boil a sheep whole at his son's circumcision-feast." This man was in himself a curiosity in a small way, for he was the lineal descendant of Ibrâhim Khân *Gârdi*, the commander of the Peshwa's regular infantry at the last great battle of Pânipat. Ibrâhim Khân was beheaded by the conqueror Ahmad Shah Durânî. His son was consoled by the Peshwa with the grant of the village of *Âhde*, in *tâluka Mâwal*, in *jaghir*, which the family still enjoy. They have the title of Nawâb, and are very proud of their descent; but when this unlucky scion of the line came to Junnar, he found himself among families of [anc]ient Muhammadan race who thought but little of Ibrâhim Khân, the soldier of fortune of less than two centuries ago, and even hinted that an ancestor who had fought for the infidel against the true believers was not to be boasted of. *Hinc* (more than from the dearth of copper-pots) *illæ lacrymæ*. These Musalmân gentlemen of Junnar were my frequent companions in excursions, and pleasant society enough; but they had preserved few traditions of the place, and no written records. Junnar, in fact, never got over the sack of 1657, when nearly every private house in the place was burned or stripped, and doubtless many manuscripts and records shared the common destruction. The chief families are three—(1) the Sayyids, who are Shiahs, and whose head is Mîr Jamâl 'Alî, a great traveller who has done the *Hâj*, and wandered far in Arabia, Persia, and Turkistân; (2) the Pirzâdâ; (3) the *Begs*: these last two are Sûnnî families. They used to have fierce battles every Muharram, but the peace has been pretty well kept of late years, though the old feud still smoulders, ready to break out on the first opportunity. One advantage that I derived from the society of the Sayyids, who, like all Shiahs, are very particular about things clean and unclean, was that I heard debated with great vigour the question whether a man may, or may not, without mortal sin, eat green parrot. The prophet, it appears, forbade his followers to eat that which putteth its foot to its mouth, but elsewhere he permits them to eat every bird that has a craw. Now the parrot fulfils both conditions, and was therefore a subject of considerable debate among the Shiah sportsmen of Junnar. I believe the general opinion was in favour of the legitimacy of parrot on the ground that a parrot in the cold weather is far too good meat to have been forbidden by the prophet. The place has no notable manufacture but that of paper, with which it once supplied the whole Dakhan; but now it is undersold, except for native accounts, by the continental papers brought through the Canal. The Kâgadis, or paper-makers, are all Musalmâns and a very rough and turbulent set they are. If ever a Musalmân outbreak occurs in Western India, it will be necessary to use the wild tribes of the neighbouring ghâts to hold the Muhammadans of Junnar in check. The higher classes have lost power and position, the lower, their employment; and there are the materials for much trouble in the scattered and ruinous houses of the old viceregal city.

* Since this was written I have heard with great regret of my old friend's death.

# COORG SUPERSTITIONS.

BY REV. F. KITTEL, MERKARA.

IN a country like Coorg (Kōḍagu), where, by the side of the Coorgs (Kōḍaga) and their low-caste (Pōleya) servants, about 52 different Hindu tribes (or castes) have been settled for many years it is not easy to find out which of their *superstitions the Coorgs brought with them* at the time of their immigration, and which were imported afterwards. Their superstitions, however, show Maleyâḷa, Tuḷu, Kannaḍa (Canarese), and Brâhmaṇa elements.

The Brâhmans who are domiciled in Coorg have succeeded in introducing Mahâdeva and Subrâhmaṇya (under the name "Iguttappa"), in entirely brahmanizing the worship of the river Kâvêri, in having temples erected and idols set up, in spreading Paurâṇika tales, and in usurping to some extent the pûjâ at the places of Coorg worship. They have been greatly assisted by the Lingaites in these successful endeavours, especially in the introduction of the Linga Tuḷus still manage to smuggle in their demons; Maleyâḷas have made themselves indispensable at demon and ancestor worship, and are also increasing the number of demons; and Maisûrians, at certain times of the year, bring a Mâri Amma and carry it through the country to have the people's vows paid to it.

### (A) COORG ANCESTRAL WORSHIP.

Ghosts, *i. e.*, the spirits of their ancestors, are believed by the Coorgs to hover inside and outside of their dwellings, and to give endless trouble if not properly respected. For their use a Kaymaḍa,* a small building with one apartment, or in some cases with a mere niche, is generally built near the house; or a Kōṭa,† a sort of bank, is made for them under a tree, in the fields where the family's first house has stood. A number of figures roughly beaten in silver plates, bronze images, and sometimes also figures on a slab of pot stone, are put in the Kaymaḍas to represent the ancestors; and sticks surmounted with silver, silver knives, common knives, &c., are kept there by way of memorial. A male ghost is called Kâraṇa, a female one Sōḍalichi or Kâraṇachi.‡

All ghosts, whether male or female, are thought to be troublesome; females even more so than males. The Sōḍalichis have an unpleasant habit of smiting children with sickness, and sometimes also adult male and female members of the house. On various occasions during the year, with a view to appeasing the deceased, rice, arrack, milk, and other delicacies are placed for them in one of the wall-niches of the house, or in places close to it; and once a month a fowl or two are decapitated at the Kaymaḍa. § But pampering of this sort is said often to fall short of its purpose. In such cases a man of the house may profess to become possessed of one of the ghosts. He then puts off his head-dress, walks to and fro in the K[illegible] and appears to be in a trance. While in this condition he is asked what is to be done to satisfy the ghosts; and as the representative of the ancestors, he is presented with meat and drink (especially arrack). These gifts are called Kâraṇa Bâraṇi.‖ Neighbours are also allowed to come in and put questions to the possessed one.

Another ceremony called the Kâraṇa Kôla,¶ *i. e.*, ghost-masque, conducted with the object of finding out the particular wishes of the ghosts, is performed every second or third year, and occasionally also every year. For this affair a Maleyâḷa performer is invited to the house (either a Paṇika, Baṇṇa, or Maleya); and at night he puts on, one after another, five or more different costumes, according to the number of ancestors especially remembered at the time. Arrayed in these dresses he dances to the accompaniment of a drum beaten by a companion, and behaves as if possessed by the Coorg ghosts. After each Kôla, or mask, he leaves the house with a fowl,

* Kaymaḍa means "field-building," and also "building near at hand."

† Kōṭa, in this instance, seems to mean "place of assemblage;" the Tuḷus call it "Koṭṭu."

‡ Kâraṇa, in Canarese means "the black or dark one;" but it may be a Sanskrit term meaning "agent," "chief," in which sense it is used to denote the living heads of families. It is, however, not impossible that the last-mentioned meaning has been attached to the word by brahmanical influence. Soḍalichi means "a female of the burning-ground;" Kâraṇachi, "a female of the Kâraṇas." Soḍalichi may be an imported word, as we have the ancient Coorg term Tûtangala, i. e., burial-ground. Burying the dead is customary among the Coorgs.

§ This decapitation is, as it appears, performed only when the ghost of Ajjappa (*i. e.*, father, grandfather), a renowned Coorg hero, is thought to visit the Kaymaḍa. At nuptial and funeral ceremonies it is customary to decapitate a pig in front of the Kaymaḍa. Once a year some of the Coorgs place some food in the burial-ground (Tûtangala). Such offerings are sometimes called "Kalaya" or "Kalaja," which term may mean "spirituous liquor," as a libation of arrack has always to accompany them (cf. the so-called Sanskrit term Kalya).

‖ Bâraṇi is probably identical with Sanskrit Pâraṇa, "breakfast."

¶ Kôla occurs also in Tamil.

a cocoanut, fried rice, and other eatables, and some arrack, and offers them in the court-yard. When in the state of trance, various questions are put to him by the people of the house, and also by neighbours. The food given him during the performance is also Kârana Bârani. The masks having been finished, a pig, fattened expressly for the purpose, is decapitated in front of the Kaymada, either by the Maleyâḷa, or by a Coorg of the house pointed out by him; its head is put for some minutes in the Kaymaḍa, and it is then taken back and given to the Maleyâla. The rest of the pig and the bodies of the fowls (the heads belonging to the Maleyâla performer) are made into curry for the benefit of the house-people. Where there happens to be no Kaymaḍa, the pig-offering is made at the Kârana Kôṭa.

Females also behave now and then as if possessed by ancestral spirits.* While thus affected, they roll about on the ground, but they do not give utterance to any oracular responses. Sometimes threats are sufficient to cast out the ghosts; at other times it is found necessary to call in sorcerers, either Coorgs or others, who, with the accompanying recitation of certain formulas, beat the possessed, or rather the ghosts, as the people think; and if this procedure proves ineffectual, the presenting of offerings (bali) is then resorted to.

(B) COORG DEMON WORSHIP.

Male and female demons, called Kûḷi,† are held to be even more injurious than ancestral ghosts One of the bad tricks of the Kûḷis is their carrying off the souls of dying people. Whenever sore trials arise in a house, and strange voices are thought to be heard in and near it, a Kaniya, *i. e.*, astrologer (in this case a Maleyâḷa), is enquired at regarding the cause. If he declares that some relative of the house has not died in the natural way, but has been killed, and the soul carried off by a demon belonging to the house or to the village, or to some other village, a Kûḷi Kôla, *i. e.*, demon-masque, has to be performed for the liberation of the soul. As such a masque, however, takes place only at fixed periods (at a place called Kutta once a year, at other places once every second or third year), the master of the house ties some money to a rafter of the roof of his house, as a pledge of his willingness to have the masque performed at the proper time, or to go to one; or he ties his brass plate up there and eats his rice from plantain leaves, to express his humble obedience to the demon. If the time for the demon-masque has come, one of the previously mentioned Maleyâḷa performers, or in his stead a Tuḷu Pâleya, is sent for; and when he arrives he goes through the ceremony in the court-yard. Demon-masques are held either in the name of five Kûḷis (Châmuṇḍi, Kalluruṭi, Panjuruḷi, Guḷiga, and Goraga, called the Pancha Bhûtas), or in the name of three (Kalluguṭṭi, Panjuruli, and Kalluruṭi), or in the name of one (*e.g.* Châmuṇḍi). Several of the demon-masques are performed in the same manner as the ghost-masque, already described, the food which the performer takes in his trances being called Kûḷi Bârani. The liberation of the soul is effected thus: the performer, when representing the demon that has committed the theft, is begged to let the spirit loose; he generally refuses at first to listen to the request; but in the end he throws a handful of rice on such members of the household as stand near him, and with this action he gives the spirit over to them. The spirit alights on the back of one of these members of the family, who then falls into a swoon, and is carried by the others into the house. When, after a little while, consciousness is restored, the ancestor's spirit is considered to have joined the assembly of the other spirits.

If the liberation is to be obtained at the demon-masque of the village, or at that of another village, a man of the house goes to the performance, and presents a cloth to the performer, for which he receives in return a handful of rice, a piece of a cocoanut, or some such trifle, which is thrown into his lap, the spirit at the same moment coming and mounting the man's back. He has then to run off with his burden without looking backwards; but after a while the spirit relinquishes his seat, and follows him quietly into the house and joins its fellow-spirits.

The final act at a demon-masque is the decapitation of pigs either by the performers, or by Coorgs under their superintendence. One pig only is sacrificed if it is merely a house affair; but several must suffer if the ceremony is performed for a village, or for the whole country, at the place called Kuṭṭa. Pigs must be killed *in front* of the so-called Kûḷi Koṭa (fowls are killed *upon* it); and the general demon-masque of

* It may be remarked here that people are said to become possessed not only by ghosts, but also by demons (Kûḷi), and so-called deities.

† Kûḷi means "a wicked one;" it occurs also in Tamil.

a village or of the country has to take place at the Kûli-Kôṭa. The heads of the fowls and pigs are given to the performers, and the trunks are taken home to be prepared for dinner.

The demons have their Kôṭas everywhere, near to and far from the houses and villages. A stone on an earth-bank under a tree sometimes represents a body of them, sometimes only one of their number; at other places one demon is represented by several stones. Here and there stone-enclosures are found around the Kôṭas, and the Kôṭas themselves vary very much in size. Demons are not fed except at masques, and on the performance of particular vows: in the latter case no Maleyâḷas or Tuḷus are required. Demons' food is arrack, fowls, and pigs,—all three articles being much liked by the Coorgs themselves.

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# THE MENHIRS OF THE HASSAN DISTRICT.

BY CAPTAIN J. S. F. MACKENZIE.

FROM all the information I have been able to glean, the Menhirs of the Hassan district may be divided into the following classes:—

1. *Maste Kallu.*—These are rare. From three to four feet high, adorned with the simple figure of a woman, they mark the spot where some devoted wife has sacrificed herself on her husband's pyre. Transient as the flames in which she perished has been the woman's fame; her history and her name are lost. No inscriptions are ever found on such monumental stones: there is the figure of a woman, and nothing more.

2. *Kodu Kallu* (slaughter-stones).—These, as I have before observed, are common all over the district. Several are to be found in almost every village, but their history has been forgotten. They are usually divided into three compartments, but not always; for, on the Mulnad we find only an armed man and his wife. The divisions between, and by the side of, the panels, in which are sculptured the three stages of the important event in the hero's history which the stone is intended to commemorate, often bear inscriptions in the old Canarese character. Now that the oldest form of this character has been deciphered, the reading of these inscriptions ought no longer to be the riddle it has been. The linga is always delineated in the upper compartment. This proves that the men who were slain were Sivabactaru (followers of Śiva). The Bellala kings (A.D. 1000) were not followers of Śiva; and since their time no kings of that faith have ruled the country. Either, then, the court religion differed from that of the masses, or these stones were erected before the time of the Bellala kings. Judging by the character of the inscriptions, I should say they date from 800 to 1000 A.D.

3. *Toda Kena Kallu.*—These are rare. They are found near the village-gate, and have a charm engraved upon them. This charm, it is supposed, averts or removes the cattle disease from the village once a year; the villagers assemble to worship it, when 101 of each of the following articles are presented—*viz.*, pots of water, limes, plantains, betelnut, betel leaves, and copper coins.

4. *Kari Kallu.*—This is a plain, unhewn stone found inside and close to the village-gate. Neither figure nor inscription is ever found upon it. It was set up when the village was first formed. Once a year the headman of the village, or his henchman—the Kulwadi—presents an offering to this stone.

5. *Vyasana-tôlu Kallu* (Vyasana's arm-stone).—These are rare, and are generally close to the Mutt (monastery?) of some Śaiva priest. The following story from the Skanda Purâṇa is said to account for the origin of these stones:—Vyasa was once asked by his disciples—"Who is the first and greatest—Vishṇu or Śiva?" Vyasa replied—"Vishṇu." Those of his disciples who preferred Śiva expressed an unwillingness to be satisfied unless Vyasa would make this statement on oath, in presence of the god, in the temple of Iśvanâth. Vyasa agreed to do so, and, raising his right hand, began to take the oath before the god. This was too much for Busiśvara, who could not stand his master being reduced to the second place. He therefore drew his sword and cut off Vyasa's arm. The holy man appealed to Vishṇu to restore the arm he had lost in attempting to assert his superiority. The god appeared and told his disciple that he was helpless in the matter, since Iśvara was undoubtedly his superior. Vyasa now returned to Iśvara and begged that the arm which had offended might, as a punishment, be tied hereafter to the leg of Busva (the bull, Śiva's vehicle). To this Iśvara agreed, and supplied Vyasa with a new ar-

It is still the custom, when the god Isvara is being taken out in procession, to tie an arm made of cloth to the foot of the bull, carried on a high pole in front of the god. The Vaishṇava Brâhmans object to this badge of superiority being flaunted in their face; and whenever sufficiently powerful, they prevent the observance of the custom. This strong objection on their part, and the power they have acquired in the country, may account for the small number of stones of this class now to be found. What the man and woman, generally shown under the upraised arm (see Illustration), are intended to represent, I know not; and no one can enlighten me on this point.

6. *Hanumantia Kallu.*—This stone has nothing to do with the god whose name it bears, but is connected with a marriage privilege of the goldsmith caste. The goldsmiths, being of the left-hand caste, are entitled to only 11 posts to the awning erected during marriage in front of the house. But in those villages where this stone is to be found, the goldsmiths have the right, provided the awning is erected close to the stone, to use the full number of posts, *viz.*, 12.

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## MARASA VAKKALIGARU OF MAISUR.

By V. N. NARASIMMIYENGAR, BANGALOR.

The Marasa Vakkaligaru form a large and important sub-division of the rayat class in the province of Maisûr. They are to be found chiefly in the tâlukas of Nelamangala, Doddaballâpura, Dêvandahaḷḷi, Chickaballâpura, Gumminâyakanapâḷya, Mâlûr, Hosakoṭ, Kôlâr, and Bangalor. They are a hardy and industrious people, their principal occupation being agriculture. Small colonies of these rayats are also to be found in other localities, whither enterprize and the hope of gain have allured them.

There is a very peculiar religious rite performed among these people. Their women offer as sacrifice to Bhairava Linga, or Bhaṇḍi Dêvaru (the Śaiva Phallus so called), the first joints of their right-hand ring and little fingers, which are cut off by the village carpenter. It is proposed to trace the origin and *rationale* of this practice. It must be stated *in limine* that Colonel M. Wilkes has noticed this rite in his *History of Maisûr* (Madras Ed. of 1869, vol. I. pp. 272 and 273). Without the Purâṇic element, the popular version is as follows :—

Once upon a time in the remote past, there was a great Râkshasa, named Bhasmâsura, who wished to become invincible. In the orthodox manner he performed "tapas" in honor of Śiva for countless ages. That god, pleased with the devotion and asceticism of his worshipper, appeared to him *in propriâ formâ,* and asked him what he wanted. The Râkshasa begged Siva to place in the palm of his right hand the fiery eye (Phâla nâtra) which the god wears on his forehead. No sooner asked than granted; but the sceptical giant maliciously attempted to experiment with the boon on the very grantor thereof. Awakened to the peril of his situation, Śiva thereupon ingloriously fled, the vindictive Râkshasa pursuing him everywhere. The fugitive god, after vainly hiding himself successively in castor-oil and jawâri plantations, took refuge in a "Linga Toṇḍê" shrub, and at last became invisible to his pursuer. It happened that at this time a Marasa Vakkaliga cultivator was at work in a neighbouring field, and Bhasmâsura enquired of him the whereabouts of Śiva, who had all along appeared in the disguise of a Jangama. The wily rayat, true to the instinct of self-preservation, did not give any reply, but simply pointed his forefinger to the shrub in which Śiva was concealed. The god was on the point of being annihilated by the giant placing his hand on his head, when Vishṇu came to the rescue, and manifested himself to the Râkshasa in the form of a lovely maiden, meretriciously dressed. The Asura, who was notorious for lust, and for the most unbridled indulgence of his evil passions, forgot all about Śiva and his destruction, and attempted to ravish the enchanting *houri* before him. She, however, recoiled from the pollution of his touch, and told him to wash and purify himself first. In following the command of his enchantress, the Râkshasa found all the seas, rivers, wells, &c., dry as if by magic. There was however a small pool of water on a rock close by, and the maiden relented so far as to advise him to pour three handfuls of water on his head. In his mad passion, the giant forgot himself so far as to place his hand on his own head, in the act of pouring the water over his person, and was instantaneously consumed to ashes. The pusillanimous Śiva now emerged from his hiding-place, and in thanking Vishṇu for

his deliverance from so imminent a danger, was in his turn bewitched by the unearthly beauty of the creature standing before him. He accordingly embraced her, and the result was the immediate production of three Lingas, respectively called Jinnê Linga, Kallê Linga, and Bhairava Linga, which were the very embodiment of Siva's essence. He thereupon assigned the first to the Jains, the second to the Kurubars, and the third to the Marasa Vakkaligaru for worship. It only remained for Siva to punish the traitor whose treachery had very nearly put an end to his own existence. He accordingly condemned the rayat to cut off his forefinger, which was the offending member, as atonement for his sin. The poor rayat did so without hesitation. In the meantime his wife appeared on the scene, and petitioned the god to accept her own ring and little fingers in lieu of her lord's forefinger, as the loss would be too great to men, who are required to labour with the hand for their bread. Siva was greatly pleased with the self-sacrifice of the rayat's wife, and granted her petition. It is the progeny of this virtuous woman who observe the vow to the present day. The place where the wicked giant was burnt to death may still be recognized by a hill in the Kôlâr tâluka, called Śiti Beṭṭa, where there is a mine of Vibhûti, or sacred ashes.

Such is the history of the origin of this singular rite, given by a class of itinerant beggars called Pichiguntadavaru, who form a living encyclopædia of such traditions, and whose tales are implicitly believed by the Marasa Vakkaligaru, who are themselves unable to account for the strange custom.

The episode in the Bhâgavata, which relates to the rise and fall of Bhasmâsura, or more appropriately Vrikâsura, is totally different from the above story; but, as stated at the outset, the popular impressions on the subject which prevail among the ignorant Marasa Vakkaligaru are alone described here.

These people may roughly be classed under three heads—*viz.*, (1) those whose women offer the aforesaid sacrifice; (2) those who offer a golden substitute; and (3) those who do not perform the rite. These sections, however, freely intermarry with one another, and it is only in the performance of the sacrifice that the difference between them exists.

Class I. embraces exclusively worshippers of Bhairava Linga, or Bhanḍi Dêvaru. The ceremony is performed by women after they become mothers. The *modus operandi* is as nearly as possible the following:—About the time of the new moon in Chaitra, a certain propitious day is fixed by the aid of the village Jôyisa, or astrologer, and the woman who is to offer the sacrifice performs certain ceremonies, or pûjê, in honor of Śiva, taking her meals only once a day, in the evening. For three days before the final operation, she has to support herself with milk, sugar, fruits, &c.—all substantial food being eschewed. On the day appointed, a common cart is brought out, and is painted in alternate stripes with white and red ochre, and is further adorned with streamers, gay flags, flowers, &c., in imitation of a car. Sheep or pigs are slaughtered before it, their number being generally governed by the number of children borne by the sacrificing female. The cart is then dragged by bullocks, preceded by the usual music, the woman and her husband following, with new pots (karaga), filled with water and small pieces of silver coin, borne on their heads, and accompanied by a retinue of friends and relatives. The village washerman has to spread clean clothes along the path of the procession, which stops near the boundary of the village, where a leafy bower or shed is prepared, with three pieces of stone installed in it, symbolizing the god Siva. Flowers, fruits, cocoanuts, incense, &c., are then offered, varied occasionally by an additional sheep or pig. A wooden seat (Maṇê) is then placed before the image, and the sacrificing woman places upon it her right hand, with the fingers spread out. A man holds her hand firmly, and the village carpenter, placing his chisel on the first joints of her ring and little fingers, chops them off with a single stroke of his right hand. The pieces lopped off are thrown into an ant-hill (Hutta), and, as soon after as possible, the tips of the mutilated fingers, round which rags are bound, are dipped into a vessel containing boiling gingili tiḷ (oil). This operation, it is believed, prevents bleeding and swelling, and accelerates the cure. The fee of the carpenter is one kanṭhîrâyi fanâm (*four annas eight pies*) for each maimed finger, besides presents in kind. The women undergo the barbarous and painful ceremony without a murmur, and it is an article of the popular belief that were it neglected, or if nails grow on the stumps, dire ruin and misfortune will overtake the recusant family. Staid matrons who have had their fingers maimed for life in the above manner, exhibit their st[illegible] with a pride worthy of a better cause.

the termination of the sacrifice, the woman is presented with cloths, flowers, &c., by her friends and relatives, to whom a feast is given. Her children are also placed on an adorned seat (Hasê), and after receiving presents of flowers, fruits, &c., their ears are pierced in the usual manner. It is said that to do so before would be sacrilege.

Class II. consists of a section of the Marasa Vakkaligaru who, after performing the foregoing preliminaries, substitute for the fingers a piece of gold wire, of the same value as the carpenter's fee above stated, twisted round the fingers in the shape of rings. Instead of cutting the fingers off, the carpenter removes and appropriates the rings.

Class III.—Some families of the Marasa Vakkaligaru have altogether repudiated the worship of the Bhandi Dêvaru, and owe their allegiance to Vishṇu in his several manifestations of Tirupati Venkaṭaramaṇasvâmi, Chennarâyasvâmi, Kadari Narsinhasvâmi, &c. They do not therefore undergo the revolting sacrifice.

Enveloped as this tradition and practice are in the haze of antiquity, it is difficult, if not almost impossible, to account for them. The Bhâgavata is silent regarding the part which the Marasa Vakkaliga is said to have played in the foregoing legend in the destruction of Vrikâsura. Under these circumstances, a suggestion may be made that the origin of the practice may not improbably have been in some attempted feminine rebellion against the authority of the "lords of the creation," and in the consequent measures to suppress it.

## PYAL SCHOOLS IN MADRAS

By the Late CHARLES E. GOVER, M.R.A.S., MADRAS.

*Built* against the front wall of every Hindu house in Southern India, and I believe it is so in other parts of India also, is a bench about three feet high and as many broad. It extends along the whole frontage, except where the house door stands. It is usually sheltered from sun and rain by a veranda, or by a pandal or temporary erection of bamboo and leaves. The posts of the veranda or pandal are fixed in the ground a few feet in front of the bench, enclosing a sort of platform: for the basement of the house is generally two or three feet above the street level. The raised bench is called the Pyal, and is the lounging-place by day. It also serves in the hot months as a couch for the night. The raised pavement is termed the *Koradu*. Koradu and Pyal are very important portions of every house. There the visitor is received; there the bargaining is done; there the beggar plies his trade, and the yogi sounds his conch; there also the members of the household clean their teeth, amusing themselves the while with belches and other frightful noises. It is, however, of a nobler use of the Koradu and Pyal that this paper shall speak, as may be gathered from its title.

Every village has its school; a large village will have several. It need hardly be said that there are no special school-buildings, no infant galleries, no great black-board, no dominie's desk. No: the most convenient and airy Pyal is chosen. It must have a good Koradu. Usually it is the headman who lends his for the purpose, for the headman's house ought to be the best in the village. In the northern Telugu districts each village has a "*Kâlham*" or meeting-place in a central spot, like the "*mandu*" of a Kurgi village. In that case school meets there, under the pagoda *mantapam*, even in a thatched shed. But in the Tamil country the school is in the Pyal. When the lads come of a morning, they sit in line upon the Pyal, leaving the Koradu for the teacher and for their own passage.

In the great towns a great conflict rages between the new-fangled English Anglo-Vernacular schools and the Pyal schools. There is no denying that the latter are going to the wall. Even in the larger villages the Anglo-Vernacular school is pushing forward and elbows the more humble institution out of the place. In time a Pyal school will be as rare as the megatherium. Before it loses its pristine vigour or remodels itself after the English fashion, let us see what it is like, what it teaches, what it leaves undone. I have a weakness for these out-of-the-way aspects of native life, and have found such pleasure in studying this particular feature, that I feel as if I too had sat at the feet of the irritable Pandit, had studied his strange arithmetic, and been soundly rapped on the knuckles for having dropped a syllable in trying to repeat the Kural by rote.

They instruct in the three "R's," the first two very fairly, but of arithmetic only the very elements are taught. On the other hand, much time is often given to construing beautiful but obscure poems written in the high dialect, and, except as moral teachers, of little use in the concerns of daily life. The average number of children in each school is less than twenty-one, and it is, therefore, quite impossible for adequate teaching power to be employed. There is no apparatus beyond the sandy ground, certain small black-boards, and some kajâns. A sort of discipline is maintained by a constant and often severe use of the cane. Unruly or truant boys are coerced by punishments that partake of the nature of torture. They are compelled to sit or

stand in cruel postures. Their legs are fettered. Hand and foot and neck are bent together and held fast by iron ties. A log fastened to a chain hangs from the waist, or is slowly dragged behind.

The Pyal school is, however, so important an item not only in education, but in the social and religious life of the people, that a somewhat detailed description of its actual work must be of great interest, and may prevent rash interference with a time-honoured institution. It will be well to consider first the payments made by the scholars. To show this clearly, I propose to exhibit them under two aspects: those paid in a school for the well-to-do, and those in a school for the poor. We will suppose the son of a respectable good-caste writer to be sent for the first time to the nearest Pyal school, the teacher of which will almost certainly be a Brâhman. A lucky day must first be chosen, and then the teacher comes to the new pupil's house together with all his scholars. Before the boy is handed over to the master, pûja to Ganapati or Ganes'a is performed by the family purohit, and then to Sarasvati, the goddess of learning, in the presence of the lad's father and male relations. Then presents are distributed to Brâhmans, and fruits, sugar, &c., to everybody present. The school-master is placed sitting in a conspicuous part of the room, and then is presented with flowers, sandal (*chandan*), fruits, and a pair of cloths; one of which is twelve cubits long, and the other six cubits, the cost of both being about 1¼ rupees. The teacher then puts the cloths on, seats himself by the side of the proposed scholar, causes him to repeat a prayer to Ganes'a, asking for wisdom, and that his course of study may be fortunate and successful, and makes him repeat the whole of the alphabet three times. Next a flat vessel containing dry rice is brought in, and the teacher guides the finger of the pupil, so that he may write in the loose rice the names of the deity they serve, whether Vishnu or S'iva. Then the ceremony concludes. All the school-boys are presented with beaten rice, Bengal gram and sugar mixed together, a handful each; the monitor or senior boy, who acts as the teacher's assistant, receiving also a few pice. Now the boy proceeds in procession to the school, where he is again made to repeat the alphabet three times. The procession then returns to his home, and they disperse for the day. With the next day commences the ordinary school career of the boy. It has also been agreed between the teacher and the father how much is to be paid monthly as the school fee. This sum varies with the means of the parent, but never exceeds eight annas a month.

Sometimes, however, it happens that the ceremony described above is postponed till the pupil has learned the alphabet. In that case no monthly fee is paid, but when the alphabet is fully known and the ceremony takes place, a more handsome present is given, which is supposed to include all school fees up to that date. It may be supposed that the latter method is most conducive to progress on the part of the pupil, but it is directly contrary to the precepts of the so-called S'astras. In both cases a fee is regularly paid after the date of the initiating ceremony. This, however, does not include all the gains of the master. He receives presents at certain festivals throughout the year, especially at Pongal and Dasera; and on every 15th day he receives from the father of each pupil a gift of betel and pân; every Saturday he receives half a pollam of lamp oil; and every morning on his return from breakfast each pupil must bring a bratti or cow-dung cake. Beyond all these, at every major feast throughout the year, the teacher receives from each house half a measure of rice, curry-stuff, &c., while at Dasera and Pongal he has in addition a money present. The Dasera is specially distinguished, seeing he receives the Pongal present doubled, and, in addition, some days before the feast, he raises a subscription among his pupils to pay the expense of Sarasvati and Ayda Pûja, which festivals occur during the Dasera.

Besides all these periodical presents, there are others which are supposed to stimulate the teacher to make every effort for the early advancement of his pupils. Thus, when any new book or chapter is begun, he receives an anna or a fanam from the boy who makes this one more step in his instruction. This fee is sometimes rebelled against, but not successfully, for it is also the custom of the teacher to give a sort of holiday to the whole school on the occasion, and, if the present be not given, the holiday is withheld, and thus the lads bring pressure on each other to ensure the necessary gift.

The ceremonial at the Dasera feast deserves particular attention. A month or two before the feast begins, a number of songs are committed to memory by the pupils, under the guidance of the teacher. By the arrival of the feast the series is learnt by all the boys, who have also been taught how to sing each song to a particular tune. In some schools the lads are also taught to dance what is called the Kolattam. This derives its name from the fact that the dancers move to the beating of sticks, of which each lad has two. They are about eighteen inches long, and are fancifully painted. The lads draw up in a double line, facing each other, and, with a stick in each hand, commence singing, keeping time by striking the sticks held by them. As they sing and strike they move about in a sort of dance. All this is taught them by the teacher in the ordinary school hours, and should be properly practised in time for the Dasera. On each day of the feast the lads dress themselves in their best, holding in their hands paper spears, daggers, painted staves, &c., and go in procession to those of the pupils' houses where the school teacher expects a suitable present, and also to the houses of the well-to-do friends and relations of the pupils. Arriving at a house, the pupils seat themselves in the hall or on the pyal and koradu, and sing the songs they have learnt, dancing also the Kolattam if they have been taught it. The head of the house is then expected to give the teacher a handsome

present, and bestow sweetmeats upon the boys. This sort of thing goes on till the list of expected donors is gone through. Thus ends the long list of presents which, in a respectable school, enable the master to hold a suitable position in the community.

Things are different in a Pyal school for the children of the poor. Here no entrance fee is offered, nor any monthly payment until the alphabet is fully mastered. Nor is the customary present made on commencement of a new book or chapter. A small payment is made each month of, say, one or two annas, and a tiny present every fourteenth day. The same ritual is performed at Dasera as in the more respectable school, but the gains of the master are smaller in proportion, and similarly for each festival throughout the year. The daily bratti is given and the weekly oil.

Combining all sources of income, the teacher of a respectable Pyal school with about twenty-five pupils will receive from 15 to 25 rupees per mensem, while his fellow labourer in a poor locality will not receive more than from 5 to 10 rupees.

In Musalman schools no monthly fee is charged, and the teacher is entirely dependent on presents. Thus, whenever a new chapter of the Koran is commenced, the pupils should give from four annas to as many rupees, according to the wealth of the family. At the commencement of every festival, as the Muharram, Shab-i-barat, Ramazan, Bakri 'Id, &c., the teacher also receives presents—not more than four annas or less than one fanam. Once a week, on the day before the sabbath, every pupil must also reward his teacher with two pies, just previous to the weekly half-holiday on that day. When the Koran is finished, the teacher receives a handsome gift, according to the means of the parent, including generally a pair of new cloths, shawls, or a silk *khaba* or cloak, as worn by the priests. The gift of a shawl or khaba is supposed to express deeper honour or greater thanks than a mere money present, as it especially denotes that the donee is a person of high respectability or learning. Beyond all this, the father of each child must send with him as large an entrance donation as his circumstances permit together with a present of sweetmeats to be distributed among the school-boys.

It is not easy to estimate the Musalman teacher's receipts from the school alone, seeing that it is the teacher's duty also to perform all religious ceremonies in the houses of those who entrust their children to his care, and for each of these he receives a certain present of money, cloths, or food. It is evident, therefore, that the teacher must be a highly respectable person, and I am informed that none but really learned men of good descent are permitted to set up as teachers. Their gains correspond with their position, and are considerable for so poor a community, varying usually between rupees 15 and [illegible] per mensem.

[illegible] four subjects are taught in a Pyal school, [illegible] its character. These are reading, writing, arithmetic, and memoriter work in the high dialect and Sanskrit. Taking the first-named subject, it must be noted that all the text-books are in the high dialect, and that ordinary modern Tamil, &c., is not taught at all. The books used in almost every Tamil school are :—The Kural of Tiruvalluva; Attisudi of Auveiyar; Krishnan-thudu; Panchatantra; Rámáyana of Kamban; and Kada Chintamani. The grammatical portion of study is drawn from the Nannul, and the Nighantu.

In Telugu schools the list is different, and includes—Sabhaparva; Saptamaskanda; Sumati Shataka; Nulu Pakyanano.

There is no grammatical instruction in Telugu schools corresponding to that from the Nannul in Tamil schools, but the Telugu Amaram takes the place of the Tamil Nighantu. Some of the books in both lists have been printed, and, if the price is small, printed editions are used, otherwise the teacher alone has the book itself, and from that he daily copies on kaján the portion required for the next day's work. When the pupil becomes pretty dexterous in writing with his finger on sand, he has then the privilege of writing either with an iron style on kaján leaves, or with a reed on paper, and sometimes on the leaves of the Aristolochia Indica, or with a kind of pencil on the balaka, hulligi, or kadala, which answer the purpose of slates. The latter is most common in Telugu districts. The palaka, or hulligi, as it is called in Canarese, is an oblong board, about a foot in width and three feet in length. This board, when planed smooth, has only to be smeared with a little rice and pulverized charcoal, and it is then fit for use. The kadala is made of cloth, first stiffened with rice water, doubled into folds resembling a book, and it is then covered with a composition of charcoal and several gums. The writing on either of these may be effaced by a wet cloth.

Each school day, after 2 o'clock, the pupil copies the morrow's lesson from the teacher's kaján on to the *palaka* or portable black-board, which the parent must provide for his son, and which has to be blacked by the pupil as often as is required, usually three or four times a day. The pencil used is made of soft gypsum or *balapam*, as it is called in the vernacular. Having copied his lesson, the pupil carries it first to his master, who hears him read it two or three times, making the necessary corrections both in writing and verbal delivery. The palaka is then carried home, its contents learnt by heart, and next morning the lesson must be repeated from memory to the teacher. This exercise is a very profitable one, as it teaches how to write, how to read, improves the memory, and stores it with the best literature of past ages. To deliver the lesson, the boys go one at a time to the teacher, hold the palaka before them with its front to the teacher and its back to themselves, thus by one act refreshing the teacher's memory, proving their own, and preventing fraud.

In this way every pupil obtains a thorough

knowledge of four or five of the great classics of the language, and becomes perfectly able to read his vernacular. It is not very certain that any other system will produce much better results, except in the points about to be considered. In one respect the system is better than that adopted in European schools for the poor. The classic books thus mastered are also the moral law of the nation, and exhibit a system of ethics of the highest character. Always excepting the Bible, I know no western book in common use which can compare with the Kural, Auveiyar, and most of the other books so employed. In fact, all observers are agreed that the Kural forms the real moral code of the country. It does not fall within the scope of this paper to show whether or how far the adult population follow the rules thus learnt in youth, but there can be no doubt as to the benefit that must follow such moral training.

The main evils of the system described above are two: the books read are all in the high dialect, and hence, both in the *collocation* and the *form* of the words themselves, are altogether different from the language the lads must speak and hear in their after-life. Hence their study corresponds pretty fairly with that of Latin in an English school. It needs no argument to prove that, if the books studied were written in modern Tamil, the time spent in learning would be much more profitably employed, seeing that now the lad leaves school untrained in the language which he must meet with in ordinary life, in the vernacular journals, and in all the living forms of modern thought. All western books that are translated at all are rendered into the modern dialect, and there ought to be no barrier to prevent any person at once appretiating them. Really effective education must march with modern language and modern ideas.

A great deal of time is also lost, seeing that it is impossible for a child to make such progress in a dead language as he could in a living one. In studying the Kural, for example, more time is given to the commentary than to the text, because, without the former, the latter is obscure. The result is much the same as if, in English schools, the reading lessons were always in Ormulum or the Saxon Chronicle.

A third evil lies in the fact that the system almost precludes simultaneous or class teaching, and this is a necessary element of rapid progress. It should not be forgotten, however, that the individual teaching now given effectually prevents that residuum of confirmed idlers, and therefore ignorant lads, which is the one drawback of the system of class teaching in ordinary hands. The Pyal mode turns out every pupil a fair scholar, though at a great waste of labour. The class system ensures a much higher average, but permits confirmed dullards.

I have referred at this length to reading, because this subject is the key of the whole system, and the other lessons will not require much attention.

Writing is taught in the very best possible mode—in conjunction with the reading lesson. The pupil begins his writing lessons when he commences to learn his alphabet. He is spared the drudgery of the wretched system that custom makes necessary in every English school,—the weeks of dreary labour on unmeaning strokes, pot-hooks, and hangers. His first lesson is a complete letter, and thus he can feel that every day he makes real and useful progress.

The alphabet is almost everywhere written with the finger on the sanded ground. All future writing is done either in the mode described above—*writing* the morrow's lesson on the palaka—or subsequently with the style on kaján, and in the more respectable schools with an English pen on paper.

In connexion with this subject, another point of *great* excellence in the system of education practised in a Pyal school must be mentioned. It cannot be better *introduced* than in the words of Mr. Seton-*Karr, the well-known civilian judge* in Bengal. Referring to the Bengal Pyal schools, he says:—"These (indigenous) schools do supply a sort of information which ryots and villagers, who think at all about learning to read and write, cannot and will not do without. They learn there the system of baniya's accounts, or that of agriculturists. They learn forms of notes-of-hand, quittances, leases, agreements, and all such forms as are in constant use with a population not naturally dull and somewhat prone to litigation, and whose social relations are decidedly complex. All these forms are taught by the guru *from memory*, as well as complimentary forms of address; and I have heard a little boy, not ten years old, run off from memory a form of this kind with the utmost glibness. This boy, like many others, had never *read from a book in his life.* On these acquirements the agricultural population set a very considerable value. It is the absence of such instructions as this which, I think, has led to the assertion, with regard to some districts, that the inhabitants consider their own indigenous schools to be better than those of Government. I would have all *forms of address and of business, all modes of account, agricultural and commercial,* collected, and the best of their kind printed in a cheap and popular form, to serve as models. I would even have the common summons of our criminal or revenue courts printed off."

Much the same mode is followed in Madras. In addition to the regular teaching thus referred to, it is common here for the teacher to borrow from his friends all the up-country letters he can hear of. These are carried to the school, read, copied studied, and explained. Reading them is no easy matter. The vernacular current hand is as different from the printed character as German hand-writing from the Roman type of books. English influence has been steadily exercised against this current hand, and in many districts it is passing away superseded by the printing character. It is doubtful whether this is an advantage, as we may consider

*for ourselves by imagining how we should get on* if compelled to do all our writing in Roman characters, keeping the letters separate from each other. However this may be, the learning of the current hand is a most important item of a lad's education. In English schools this subject is altogether neglected, and it is most assuredly a grievous evil. For example, the work of the Census office is mainly expended on schedules written in the vernacular of the various districts. Being compiled by the village karnams, who are practised writers, the entries are usually in a clear current hand, far superior to ordinary English writing. Yet when applications were made for employment, and candidates were examined as to their power of reading the schedules, it was discovered that not one out of four of Madras candidates could at all decipher the writing. All had been well educated and all could speak and write English, yet not one out of four could read their own language in that form which should be most familiar to them. Mufassal candidates could generally read, though even among them those who had been taught in good English schools were most deficient. The total number of candidates was probably not less than 1,000, and yet there was immense difficulty in obtaining 200 persons even tolerably at ease in vernacular writing. It is submitted that in the national system of education which India is now slowly providing for itself, every means should be taken to ensure thorough instruction in vernacular reading and writing, substituting the modern for the ancient dialect.

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## REVIEW.

A Grammar of the Urdu or Hindustani Language, by John Dowson, M.R.A.S., Professor of Hindustani, Staff College. Trübner & Co., London. 1872.

This little book appears, from advertisements that have appeared since it was issued, to be the first of a series which Professor Dowson proposes to publish for the benefit of students of the Urdu language—the principal medium of communication between men of all races and classes in India. In looking through the neatly-printed pages, it is difficult to avoid envying the present generation of learners. We in our time had no such books as these. Lucidity of expression, descending at times almost to the colloquial style, an admirable clearness of arrangement, and careful study of all the recorded forms of the written language, are apparent on every page; while the beauty of Stephen Austin's well-known type enhances the pleasure of reading. Seeing how much the author has made of his materials, one cannot but wish he had had better materials to work on. How long is rubbish like the *Bâgh-o-Bahâr* and the *Totâ Kahânî* to be allowed to hold the chief place, in the estimation of scholars in Europe, amongst Indian classics?—books written to order for English students by pedantic munshis, who wrote up to a given set of rules which they invented for themselves, and which have never had, and probably never will have, any influence on the native mind, or currency among any but our own countrymen. If some one would only send home twenty books taken at random out of the masses issued by Munshî Nawal Kishore of Lucknow, there would be more true vernacular Urdu of the purest kind found in a fiftieth part of them than in all the stilted pages of the *Araish-i-Mahfil* and the rest put together. Still we must take things as they are. From this book of Professor Dowson's the student in England would certainly learn a very accurate and not inelegant style of Urdu, and a few years in India would teach him how to break it down into the ordinary style of the natives. It is a pity that the book is so destitute of philology. Although intended for learners, there is no reason why even they should not have a clue given them now and then. You may either teach a boy on the dogmatic principle "This is so, learn it, and never mind why," or you may tell him—"The reason of this apparent irregularity is so-and-so." Of the two methods the latter will certainly make his task easier, and probably also pleasanter. In the book under notice, for instance, the subject of genders might have been treated in a much fuller and more intelligent manner. Although in speaking, gender is to a great extent neglected, yet it is necessary to know the main rules; but Professor Dowson has hardly made any attempt to explain them.

The subject of declension, however, is fully and ably treated; and the author has not fallen into the temptation, so common to grammar-writers, of making one declension into half-a-dozen on account of some trifling peculiarity, which is in most cases inherent in the base of the noun and is not a declensional feature at all. Objection may be taken to the way in which the form of the plural pronoun of the 1st person, *hamon*, is spoken of; this form being very rarely used by good speakers, and condemned as barbarous by men of taste, as it is certainly indefensible from a philological point of view. The Prakrit *amhe*, from which *ham* is derived, makes no oblique form *amhânâm* from which *hamon* could be derived. The same holds good of *tumhon*, though in a less degree.

No less able and admirably lucid is the treatment of the verb, in which all the numerous combinations which this supremely flexible language possesses are drawn out in a logical and transparently clear sequence. Well and neatly put is the awkward modern construction of the past tense of transitive

... its character. These are reading, writing,

verbs with *ne*—a construction which, it should be noted, is rejected in speaking by at least one-half of those who use the language. It is, however, wrong to call the form of the conjunctive participle in *e*—as *kiye, liye,* &c.—"an irregular form," it being in reality the original form of this participle, and derived from the locative of the Sanskrit past participle in *ta*, as *krite, yáte,* &c., and some centuries older than the modern forms in *ke, kar,* and *karke.* In fact, a group of ancient and much-used verbs has retained the older form, which has almost dropped out of use in other verbs.

It is amusing to see the respect with which, on page 113 (note), the inaccuracies of the *Bágh-o-Báhar* and its fellows are treated. They are elevated to the dignity of a crabbed passage in Thucydides, and the blunders of the ignorant múnshí are treated with the same respect as we should accord to the genuine phrases of the idiomatic Greek historian. The construction with *ne* is really so modern and artificial an invention, that it is extremely common to find natives misusing it.

Our space will not allow us to go page by page through this interesting book. The syntax is particularly good, bringing out in the clearest and most refreshingly intelligent way, in spite of occasional misapprehensions, the many-sided expressiveness of a language which has no parallel for vivacity and graceful turns of phrase, except in the most polished Parisian French. We conclude, then, by congratulating Professor Dowson on having written by far the best Urdu Grammar that has yet appeared, and having thus rendered the acquisition of the most elegant and useful of all the Indian vernaculars both easy and pleasant to the student; and if he pursues, as we hope he may, his task of editing a complete series of educational works, we would recommend him to write to some one in India for a selection of genuine native works, such as are current among the people, and not to content himself with the threadbare and indecent trash which Forbes has raised to the position of Classics. Professor Dowson's Grammar is a distinct advance on Forbes; his texts should also be an advance.—J. B.

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## CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

### REMARKS ON PARTS X. AND XI.

By Prof. WEBER, BERLIN.

*To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.*

SIR,—I beg to offer you some observations on Nos. X. and XI. of your *Indian Antiquary*, as they are very full of important and interesting communications. I begin with the paper of R. G. Bhandarkar on the Date of Patanjali. Clever as it is, it is a great pity that its author was not aware that I treated the same subject ten years ago in my *critique* of Goldstücker's "Pânini" (*Indische Studien*, V. 150 ff.). Patanjali's mentioning the Pushyamitra Sabhâ (thus, Pushyamitra, not Pushpamitra, is the name, according to the northern Buddhists) and the Chandragupta Sabhâ is already noticed there. But the question regarding his age does not depend upon this only, but has further light thrown upon it when we adduce and criticise the testimonies of the Vâkyapadîya and the Râjataranginî as quoted by Goldstucker; and the final conclusion at which I arrive is, that Patanjali lived about 25 after Christ. There is, after all, only one point in this argument which requires further elucidation. Kern, in his excellent preface to his edition of Varâhamihira's Brihat Sanhitâ (pp. 37, 38), refers the passage "arunad *Yavano Mâdhyamikân*," not to the Buddhist sect of that name, but to a people in middle India, mentioned in the Brihats. 14, 2 (see also Sankshepasankarajaya, 15, 156, in Aufrecht's Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. of the Bodleian Library, p. 258*b*).

Bühler's paper on the Vrihatkathâ of Kshemendra is also of the greatest interest. Last winter Burnell too found a copy of the same work in Telinga character: a comparison of both versions will no doubt yield much critical help for the restoration of the text, and for the correction of Somadeva's later work. There can scarcely be a doubt that the *Bhûtabhâshâ* of Gunâdhya's original composition, according to Dandin's testimony on the *Pais'âchabhâshâ*, in which it was written according to Kshemendra and Somadeva, is but a Brahmanical slur on the fact that Gunâdhya was a Buddhist and wrote in Pâli (Mr. Gorrey, in a very clever *critique* on my paper on the Saptas atakam of Hâla, in the *Journal Asiatique*, Aout-Sept. 1872, p. 217, arrives at nearly the same conclusion; even Somadeva's work contains some direct allusions to the Buddhist *Jâtakas* (65, 45, 72, 120 ed. Brockhaus); and the Buddhist character of many of its tales is quite manifest (see my *Indische Streifen*, II. 367). The more we learn of the *Jatakas*, the more numerous are the stories shown to be which are found in India for the first time, and never afterwards appear in the Brahmanical fable-and-tale collections. Some of them are originally Æsopic, borrowed by the Buddhists from the Greeks, but arranged by them in their own way (see *Indische Studien*, III. 356-61).

The passage from *Kumârila's* Tantravârttika, which forms the subject of Burnell's very valuable communication, was pointed out previously by Colebrooke (*Misc. Essays*, I. 315). That the Andhra and Drâvida Brâhmans were in early times fully engaged in literary pursuits, is manifest from the fact that, according to Sâyana, the last (tenth)

book of the *Taittirîya A'ranyaka* is extant in two recensions which go by their name.

Sashagiri S'astri's paper on Vikramâditya and Bhoja is rather superficial; his assertion that the Brihatkathâ is believed to be *the same* as the Khathâsarit Sâgara, and that the author of the Vasavadatta must therefore have flourished in the twelfth century, as he mentions the Brihatkathâ, is particularly misplaced in this number, which contains, some pages before, Bühler's excellent remarks on the same subject. His paper on Kâlidâsa in No. XI. is better, especially as it contains some very valuable information regarding a hitherto unknown work attributed to a person of Kâlidâsa's celebrated name, and the commentary on it by a Nichulakaviyogîndra. I send you herewith my papers on the Jyotirvidâbharana. In the first of them (page 727) I have pointed out the passage in Mallinâtha's commentary on the Meghadûta, where he speaks of the poet Nichula as a friend, and of Dinnâga as an adversary, of its author, and intimates that the fourteenth verse of that poem contains an allusion to both of them; and in the same paper I have also tried to deduce the consequences which would result from such a fact. The present discovery of a Nichulakavi as writing a commentary on a lexicographic production of a S'rî-Kâlidâsa, and doing this at the instigation of a "Mahârâjâ Bhoja," is indeed very curious. Which of the many Bhojas may be meant here?

The Bengali Kirtans published by Beames in the same number are of the highest interest, as well as his notes and remarks on them. It is, for instance, a very curious coincidence that Bhojpûri, Bangali, and Oriya, that is to say, three quite modern Hindu dialects, have resorted again to the same expedient for the formation of the future tense as old Latin did more than 2,000 years earlier, *viz.*, to the agglutination of the present tense of भू. Such an occurrence, or, one ought to say, recurrence, is a striking evidence of the inherent consanguinity of the Aryan race and language, and of the inveterate and unchangeable character of them both.

Bhandarkar, in his paper on the date of the *Mahabharata*, makes good use of the *Mahâbhashya*. And I hope shortly to be able to follow him, as soon as I get the edition of this work issued this summer in Banâras. I have always considered the publication of this work as one of the greatest services which could be rendered to Sanskrit philology, and I am very glad that it has come at last. It is true that, according to the statements of Hari's Vâkyapadîya, as given by Goldstucker in his "Pânini" and corrected by Stenzler and myself (*Indische Studien*, V. 166, 187), and according to those of the *Râjatarangini*, I. 176, IV. 487 (*ibid.* V 166, 167), the *Mahâbhâshya* in its present form appears to have undergone *much* remodelling by "Chandrâchâryâdibhih." But still its testimony will always be of great value, though not perhaps exactly decisive for Patanjali's time itself. I am very curious to know if really no direct allusions to the *Râmayana* will be met in it, as this would be very favourable to my conjecture regarding the comparatively late age of this work. With regard to the *Mahabharata*, the mentioning of Janamejaya and Dushyanta is not restricted to the *Aitareya Brahmana*, which alone is adduced by Bhandarkar, but they are mentioned also in the *S'atapatha Brâhmana*, which contains moreover (partly relying on the *Vâjas. Sanhitâ* and coinciding with the *Taitt. Sanhita*, and the *Kâthaka*) quite a number of allusions to other names and personages who play a prominent part in the story, especially in the great war of the *Mahâbharata*, *viz.*, Nagrajit, S'atânîka, Ambâ, Ambikâ, Ambâlikâ, Subhadra in Kâmpîla (?), Arjuna and Phâlguna (but as names of Indra!), Bhîmasena, Ugrasena, and S'rutasena as three brothers of Janamejaya (compare *Indische Studien*, I. 189-207, and my lectures on Indian Literature [1852], pp. 110, 130-33, 175-7), The Kâthaka has a legend about Dhritarashtra Vaichitravîrya (*Indische Studien*, III. 469). The S'ankhâyana sûtra (XV. 16) speaks of an expulsion of the Kurus from the Kurukshetra, "Kuravah Kurukshetrad chyoshyante." There can be no doubt, therefore, that in the time of this work, as well as in that of Pânini, the main story of the *Mahabharata* had already firm existence, and probably also even then in a poetical form. The Buddhist legends, too (I mean those treating of Buddha's life-time and his *jatakas*, former births), contain direct allusions to some of these and to other personages of the same epic circle. But all this does not help to fix the age of the *Mahabharata* itself, which has grown out from the songs of the minstrels at the courts of the petty râjâs of Hindustan, and probably got its first form (it contains itself a tradition [I. 81] that formerly it consisted only of 8,800 verses) under the hands of either a Vais'ampâyana or a Pârâs'arya (see my *Indische Skizzen*, p. 36), at a time when a race of Pandava kings was reigning in India (*Indische Studien*, II. 403), and in friendly connection with the Yavana kings of north-western India; for the Yavanadhipa Bhagadatta, king of Maru and Naraka (very probably Apollodotos, about 160 before Christ), is called by Krishna "an *old friend* of the *father* of Yudhishthira (*Mahabharata*, II. 578; *Indische Studien*, V. 152), and is mentioned repeatedly as supporter of his sake. The age of the grihya sûtra, in which the passage occurs—Sumantu Jaimini-Vaisampâyana-Paila-s'ûtra-bhâshya-bhârata-*mahabharata* dharmâchâryâh . . tripyantu—is itself uncertain: the corresponding passage in the S'ânkhâyana-grihya omits the words "bhârata-mahâbhârata-dharmâchâryâh" (compare my lectures on Ind. Lit., pp. 56-57), which may be a later addition. That the *word* "mahâbhârata" is mentioned also by Pânini, I have pointed out very early (*Indische Studien*, I. 148); but I remarked at

— its character. These are reading, writing, —

the same time that it does not signify there a *work* of that name, but very probably a person, just like the Mahâjâbâla and the Mahâhuilihila mentioned in the same sûtra along with it. According to the scholion it is to be taken as a *masculine*. "In connexion with âhava, yuddha, or taken as a substantive, with a word for *war* supplied" it means: "great war of the Bhârata"—*M. Bh.* V. 4811; °yuddha, XIV. 1809 (Petersburg Dictionary). After all, the *first direct* testimony of the existence of an *epic work* treating of the same subject as our *Mahâbharata* remains still as yet that passage from Dio Chrysostomos about the "Indian Homer."

Your paper on Nârâyana Swâmi is also very interesting and instructive.

With best wishes for the continuance of your highly welcome and valuable undertaking, I am, &c.,

A. Weber.

Berlin, 28th Nov. 1872.

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NOTE ON THE ABOVE BY PROF. RAMKRISHNA G. BHANDARKAR.

Through the courtesy of the Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, I have been permitted to see Professor Weber's letter, which contains notices of my article on the Date of Patanjali, and of my paper on the Age of the *Mahâbhârata* This is not the first time the Professor has been so kind to me. One of my humble productions he has deemed worthy of a place in his *Indische Studien*. While, therefore, I am thankful to him for these favours, I feel bound to consider his remarks on my articles, and to reply to them.

Professor Weber thinks it a pity that I should not have been acquainted with his *critique* on Dr. Goldstücker's "Pânini." I hardly share in his regret, because the facts which I have brought forward are new, and my conclusions are not affected by anything he has said in the review. He certainly brought to notice, in that *critique* (as I now learn), the occurrence in Patanjali of the expression "Pushpamitra Sabhâ."* But Professor Weber will see that my argument is not at all based on that passage. I simply quoted it to show that even Patanjali tells us that the Pushpamitra he speaks of in another place was a king, and not an ordinary individual or an imaginary person. My reasoning in the article in question is based on the words *iha Pushpamitram Yajayamah*. This is given by Patanjali as an instance of the Vârttika, which teaches that the present tense (lat) should be used to denote an action which has begun but not ended. Now this passage was noticed neither by Professor Weber nor by Dr. Goldstücker; and hence the trouble I gave to the Editor of the *Antiquary*. The passage enables us, I think, to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to the date of Patanjali, since it shows that the author of the *Mahâbhâshya* flourished in the reign of Pushpamitra. And the conclusion based on this and on one of the two instances pointed out by Dr. Goldstücker, *viz*., *Arunad Yavanah Sâketam*, agree so thoroughly with each other, that they can leave but little doubt on the mind of the reader as to the true date of Patanjali.

But I must consider Professor Weber's argument for bringing Patanjali down to about 25 after Christ. The two instances brought forward by Dr. Goldstücker contain the name *Yavana*; and a king of that generic name is spoken of as having besieged Sâketa, commonly understood to be Ayodhyâ. This name was applied most unquestionably, though not exclusively, to the Greek kings of Bactria. The Yavanas are spoken of, in a Sanskrit astronomical work noticed by Dr. Kern, as having pushed their conquests up to Sâketa; and Bactrian kings are also mentioned by some classical writers as having done the same. Looked at independently, this passage leads us to the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Goldstücker, that is, it fixes the date of Patanjali at about 150 B. C. But the other instance contains, in addition, the name *Mâdhyamika*. The Buddhist school of that name is said to have been founded by Nâgârjuna, who, according to the *Râjatarangini*, flourished in the reigns of Kanishka and Abhimanyu, that is, a few years after Christ. This instance then brings the author of the *Mahâbhâshya* to some period after Christ. Here then is a case resembling those which are frequently discussed by our Pandits, in which a *Sruti* and a *Smriti* (or a Sruti and an inference) conflict with each other. The Brahmanical rule is that the *Sruti* must be understood in its natural sense, and the *Smriti* so interpreted as to agree with it, that is, any sort of violence may be done to the *Smriti* to bring it into conformity with the *Sruti*, and the inference must be somehow explained away. Now, in the present case, Professor Weber's *Sruti* is the instance containing the name of the Mâdhyamikas. But the word *Yavana*, occurring in it and in the other instance, cannot be taken to apply to the Greek kings of Bactria, for the dynasty had become extinct a pretty long time before Christ. Professor Weber therefore thinks that by it is to be understood the Indo-Scythic king Kanishka, who reigned before Abhimanyu. But Kanishka cannot be regarded as having oppressed or persecuted the Mâdhyamikas, for he was himself a Buddhist. This objection is obviated by the Professor by the supposition that he must have persecuted them before he became one of them.

I must confess this argument appears to me to be very weak. It has many inherent improbabilities. In the first place, I do not see why the passage containing the name *Mâdhyamika* and the name itself should be regarded as so much

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* By the way, I prefer the form "Pushpamitra" to "Pushyamitra." as the latter appears to me to be a lection for the former, which might easily occur, प, *p*, being often by careless scribes written as य, *y*.

more important than the other passage and the name Yavana. Why may we not rather take our stand on this latter name, and the mention of the conquests of the king so designated up to Sâketa, and interpret the word Mâdhyamika by the light thus thrown upon it? And the passage I have brought forward is, I think, so decisive, and agrees so well with this statement, that some other explanation must be sought-for of the name Mâdhyamika; but of this more hereafter. In the next place, we have to suppose that the most important period of Nâgârjuna's life was passed in the reign of Kanishka, that he lived so long in that reign as to have founded a school, and that in that reign the sect assumed the name of Mâdhyamika, and grew into such importance that its fame spread so far and wide, that even Patanjali in the far east knew of it. From the words of the *Rajatarangini*, however, it would appear that Nâgârjuna and his disciples or school rose into importance in the reign of Abhimanyu, the successor of Kanishka; for the words are—"About that time (*i. e.*, in the reign of Abhimanyu) the Bauddhas, protected by the wise Nâgârjuna, the Bodhisattva, became predominant." And in the same reign, we are told in the history of Kashmir, the *Bhâshya* of Patanjali was introduced by Chandrâchârya and others into that country. In the Vâkyapadîya also it is stated that in the course of time it came to pass that Patanjali's work was possessed only by the inhabitants of the Dakhan, and that too only in books, *i. e.* it was not studied. Afterwards Chandrâchârya brought it into vogue. Now even supposing for a time that the *Bhashya* was written in the reign of Kanishka, *i.e.*, about 25 A.D., fifteen or twenty years are too small a period for it to have come to be regarded as a work of authority, to have ceased to be studied, to have existed only in books in the South, and to have obtained such a wide reputation as to be introduced into Kashmir, a place far distant from Patanjali's native country and from the Dakhan. Even Professor Weber is staggered by the shortness of the interval; but instead of being thus led to call in question his theory or the soundness of his argument, he is inclined to doubt the authenticity of the texts brought forward by Dr. Goldstücker. Besides, he gives no evidence to show that the name *Yavana* was applied to the Indo-Scythic kings. I am aware that at different periods of Indian history it was applied to different races; but this vague knowledge ought not to be sufficient to lead us to believe as a matter of fact that it was applied to these kings. And the generic name by which they were known to the author of the *Rajatarangini* was *Turushka*. This name is not unknown to Sanskrit literature, for it occurs even in such a recent work as the *Vis'vagunadars'a*. I cannot, therefore, believe that Patanjali could not have known it, if he really lived so late as in the of those kings. And that Kanishka persecuted the Buddhists before he himself became a convert, is a mere supposition, not supported by any reliable authority. Kanishka is also not mentioned anywhere as having carried his conquests up to Sâketa, while, as before observed, the Yavanas are mentioned by Hindu writers, and the Bactrian kings by Greek authors, as having done so.

The truth is that the name "Mâdhyamika" has been misunderstood both by Dr. Goldstücker and Professor Weber; and hence, in giving Dr. Goldstücker's argument in my article, I omitted the portion based on that name. The expression *aruṇad Yavano Mádhyamikán* makes no sense, if we understand by the last word, the Buddhist school of that name. The root *rudh* means "to besiege" or "blockade;" and the besieging or blockading of a sect is something I cannot understand. Places are besieged or blockaded, but not sects. I am aware that Professor Weber translates this verb by a word which in English means "to oppress;" but I am not aware that the root is ever used in that sense. By the word "Mâdhyamika" is to be understood the people of a certain place, as Dr. Kern has pointed out in his preface to his edition of the Brihat Sanhitâ, on the authority of the Sanhitâ itself. We are thus saved the necessity of making a string of very improbable suppositions; and in this way Professor Weber's argument, based as it is on the hypothesis that the Mâdhyamikas alluded to by Patanjali were the Buddhist sect of that name, falls to the ground. The first of Dr. Goldstücker's passages (the word "Yavana" occurring in both of them), and the passage I have for the first time pointed out, taken together, determine the date of Patanjali to be about 144 B. C. And this agrees better with the other passages pointed out by Dr. Goldstücker. For if Patanjali lived in the reign of the founder of the S'unga dynasty, one can understand why the Mauryas and their founder should have been uppermost in his thoughts; but if he lived in 25 A. D., when the Andhra Bhritya dynasty was in power, one may well ask why he should have gone back for illustrating his rules to the Mauryas and Chandragupta, and passed over the intermediate dynasties of the S'ungas and the Kânvas.

As to my paper on the Age of the *Mahábharata*, I have to observe that it was written with a certain purpose. Colonel Ellis, going upon the authority of the Gowja Agrahâra grant, translated by Colebrook in 1806, and again by Mr. Narasimmiyengar in Part XII. of the *Indian Antiquary*, had referred the composition of the *Mahabharata* to a period subsequent to 1521 A.D., and had asked the Asiatic Society of Bombay to make inquiries as to whether the ashes of the Sarpa Sattra instituted by Janamejaya could be found by digging for them at Anagundi, with which the Colonel identified Hâstinapur; and whether the remains of the palace, in which Bharata, the son of Dushyanta and Sakuntalâ, was crowned, were observable at the

place. My object, therefore, was to show that the *Mahâbhârata* was far more ancient, and that it existed at and before all the well-ascertained dates in Sanskrit literature. It was not meant to collect all possible evidence, whether certain or doubtful, for the existence of the poem. Had I thought of doing so, it would have taken me much longer time than I could spare; and some of the books to which it would have been necessary to refer were also wanting. I have not even brought together all the passages bearing on the point to be found in Patanjali's work. But I am content for the present to leave the task to the well-known industry and acuteness of Professor Weber.

## WEBER ON THE DATE OF PATANJALI.

[In order that our readers may have all the evidence before them, a translation is here appended of that portion of Professor Weber's *critique* on Goldstücker's "Pânini" which refers to the Date of Patanjali.—*Ed.*]

At the close of Goldstücker's essay [Preface to the *Mânavakalpasûtra*] we find an enquiry into the date of Patanjali (pp. 228-38). In the first place, from mention being made in his work of the M a u r y a, it is pointed out, and indeed thereby established, that he could not have lived before the date of this dynasty. The passage in question is of great interest, and would imply besides, according to the view of Patanjali, that Pânini also lived after *that* time! It is as follows: Patanjali, in commenting on the rule V. 3, 99: j î v i k â r t h e c h â 'p a n y e, "in the case of a life-sustenance-serving (object, which is an image [p r a t i k r i t a u is still to be understood, from 96], the affix k a is *not* used), except when the object is saleable,"—gives the following explanation (according to Goldstucker, p. 229): apanya ity uchyate, tatredamna sidhyati, s ivah skando vis âkha iti | kim kâranam | mauryair hiranyârthibhir archâh prakalpitâh | bhavet | tâsu na syât | yâs tv etah sampratipûjârthâh, tâsu bhavishyati | "In the case of a saleable, *e. g.*, Siva, Skanda, Vis akha, the rule does not apply (the affix k a being used in such cases). The gold-coveting m a u r y a had caused images of the gods to be prepared. To these the rule does not apply, but only to such as serve for immediate worship (*i. e.*, with which their possessors go about from house to house [in order to exhibit them for immediate worship, and thereby to earn money], Kaiyyata)." From this it appears that Patanjali is undoubtedly of opinion that Pânini himself, in referring to images (pratikriti) that were "saleable," *i. e.*, by their sale afforded sustenance of life (jîvikârtha), had in his eye such as those that had come down from the Maurya! Be this as it may, the notice is in itself an exceedingly curious one. If it were at all allowable, we might understand the word m a u r y a here as an appellative, meaning "sculptors," or something of the kind; as indeed seems to be the opinion of Nâges a, whose text, however, is corrupt (m a u r y â h vikretum pratimâs'ilpavantas is somewhat ungrammatical). But the word cannot be shown to bear such a meaning in any other passage. And the part. perf. *causativi* goes rather to prove that the Maurya were not themselves the actual makers of the images, *but only caused them to* be made; although, to be sure, this cannot be laid down positively, seeing that *causativa* frequently appear also quite as new *verba simplicia*, and there are several instances of this precisely in the case of the root k a l p. And if, in support of the view that the word refers to the Maurya-dynasty, it should further be adduced that Patanjali in other places also makes frequent mention of the covetousness of *kings* (cf. Ballantyne, pp. 234 and 315: Gargâs S'atâm dandyantâm | a r t h i n a s cha râjâno h i r a n y e n a bhavanti, na cha pratyekam dandayanti), yet on the other hand it is not easy to understand how kings, in order to earn their livelihood (and only on this condition is the example relevant to the sûtra), should have caused images of the gods to be prepared or exhibited for sale! But if, consequently, we cannot as yet quite rid ourselves of some amount of uncertainty, whether we are really to understand by the word m a u r y a in this passage the dynasty of that name, there can at all events be no doubt with regard to the fact itself, that Patanjali did not live until after their time. The proofs which establish this, and which have been overlooked by Goldstucker, are contained in two examples which Patanjali adduces with reference to a v â r t t i k a in I. 1, 68 (Ballantyne, p. 758): Pushyamitrasabhâ, Chandraguptasabhâ. Even if the latter example (which recurs also in the Calc. Schol. on II. 4, 23) does not absolutely establish that he lived later than the time of the Maurya, yet the former affords quite conclusive proof of this; and we learn at the same time from this passage, that the bearer of the name Pushyamitra who founded the S'uñga dynasty, succeeding that of the Maurya, was not merely a general (senâpati), as he is called in the Purâna and in the Mâlavikâgnimitra, but really a king (reigned, according to Lassen, 178-142 B. C.); for Goldstücker cannot well have any doubt as to the identity of the two Pushyamitras.

The date of Patanjali may, however, be still more definitely fixed. The lower limit is determined by a passage from the Râjataraṅginî, adduced first by Böhtlingk, according to which Abhimanyu, king of Kashmir (reigned, according to Lassen, 45-65 A.D.), rendered some service to the text of the Mahâbhâshya, of which we shall presently speak more in detail. We cannot, therefore, come any lower down than his time. Goldstucker very justly calls attention to two highly important examples which Patan

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jali gives in commenting on a vârttika on III. 2, 11. The rule refers to the use of the imperfect anadyatane, "when something is no longer present;" the vârttika adds that it is used "parokshe cha lokavijnâte prayoktur darsanavishaye ] also with regard to something which is not (any longer) visible but is perfectly well known, and which has been seen by the speaker himself, or might have been seen (literally, "falls within the sphere of his vision"); and as examples of such a case, Patanjali quotes two sentences:—arunad Yavanah Sâketam, "the Yavana oppressed Sâketa," and: arunad Yavano Mâdhyamikân, "the Yavana oppressed the Mâdhyamika." Both of these circumstances, therefore, when Patanjali gave these examples, must have belonged to the then *immediate* past, and have been still fresh in the memory of the people; as appears certain also from the tenor of the contrary examples which he quotes. Now, according to Goldstücker's assumption, the Yavana who besieged Sâketa, *i. e.*, in his opinion, Ayodhyâ, must be identical with Menandros (reigned, according to Lassen, 144-120 B.C.), of whom Strabo expressly records that he extended his conquests as far as to the Yamunâ, while of no other *Greek* king of this period are so extensive military expeditions known. Patanjali must therefore have lived between 140 and 120 B. C. It is not possible, however, to bring into any kind of harmony with this view the second fact which Patanjali records of the Yavana, *viz.*, his oppressing of the Mâdhyamika. For the founding of the Buddhist school of this name is continually ascribed to Nâgârjuna (see Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 559; Lassen II. 1163; Köppen II. 14, 20; Wassiljew, p. 314). Now, we find, no doubt, conflicting statements with regard to the date of this renowned teacher; but, so far as the present inquiry is concerned, we need not concern ourselves either with the determining of this point, or with the intricate question regarding the actual date of Buddha's death; but we have simply to abide by the notice, overlooked by Goldstücker, in the Râjataraṅgiṇî (I. 173, 177; see also Lassen II. 413), according to which *Nâgârjuna is held to* have lived under the same Abhimanyu, to whom, in the same passage (I. 176), is ascribed so peculiar care for the Mahâbhâshya. For if we accept the latter statement as correct, we cannot well refuse to receive the former, also recorded in the same verses immediately before and after. Both stand and fall together. Relying on this passage, then, we are now in fact restricted to very narrow limits For even if, as seems undoubted, it must be assumed that, in Abhimanyu's time, Nâgârjuna was already advanced in years (which seems to be testified by the high reverence and the wide-reaching influence which, according to the words of the Râjataraṅgiṇî, enjoyed under that king); if, therefore, his of the Mâdhyamika-school may have taken place much earlier, yet we must not date back this circumstance *at the highest* more than about 40 years before Abhimanyu began to reign; for it would be hardly credible that at a still earlier period of life Nâgârjuna could have gained so prominent a position as to have been able to become the founder of a school. Between the years 5-45 A. D., according to Lassen's reckoning of Abhimanyu's coming to the throne, the following events must therefore fall:—1. The besieging of Sâketa by a Yavana; 2. The oppressing of the Mâdhyamika by the same or another Yavana; 3. The composition of the Mahâbhâshya; and between the years 45-65, lastly, 4. Abhimanyu's care for this work:—all this indeed only on the double assumption that the reading "mâdhyamikân" is correct, and that the name of the school, according to the Indian tradition, did not exist until after its being founded by Nâgârjuna. And now, as regards what I have marked as No. 1, the oppressing of Sâketa by a Yavana, such an occurrence, if we are to understand thereby the besieging of Oude by a Greek king, is certainly not even conceivable as having happened at this period, seeing that the last independent Greek king of the Indian Mark ceased to reign, according to Lassen II. 337, about the year 85 B. C. The name "Yavana," however, passed over from the Greeks to their successors, the Indo-Scythians; and since in No. 2 we see this name used in describing an occurrence which, according to what is stated above, cannot have taken place till about 100 to 85 years before Christ,—seeing further that the occurrence in No. 1 must be essentially synchronous with that recorded in No. 2—it follows that it can have been only an Indo-Scythic prince who had besieged Sâketa shortly before Patanjali gave this example. Assuming now that by Sâketa we are really to understand Ayodhyâ, as is certainly probable, then Kanishka (reigned 10-40 A. D., *according to* Lassen) is undoubtedly the only one of these princes—as indeed of all foreign princes before the Moslims—of whom so extensive a military expedition is (not merely conceivable, but even) not improbable; compare what Lassen, II. 854, records regarding the extension of his power toward the east. It is true that what Patanjali in No. 2 records of the oppressing of the Mâdhyamika by the Yavana, does not seem to be applicable to Kanishka, inasmuch as he is specially known as one of the principal promoters of Buddhism. On the one hand, however, we have also the still later information (in Hiuen Thsang I. 107, see Lassen II. 857) that Kanishka, during the earlier years of his reign, was hostilely disposed toward Buddhism—and it is just from this earlier period of the reign, as we shall see below, that Patanjali's statement seems to date; on the other hand, is it possible that the statement refers only to special oppression of the Mâdhyamika in the interest of the Hînayâna?

its character. [illegible]

as indeed the perpetual contest between this latter and other Buddhist schools (cf. Hiuen Thsang I. 172) gave occasion to the great council held under Kanishka, which was intended to effect a reconciliation. And although, according to the Râjataraṅgiṇî, Nâgârjuna's influence was in full bloom under Abhimanyu, yet it would still have been quite possible that under his predecessor, Kanishka, the predominant feeling might have been hostile to Nâgârjuna, as in point of fact the latter appears never to have had any share in the council held under the presidency of Pârs'va and Vasumitra. With respect to No. 3, the composition of the Mahâbhâshya, we will in the first place bring forward here what can be gathered from other sources regarding the author, Patanjali. According to Goldstücker, the names Gonikâputra and Gonardîya, with which in two passages of the Mahâbhâshya the view in question is supported, are to be referred to Patanjali himself, seeing that the commentaries (Nâges'a on "Gonikâputra," Kaiyyata on "Gonardîya") explain them by the word "bhâshyakâra." As a matter of fact, Patanjali never speaks in the first person, but he is always spoken of in the third person, and his opinion is several times introduced by tu (pas'yati tv âchâryah, in Ballantyne, pp. 195, 196, 197, 245, 281, 303, 787): it is also quite possible therefore that the words "Gonardîyas tv âha" do really refer to Patanjali. One only, however, of those two identifications can be correct; the other must to all appearance be false. For according to a communication for which I am indebted to Aufrecht's kindness, Gonardîya and Gonikâputra are two different persons, whom Vâtsyâyana, in the introduction of his Kâmasûtra, celebrates side by side as his predecessors in the teaching of the *ars amandi*: in a very surprising fashion: the one, namely, as author of a manual thereon, showing how one should behave in this matter towards one's own wife; the other as author of a work treating of the proper procedure in reference to strange women: Gonardîyo bhâryâdhikârikam, Gonikâputrah pâradârikam (namely, kâmasûtram samchikshepa): see Aufrecht, *Catalogus*, p. 215. In the body of the work Gonardîya is specially quoted five times, Gonikâputra six times. It would be delightful to get here so unexpected a glimpse into the private life of Patanjali. It may serve to set our minds at rest with reference to his moral character to remember that it is only the comparatively modern Nâges'a who identifies him with the Don Juan Gonikâputra, while by Kaiyyata, almost a thousand years earlier, the contemporary of the author of the Trikâṇḍas'esha and of Hemachandra, he is compared with the honoured Gonardîya. As regards the name of the latter, Goldstücker, pp. 235-236, calls attention to a passage of the Kâsikâ, I. 1, 75, in which the word "Gonardîya" (or "Gonardîyas," as the Calc. Schol. has it) is adduced as an instance of a place situated in the east (prâchâm des'e); and also to the circumstance that Kaiyyata sometimes designates Patanjali as "âchâryades'îya," *i. e.*, as countryman of the âchârya, or rather, contrasts him with the latter, *i. e.*, Kâtyâyana, the author of the Vârttika; and that as Kâtyâyana belonged to the east, Patanjali is also hereby assigned to the east. Mention should also have been made here of the special statement:—vyavahito 'pi pûrvasabdo vartate, tad yathâ, pûrvam Mathurâyâh Pâtaliputram (Ballantyne, p. 650) "Pâtaliputra" lies *before* Mathurâ, which is intelligible only in the mouth of a man who lived *behind* Pâtaliputra, and consequently decides for the eastern residence of Patanjali. In case, therefore, that "Gonardîya" is really to be understood as his name, the word can in fact be referred only to that "prâchâm des'a," not to the Kashmirian kings called Gonarda, as Lassen's opinion is, II. 484, and still less to the people of the same name mentioned by Varâhamihira, XIV. 12, as dwelling in the south, near Dasapura and Kerala. Now, according to what has been remarked with reference to Nos. 1 and 2, the work of Patanjali must have made a name for itself with great rapidity, in order to have been able to be introduced into Kashmir so early as in the reign of Abhimanyu. We come back again to this question further on; meanwhile we turn to what is in fact a highly interesting representation of the history of the Mahâbhâshya, which Goldstücker adduces for the elucidation of that verse of the Râjataraṅgiṇî which refers to the services rendered to the commentary by Abhimanyu, from the second book of the Vâkyapadîya of Bhartrihari, containing the so-called Harikârikâs.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

After this long digression on this passage, which seemed to be demanded by its importance, we turn now again to the proper question which is specially engaging our attention here, and on account of which it was cited by Goldstücker. There can evidently be no doubt that the recovery, described therein by Hari, of the Mahâbhâshya by "Chandra and the others" is the same to which the statement of the Râjataraṅgiṇî I. 176 (some five or six centuries later) refers regarding Abhimanyu's care for the work:—

Chandrâchâryâdibhir labdh(v) â' des'am tasmât tadâgamam |
Pravartitam mahâbhâshyam, svam cha vyâkaranam kritam ||

Now, when Goldstücker translates:—"After that Chandra and the others had received command from him (Abhimanyu), they established a text of the Mahâbhâshya, such as it could be established by means of his MS. of this work, and composed their own grammars," this translation rests partly upon an application, demanded by nothing in the passage, of the meaning which, without sufficient grounds, he has attached to the word âgama, *viz.*, "MS.;" partly upon the quite gratuitous assumption

that such a "MS." received, according to the Vâkyapadîya, from Parvata, came "into possession of Abhimanyu" by the hands of Chandra and the others. In my opinion we have to abide simply by Lassen's conjecture: tad-âgame (Loc.), "after they had received from him the command *to come to him;*" and indeed this appears to me quite indubitable when we take also into consideration the second passage of the Râjataranginî, IV. 487, already quoted by Böhtlingk, in which it is said of Jayâpîda (reigned, according to Lassen, 754-85)—

deśântarâd âgamayya vyâchakshâṇân kshamâpatiḥ |
prâvartayata vichhinnam mahâbhâshyam svamaṇḍale ||

"From another land bade come explainers thereof the earth-prince,
And brought the split Bhâshya in the kingdom new into vogue."

And the combination, occurring here, of prâvartayata with svamaṇḍale, definitely decides that in the first passage also (I. 176) prâvartitam is to be understood as meaning, not the "constituting of a text," but the "introduction" of the work into Kashmir; and, consequently, the whole of Goldstücker's polemic against the hitherto received conception of this verse is shown to be perfectly idle and groundless.

And, moreover, Bhartrihari's representation by no means leaves the impression that all that is recorded therein could have taken place within the short period of about 30 years; and yet, according to what has been said above on Nos. 1 and 2, regarding the passages "aruṇad Yavanaḥ Sâketam" and "aruṇad Yavano Mâdhyamikân," it is not easy to account for a longer interval between the composition of these passages and the introduction of the Mahâbhâshya into Kashmir; we obtain this interval, to wit, when, in the absence of every other fixed point, we strike the mean between the dates already found, 5-45 and 45-65 A.D., and consequently fix the composition of the Mahâbhâshya at 25 A.D., and Abhimanyu's care for the same at 55 A.D. The question therefore naturally arises, whether possibly those two examples may not have come into the text only through "Chandra and the others,"—originally therefore do not come from Patanjali at all? That the restoration of a text lost for a time—and this, according to the Vâkyapadîya, was really the question at issue—in the fashion which Indian scholars are accustomed to employ, would not take place without interpolations on their part, is, to say the least, extremely likely; and therefore we cannot well call in question the possibility that even the two passages referred to above may belong to such interpolations. But in that case the entire ground on which we stand with reference to this question becomes so unstable and uncertain, that we gladly hold by the assurance that these passages may just as likely be genuine. The very peculiar manner in which, in the Mahâbhâshya throughout, Patanjali is spoken of in the third person, is certainly remarkable, and might easily lead to the supposition that the work, as we possess it, is rather a work of his disciples than of Patanjali himself (compare what is said in the *Acad. Vorles.*, p. 216, regarding two other cases of the kind). This is not, however, absolutely necessary: the example of Cæsar shows that such a practice may be employed even when the author is speaking of himself; and therefore it would certainly require very special evidence to prove such a conclusion. If, in reference to this, it could be established that in the Mahâbhâshya—I can speak naturally only of the comparatively small portion to which we have access in Ballantyne's edition—cases are found in which a series of proof-passages are cited only with their initial words, while the text of the passages follows afterwards *in extenso*, together with a detailed explanation, yet on the other hand such self-commentaries are by no means uncommon in Indian literature; and, in consideration of the remarkable amount of detail with which even the Mahâbhâshya otherwise treats its subject, not in the least degree surprising: the brief exhibition of the proof-passages finds, too, its quite corresponding analogue in the peculiar use of the work for closing a discussion by *versus memoriales* which gather up in brief what has been already said. It would be presumptuous to pronounce at present on the complete authenticity of the existing text of the Mahâbhâshya, when we have access to only so small a portion. And in the preceding discussion I have only sought to show that, in so far as we are at present acquainted with its contents, there exist no directly urgent grounds for doubting its authenticity. In the meantime, the two passages adduced by Goldstücker: "aruṇad Yavanaḥ Sâketam" and "aruṇad Yavano Mâdhyamikân," may be regarded as furnishing sufficient evidence for determining the date of Patanjali; and on that evidence it would appear—on the assumption that Lassen's chronology is correct—that the date must be fixed not, according to the opinion of Goldstücker, at 140-120 B. C., but probably at about 25 after Christ.

# THE KULWADI OF THE HASSAN DISTRICT.

BY CAPT. J. S. F. MACKENZIE, MAISUR COMMISSION.

LOOKING at him in his official position, the Kulwadi is the village policeman, the beadle of the village community, the head-man's henchman; but as the representative of that despised and outcaste race—the Holiar, he appears most interesting. Tossed to and fro in the great sea of immigration which passed over the land, he, who once held the foremost place in the village circle, has, with each successive wave, sunk lower and lower in the social scale, until to-day we find him but a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. In the rights and privileges which yet cling to him, we, however, get glimpses of his former high estate, and find proofs that the Holiars, or lowest right-hand caste, were the first to establish villages in this part of the country. The Kurabas, or jungle tribes, may have been the aborigines, but, naturally of a wandering disposition, they confined themselves to the chase. They have no part or parcel in the village community: the Holiars, on the other hand, have, and through their representative, the Kulwadi, occupy a prominent position. As a body, they are the servants of the ryots, and are mainly engaged in tending the plough and watching the herds. One of the members of this despised caste is generally the priest to the village goddess, and, as such, on that annual day when all hasten to pay their offerings at her shrine, takes precedence of the *twice-born* Brâhman.

Every village has its Holigiri—as the quarter inhabited by the Holiars is called—outside the village boundary hedge. This, I thought, was because they are considered an impure race, whose touch carries defilement with it. Such is the reason generally given by the Brâhman, who refuses to receive anything directly from the hands of a Holiar. And yet the Brâhmans consider great luck will wait upon them if they can manage to pass through the Holigiri without being molested. To this the Holiars have a strong objection, and should a Brâhman attempt to enter their quarters, they turn out in a body and slipper him, in former times it is said to death; members of the other castes may come as far as the door, but they must not—for that would bring the Holiar bad luck—enter the house. If, by chance, a person happens to get in, the owner takes care to tear the intruder's cloth, tie up some salt in one corner of it, and turn him out. This is supposed to neutralize all the good luck which might have accrued to the trespasser, and avert any evil which might have befallen the owner of the house. At Mailkota, the chief seat of the followers of Râmanuja Achârya, and at Bailur, where there is also a god worshipped by the three marked Brâhmans, the Holiars have the right of entering the temple on three days in the year specially set aside for them. At Mailkota they have the privilege of pulling the car. These are the only two temples in Maisur where the Holiars are allowed in. The following is, according to the Brâhmans, 'the reason why':—"On Râmanuja Achârya going to Mailkota to perform his devotions at that celebrated shrine, he was informed that the place had been attacked by the Turk king of Dehli, who had carried away the idol. The Brâhman immediately set out for that capital; and, on arrival, he found that the king had made a present of the image to his daughter; for it is said to be very handsome, and she asked for it as a plaything. All day the princess played with the image, and at night the god assumed his own beautiful form and enjoyed her bed; for Krishṇa is addicted to such kinds of adventures (Buchanan, vol. I. p. 342). Râmanuja Achârya, by virtue of certain mantras, obtained possession of the image and wished to carry it off. He asked the Brâhmans to assist him, but they refused; on which the Holiars volunteered, provided the right of entering the temple were granted to them. Râmanuja Achârya accepted their proposal, and the Holiars having posted themselves between Dehli and Mailkota, the image of the god was carried down in twenty-four hours." When Râmanuja Achârya first appeared in this part of the country, we know that the religion of the Bellala court was Jaina, while, from the number of temples still extant, it is clear that the religion of the great mass of the people was the Śaiva. Râmanuja Achârya introduced a new religion—the Vaishṇava. It is more than probable this story was invented by the Brâhmans to conceal the fact that the Holiars, by receiving a privilege denied to other religions, had been bribed into becoming followers of Vishṇu. If this is correct, then we may assume that the Holiars, as a class 400 years

ago, were of some importance. But to return to the Kulwadi, all the thousand-and-one castes, whose members find a home in the village, unhesitatingly admit that the Kulwadi is *de jure* the rightful owner of the village. He who was, is still, in a limited sense, "lord of the village manor."

If there is a dispute as to the village boundaries, the Kulwadi is the only one competent to take the oath as to how the boundary ought to run. The old custom for settling such disputes was as follows :—The Kulwadi, carrying on his head a ball made of the village earth, in the centre of which is placed some water, passes along the boundary. If he has kept the proper line, everything goes well ; but should he, by accident, even go beyond his own proper boundary, then the ball of earth, of its own accord, goes to pieces, the Kulwadi dies within fifteen days, and his house becomes a ruin. Such is the popular belief.

Again, the skins of all animals dying within the village boundaries are the property of the Kulwadi—and a good income he makes from this source. To this day a village boundary dispute is often decided by this one fact. If the Kulwadis agree, the other inhabitants of the villages can say no more.

In the Malnad—the hilly portion of this district, where the ryots are more or less given to the chase—there is a peculiar game-law. Should a wounded stag, started in the village, happen to die within the boundary of another, the Patel of the latter village is entitled to his share of the game, although he has taken no part in the chase.

When—in our forefathers' days, as the natives say—a village was first established, a stone called "Karu Kallu" is set up. To this stone the Patel once a year makes an offering. The Kulwadi, after the ceremony is over, is entitled to carry off the rice, &c., offered. In cases where there is no Patel, the Kulwadi goes through the yearly ceremony. This "Karu Kallu," a plain Menhir, is not to be found in all villages ; but on enquiry it will be found that such are but offshoots from some neighbouring parent village.

But what I think proves strongly that the Holiar was the first to take *possession* of the soil, is that the Kulwadi receives, and is entitled to receive, from the friends of any person who dies in the village, a certain fee, or, as my informant forcibly put it, "they buy from him the ground for the dead." This fee is still called in Canarese *nela hôga*—from *nela*, the earth, and *haga*, a coin worth 1 anna 2 pie.

In Munzerabad, the ancient Bullum, the Kulwadi does not receive this fee from those ryots who are related to the head-man. Here the Kulwadi occupies a higher position ; he has, in fact, been adopted into the Patel's family, for, on a death occurring in such family, the Kulwadi goes into mourning by shaving his head. He always receives from the friends the clothes the deceased wore, and a brass basin.

The Kulwadi, however, owns a superior in the matter of burial fees. He pays yearly a fowl, one hana (=4 annas 8 pie), and a handful of rice to the agent of the Sudgadu Siddha ("lord of the burning-grounds"). These agents, who originally belonged to the Gangâdikara Vokkaliga caste—the caste whence the great body of ryots is drawn—have become a separate class, and are called, after their head, "Sudgadu Siddharu." They are appointed by the "lord of the burning-grounds," whose head-quarters are somewhere in the Bababodin hills. They intermarry among themselves, and the son succeeds the father in the agency, but has to be confirmed in his appointment by the head of the caste. The agents have each particular tracts of country assigned to them. They receive a monthly salary of from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3, and are allowed to pay, out of the collections, their own expenses proper. The balance once a year is paid into the treasury of the Phala Swami ["he who eats fruit only"], as their master is called. These agents engage in agricultural pursuits, but, when so employed, must put aside the sacred dress in which they are to be seen when on a tour. The distinguishing badge by which these persons can be known is the wooden bell, in addition to the usual metal one, they always carry about; without this no one would acknowledge the agent's right to collect the fees.

The following account of how and why the Kulwadi has to pay these fees was given to me by a very old man I met one day, when on his beat :—In the days of Harshachandra Mahârâjâ, Vishvamitra and Vasishtha, two holy men who had taken up their quarters in a burial-ground, were busy one day discussing the king's merits. It was generally said that the king never, under any circumstances, broke his word ; and Vishvamitra was determined to try if the king was really as good a man as people made him out. Disguised as a beggar, he called at the palace, and refused to go away until he had seen the king in person.

Harshachandra came out, and, in reply to the beggar, promised to give him whatever he wanted. The beggar said—"Give me as much money as will cover a tall man standing on an elephant." The king emptied his treasury, but to no purpose; the sum was insufficient. He sold everything he had, and yet he found himself short of the measure. For Vishvâmitra had, by means of rats, undermined the ground, so that as fast as the money was piled up, that below went to fill up the rat-holes. He now sold his wife and only son, but this was of no use, for the money thus realized did not cover the measure. In despair, the king had it published abroad that he would hold himself the slave of any person, who, by fulfilling the promise he had made to the beggar, would extricate him from his difficulties. No one came forward. The king was obliged to follow Vishvamitra all over the country. In the course of their wanderings they came across Vîr Baraka, the Kulwadi of the capital, who had amassed a large fortune from the burial-fees. Seeing the king's pitiable state, the Kulwadi offered to pay the money. After some words, the beggar accepted to hold the Kulwadi responsible, and made over the ex-king to him as a slave. Vîr Baraka (Baraka was the name by which the Kulwadi was called at the capital Kaliyanpurapattna), asked what were the terms of the promise; being informed, he filled a bamboo of the required height with money, and made this sum over to Vishvamitra, who had to be satisfied with getting what the strict letter of the promise only entitled him to receive. The Kulwadi now appointed the ex-king his agent for the collection of the fees.

The following were the fees payable in the good days of old:—

1. Nela hâja, the ground-fee.
2. Hari hâja, a fee for tearing the winding-sheet.
3. One hûn (=Rs. 1-12) placed in the mouth of the corpse.
4. One hana (=1 anna 2 pie) placed on the navel.
5. The winding-sheet.
6. A handful of coarse sugar.
7. 12 cocoa-nuts.
8. 12 betel leaves.
9. A half ser of rice.
10. A *third* of an anna of incense.

Vishvâmitra, however, had not yet done with the king; he was determined to test him further. He accordingly transformed himself into a snake, and took up his quarters under a tree which grew in the burial-ground. The leaves of this tree are used by the Brâhmans for plates. The Saukar, who had bought the queen and her son, disgusted at getting little or no work out of the boy, ordered him one day to go and collect leaves for the dinner. The lad went into the burial-ground, and began picking leaves from the tree; while so doing the snake came out, the lad was bitten, and died. The mother, hearing of this, rushed to the burial-ground, and, after the first burst of grief, began busying herself in making preparations for burning the body. Too poor to buy wood, she set about collecting what she could find on the ground. The king, who had from the first recognized his wife and son, would not allow his affections to interfere with his duty to his master, and sternly demanded the proper fees. The unhappy mother, who had not recognized her husband, told him she was a slave, and had no funds. Nothing would appease the strict agent, who cut the wife down with his sword. The gods, pleased with the manner in which Harshachandra had conducted himself, thought it was time to interfere. They appeared on the scene, restored to life both mother and son, and offered to reinstate the king in all his former wealth and power. The king declined, and begged he might, with his wife and child, be allowed to accompany the gods to their paradise. To this they agreed, and were just setting out, when every ghost, goblin, demon, devil, &c., started up, and, since there was no longer a person to look after the fees, threatened to keep the gods company. The gods would not hear of this; they therefore appointed two persons to collect the fees. Calling the Kulwadi into their presence, they ordered him to pay these Siddharu a yearly fee of a fowl, a "hana," and one day's rice.

Vîr Baraka, purse-proud and arrogant, laughed when he heard the small amount of the remuneration, and said—"What is that for me? I could give them gold untold, and none the worse would I be." The gods were highly displeased, and cursed him in the following lines:—

"Hale kambale; lake gudige;
Uttarmara mane umbo gadige;
Prâpti agale."

Which may be translated:—

"An old kambale for clothing; a stick in your hand;
The leavings of betters you'll eat in this land."

That the curse has been fulfilled, few who have seen the Kulwadi will dispute.

The present chief of the caste is said to be a descendant of the persons appointed by the gods.

There is a belief among the people that if a death occurs in a house on a Tuesday or a Friday, another death will quickly follow, unless a fowl is tied to one corner of the bier which carries the deceased to his long home. This fowl is buried with the deceased. Those castes who do not eat fowl replace it with the bolt of the door. This may account for why a fowl forms a portion of the burial-fee.

The only caste, so far as I can learn, in which the custom of placing a coin in the mouth of the deceased is still practised, is the Vokkaliga; the coin must be a gold one. The body is always buried with the feet to the north.

The word Kulwadi ("he who knows the ryots") is derived from *kula*—the technical term by which a ryot cultivating government land is known. In the word *kula* we find crystallized a story of other days. One of the Bellala kings, whose devotion to religion had gained him the favour of the gods, had been presented with a phial containing "Sidda rasa,"—a liquid which converted iron into gold. On this the king determined to abolish the payment of the land-tax in coin, and ordered that each ryot should pay into the government treasury the "gula," or plough-share, used during the year. All the iron thus collected the king turned into gold. In the course of time the initial *g* has become *k*, and from the custom of paying the "Gula," the ryot came to be called a "Kula."

## ON THE SUB-DIVISIONS OF THE BRÂHMAN CASTE IN NORTHERN ORISSA.

BY JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S., M.R.A.S.

As a slight contribution to our knowledge of the divisions of caste in India, a subject still involved in much obscurity, the following remarks on the *gotras*, or families, of the great Brâhman caste in this part of Orissa may be found useful.*

Tradition relates that the original Brâhmans of Orissa were all extinct at the time of the rise of the Gangâ Vaṅśa line of kings, but that 10,000 Brâhmans were induced to come from Kanauj and settle in Jâjpûr, the sacred city on the Baitaraṇi river. The date of this immigration is not stated, but the fact is probably historical, and may have been synchronous with the well-known introduction of Kanaujia Brâhmans into the neighbouring province of Bengal by King Adisura in the tenth century.†

When the worship of the idol Jagannâth began to be revived at Puri, the kings of Orissa induced many of the Jâjpûr Brâhmans to settle round the new temple and conduct the ceremonies. Thus there sprang up a division among the Brâhmans; those who settled in Puri being called the *Dakhinâtya S'reni*, or southern class, and those who remained at Jâjpûr, the *Uttara S'reni*, or northern class. This latter spread all over northern Orissa. Many of the southern Brâhmans, however, are also found in Balasor; and the divisions of the two classes are fairly represented in most parts of the district, though the southern class is less numerous than the northern. The former are held in greater esteem for learning and purity of race than the latter.

The *S'renis* are divided, first, according to the Veda, whose ritual they profess to observe, and secondly, into *gotras* or families.

I.—SOUTHERN LINE.

1. *Rig-Veda.*

| GOTRA. | UPADHI. |
|---|---|
| Bâsishṭha. | Sârangî. |
| " | Mahâpâtra. |

2. *Sâma-Veda.*

Kâśyapa ....................Nanda.
Dharagautama ..........Tripâṭhî.
Gautama ....................Udgâtâ, *vulgo* Utâ.
Parâśara ..................Dibedi, *vulgo* Dube.
Kauṇḍinya ................Tripâṭhî, *vulgo* Tihârî.

3. *Yajur-Veda.*‡

Bhâradwaja—
*a.* Bhâradwaja§ ......Sârangî.
*b.* Śambhukar .........Miśra.
*c.* Lâṇḍi ...............Nanda.

* This brief article was put together from notes made at different times; and something similar was supplied by me to Dr. W. W. Hunter and has been printed by him in the appendix to his work on Orissa. The above article, however, exhibits the classification more fully and clearly than Dr. Hunter's note, and contains some additional facts which I have learnt since the appearance of that work.

† The date is not certain. Babu Rajendralal Mitra fixes it at about A.D. 964.—*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XXXIV., p. 139.

‡ This ought to come before the Sâma-Veda, but my native informants stick to it that the Sâma-Vedis rank above the Yajur-Vedis. I record the fact without understanding the reason.

§ The great Bhâradwaj *gotra* is divided into the three septs here given.

Âtreya—
*a.* Dattâtreya ............Ratha.
*b.* Krishṇâtreya ........ „
Haritasa ..................Mahâpâtra.
„ ..................Dâsa.
Kauchhasa .............. „
Ghritakauchhasa ......... „
Mudgala ..................Satpathi, *vulgo* Pathi, *also vulgo* Satpasti.
Batsasa ..................Dâsa, Achârya, Miśra.
Kâtyâyana ................Sârangî
Kâpinjala ................Dâsa.

II.—Northern Line.

1. *Rig-Veda.*

Not represented.

2. *Yajur-veda.*

Kâtyâyana ................Paṇḍa.
Sâṇḍâlya .................. „
Krishṇâtreya ............ „ and Dâsa.
Bhâradwaja............... „
Barshagaṇa ...............Miśra.
Kaphala .................. „
Gautama...................Kara.

3. *Atharva-Vedi.*

Ângirasa ..................Upadhyâya, *vulgo* Upadhya.

Of lower branches, and considered inferior to the above, are—

Sânkhyâyaṇa ............Mahanti.
Nâgasa ....................Dâsa, and Mahanti.

In explanation of the *upádhis*, I would state that they are, so to speak, the surnames of each *gotra*; for instance, a Brâhman of the Kâśyapa *gotra*, whose personal name was Râdha Krishṇa, would be known and spoken of, and speak of himself, as Râdhâ Krishṇa Nand; Patit Pâban, of the Kâtyâyana *gotra*, is Patitpâban Sârangî; and so on. The commonest surnames are Paṇḍâ and Mahâpâtra in Balasor; probably because the families of the *gotras* to which they belong have multiplied more extensively there. Some of the *upádhis* given above are very rare in Balasor, as Tripâṭhi, Ratha, Dube; the others are common enough. Some of them are also borne by other castes. Thus all the Karaṇs, a class corresponding to the Kâyasthas of Bengal, have the surname *Mahanti*, in the north contracted to Maiti. This fashion of caste surnames has been extended to the lower castes also: thus we have among the artizan castes the titles Pâtar, Raṇâ, Ojhâ, Jena (a very low name, chiefly used by *Pâṇs, and other impure castes*), *Râut, Kar, De*, and the Bangali names Ghosh and Bose (Basu). These names, where they are the same as those borne in other provinces, are used by lower castes. Thus Ghosh and Basu in Bangali are highly respectable Kâyastha names, in Orissa they are borne by Râjus, Gokhas, and other low castes. The cowherd class, the *Gwâlâ* of Upper India, are here called Gaur or Gauḍ, and take the surnames Behera, Palâi, Seṇḍ, &c. Behera seems to have been adopted from the English, as it is this class that furnishes the well-known Oriya 'bearers' of Calcutta.

But to return to the Brâhmans,—the *gotra* names, it will be seen, are for the most part patronymics from well-known Rishis, and are identical with many of those still in use in the North-Western Provinces. This circumstance seems to add confirmation to the legend of the origin of this caste from Kanauj. A Rishi's name occurs also among *upádhis* in one instance; Sârangî being from Sanskr, Sârngî, patronymic from Sṛinga Rishi. Paṇḍâ is hardly a *gotra upádhi*, being applied to all Brâhmans who officiate as priests.

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# PATANJALI'S MAHÂBHASHYA

BY PROFESSOR RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A.

## Pushpamitra.

Since I wrote last on the subject, I have discovered a third passage in the Mahâbhâshya in which Pushpamitra is spoken of. Pâṇini in III. 1, 26, teaches that the termination *aya*, technically called *ṇi*, should be applied to a root when the *action of causing* something to be done is implied. Upon this, the author of the Vârtikas observes that a rule should be made to provide for the use of the causal and primitive forms in the uninverted or the usual order in the case of the roots *yaj* and others. This Patanjali explains thus :—"Pushpamitra sacrifices (*yajate*), and the sacrificing priests cause him to sacrifice (*i.e.*, to be the sacrificer by performing the ceremonies for him). This is the usual or uninverted order of using the forms. But by Pâṇini's rule the order ought to be 'Pushpamitra causes (the priests) to sacrifice, and the priests sacrifice.'" This objection is removed by the author of the Vârtikas himself, by saying that the root *yaj*, signifying several actions, the usual or unin-

verted order is provided for, and no new rule is necessary. How it is so, Patanjali tells us as follows:—" *Yaj* denotes several actions. It does not necessarily signify the throwing of the oblations into the fire, but also giving money, or providing the means of the sacrifice. For instance, they say 'O how well he sacrifices,' in the case of one who provides the means properly. That providing of the means, or giving money, is done by Pushpamitra, and the sacrificing priests cause him so to provide or so to become the sacrificer. In this sense, then, Pushpamitra sacrifices *(yajatē)*, and the priests cause him to perform it *(yâjayanti)*." This is the uninverted or the usual order. In the sense of throwing the oblations into the fire, the other is the correct order.*

In this instance we see Patanjali speaks of the sacrifices of Pushpamitra as if he were familiar with them; and by itself this passage shows that he could not have lived long after him, certainly not so long as 175 years after, as Prof. Weber makes out. But the other instance pointed out in page 300 vol. I. of the *Antiquary*, in which his sacrifices are spoken of as if going on, shows that he lived *in* Pushpamitra's time. The three passages, then, in which his name occurs, are perfectly consistent with, and confirm, each other.

PATANJALI'S NATIVE PLACE.

Indian tradition makes the author of the Mahabhashya a native of a country called Gonarda, which is spoken of by the grammarians as an eastern country. The Matsya Purâṇa also enumerates it amongst the countries in that direction. The position of Patanjali's native place, whether it was Gonarda or some other, can, I think, be pretty definitely fixed by means of certain passages in his work. In his comments on III. 3, 136, the two following passages occur: —*Yoyam adhvâ gata a Pataliputrát tasya yadavaram Sâketât*—' Of the distance or path from Pâṭaliputra which has been traversed [such a thing was done in] that part of it which is on this side of Sâketa;' and *yoyam adhvâ â Pâtaliputrâd gantavyas tasya yat param Sâketât*—' Of the distance or path up to Pâṭaliputra which is to be traversed [something will be done in] that portion which lies on that side of Sâketa.† In these two instances we see that the limit of the distance is Pâṭaliputra, and that it is divided into two parts, one of which is on *this* side of Sâketa, and the other on *that*. Sâketa, then, must be in the middle, *i.e.*, on the way from the place represented by 'this' in the expression 'this side,' to Pâṭaliputra. *This* place must be that where Patanjali speaks or writes; and it must, we see, be in the line connecting Sâketa and Pâṭaliputra on the side of it remote from Pâṭaliputra. The bearing of Oudh from Pâtna is north-west by west; Patanjali's native place, therefore, must have been somewhere to the north-west by west of Oudh. Prof. Weber thinks he lived to the east of Pâṭaliputra; but of this I have spoken elsewhere.

Let us now see whether the information thus gathered can be brought into harmony with the tradition mentioned above. The exact position of Gonarda is not known; but if it really was Patanjali's country, it must have been situated somewhere to the north or north-west of Oudh. Now, there is a district thereabouts which is known by the name of Goṇḍa, and there is also a town of that name about 20 miles to the north-west of Oudh. According to the usual rules of corruption, Sansk. rda (र्द) is in the Prâkrita corrupted to dda (द्द), but sometimes also it is changed to ḍḍa (ड्ड).‡ Gonarda, therefore, must in the Prâkrit assume the form Gonaḍḍa. Hasty pronunciation elides the *a*, and, in the later stages of the development of the Prâkrits, one of the two similar consonants is rejected. The form is thus reduced to Gonda, which is the way in which it is now pronounced. General Cunningham derives Goṇḍa from Gauḍa.§ But, so far as I am aware, there are no instances of the insertion of a nasal in a Prâkrit word, when it does not exist in the corresponding Sanskrit one. It appears, therefore, very probable that the district of Gonda in Oudh was the ancient Gonarda, and had the honour of giving birth to the great author of the Mahabhashya.

THE NATIVE COUNTRY OF KÂTYÂYANA.

Prof. Weber is of opinion that Kâtyâyana was one of the eastern grammarians, and Dr.

* Pan. III. 1, 26. Kâtyâ. यज्यादिषु चाविपर्यासः । Patan. यज्यादिषु चाविपर्यासो वक्तव्यः । पुष्यमित्रो यजते याजका याजयन्तीति । तत्र भवितव्यं पुष्यमित्रो याजयते याजकाः यजन्तीति । Katya. यज्यादिषु चाविपर्यासो नानाक्रियाणां यज्यर्थत्वात् । यज्यादिषु चाविपर्यासः सिद्धः । कुतः । नानाक्रियाणां यज्यर्थत्वात् । नानाक्रिया यजेरर्थाः । नावश्यं यजिरिति प्रक्षेपण एव वर्तते । किं तर्हि त्यागेऽपि वर्तते, &c.

† I omit the grammatical details of this as not necessary.

‡ See Var. Prâkr. Praka. III. 26.

§ *Anc. Geog.* p. 408, and *Arch. Surv.* vol. I., p. 327.

Goldstücker agrees with him. But it is a question whether the distinction between northern or eastern grammarians, which Paṇini mentions, really existed in the time of Katyayana. But to whatever school of grammarians he may have belonged, supposing such schools existed in his time, it appears, from a passage in the Mahabhashya, that the author of the Vârtikas was a Dakshinatya, *i.e.*, a native of the South or Dakkhan. In the introduction to the Mahabhashya* occurs a passage, the sense of which is this:—"If a man, who wishes to express his thoughts, does so by using some words or other simply from his acquaintance with the usage of the world, what is the use of grammar? The object of grammar is to restrict the liberty of speech in such a manner that religious good may arise from it; just as is done in the affairs of the world and in matters concerning the Vedas. In the world we find people saying 'a domesticated cock should not be eaten, a domesticated pig should not be eaten.' Things are eaten for the satisfaction of hunger. Hunger, however, can be satisfied even by eating dog's flesh, and such other things. But then though it is so, a restraint is put on us, and we are told such a thing is eatable and such a thing is uneatable. * * * In the same manner, while one is able to express his thoughts equally by correct or incorrect words, what grammar does is to restrict him to the use of correct words, in order that religious good may arise from it."

Now, this is Patanjali's explanation of two vârtikas, the latter of which is *yatha laukika-vaidikeshu*, *i.e.*, 'as in the world and in the Veda.' On this Patanjali's remark is *Priya-taddhitâ Dakshinatyah yatha loke vede cheti prayoktavye yatha laukika-vaidikeshviti prayunjate*, *i.e.*, the Dakshinatyas, *i.e.*, people of the South or Dakkhan, are fond of using (words with) *taddhita* affixes, that is, instead of saying *yatha loke vede cha*, they say *yatha laukika-vaidikeshu*" (*i.e.*, instead of using the words *loka* and *veda*, they use derivatives from them, formed by affixing the termination *ika*). This clearly means that Kâtyâyana, the author of the vartika in which the words *laukika* and *Vaidika* occur, was a Dakshinatya.

## THE DATE OF SRÎ HARSHA.

BY KA'SHINA'TH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A., LL.B., ADVOCATE, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY.

In my article and letter on the date of the Nyâyakusumanjali in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. I. pp. 297 and 353), the question of the date of Sri Harsha, the author of the Naishadha Charita and other works, came incidentally under consideration; and in my letter I made a reference to the conclusion which had been arrived at on that point by Dr. J. G. Bühler, as I knew it from a summary of his paper on the subject. I have since seen the whole of his paper on the age of the Naishadha Charita of Srî Harsha, and although I cannot say that my view on the subject continues quite unshaken, I still think that the question cannot yet be regarded as finally settled.

In the first place, then, the authority upon which Dr. Bühler relies for the date of Sri Harsha gives an account of him, which, as the Doctor himself very truly remarks, "is in many details obviously fanciful."† And though I am willing to concede that this circumstance may easily be too much insisted on, it must be acknowledged that this account should be received with considerable caution. Dr. Bühler points out two circumstances tending to show that the "main facts" related by Rajaśekhara, the Jaina writer who gives us this account of Sri Harsha, are "strictly historical." I will take his second circumstance first. It is that "Rajaśekhara's narration agrees in some important details with the statements which Sri Harsha makes regarding himself in his own works."‡ Now, I cannot attach much weight to this circumstance; for, surely, even a Hindu biographer, void of the "historical sense," could not afford either to ignore or to contradict such well-known autobiographical statements as those to which Dr. Bühler alludes. Running counter to such statements, a biography may, in the majority of cases at any rate, be safely put down as a work of romance. But it does not therefore follow, I think, that the repetition of them in a work is proof of the remaining statements being trustworthy. Had the case been somewhat different—had the statements coincided with what some elaborate historical investigation had brought out, or with facts which could be reached only by a course of *bona fide* historical research—the

* Ballantyne's Edn. pp. 54, 55.

† Page 5.—My references are to the essay as recently published in a separate pamphlet.

‡ Page 5.

coincidences would, of course, have been of considerable moment. As it is, those coincidences appear to me scarcely to warrant the conclusion which it is sought to base on them.

The second circumstance pointed out by Dr. Bühler is, that "it might be expected that Râjaśekhara, who lived in the middle of the fourteenth century, could obtain trustworthy information regarding a person who lived only about 150 years before him." This I fully admit. But be it noted that Mâdhavâchârya also lived in the middle, or rather somewhat before the middle, of the fourteenth century.* And barring all other considerations, which, I think, will lead us to assign the palm of superiority to Mâdhava, it cannot be denied that Mâdhava must have had access to at least as trustworthy information on this matter as any author of the Jaina persuasion; and, as I have pointed out in my paper, Mâdhava makes Śrî Harsha—the Khaṇḍanakâra—a contemporary of Śankarâcharya. Whom, then, shall we believe? Regarding the biography of a Hindu poet, is it more likely that the Jaina Sûri or the Hindu Âcharya erred? True, Mâdhava may have wished to exaggerate the greatness of Śankara's powers by making him engage in a controversy with Śrî Harsha, and representing him as coming off victorious in the conflict; but it is still difficult to regard this as a sufficient explanation of this very gross anachronism, if anachronism it be. Add to this, further, that such credit as there may have been in a controversial victory over Śrî Harsha, had been already reflected in great measure on Śankara's name by Śrî Harsha's own respectful mention of that great philosopher.†

It must also be remembered, as pointed out by Dr. Bühler himself, that Râjaśekhara's historical knowledge is found to be at fault in two places in this very piece of biography—firstly, with respect to the relationship existing between Jayantachandra and Govindachandra; and secondly, with respect to the king who was ruler of Kâśmir in Śrî Harsha's time.‡ This last erroneous statement, I think, takes a very great deal from Râjaśekhara's credibility in the matter. Furthermore, according to this account, Śrî Harsha wrote his Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhâdya some time before he so much as contemplated the Naishadhîya. Now it is, I think, rather hard—although not quite impossible—to reconcile this circumstance with the words used by our author in one part of the Khandana. He says in that place:—"And in the Naishadha Charita, in the canto on the praise of the Supreme Being, I have said that the mind," &c., &c. This assertion in the original is put in the past tense.§ And when Dr. Bühler mentions another circumstance which is related by Râjaśekhara in his Prabandhakosha, and after characterising it as "at all events consistent with that of the Śrî Harsha Prabandha," goes on to contend that it corroborates this latter, I can scarcely persuade myself that others will concur in this. The consistency of all parts of a romance with each other cannot by any means be regarded as an argument for its truth.

Adverting to the passage which is said to be quoted in the Sarasvati Kaṇṭhâbharana from the Naishadha Charita, Dr. Bühler says that the passage may have been interpolated subsequently to the time of its author;‖ and I learn from him that the passage in question does not occur in the Oxford copy of the Sarasvatî Kaṇṭhâbharaṇa. If this be so, it will, to some extent, weaken the argument based upon it. Dr. Bühler's authority for the statement about the Oxford MS. is probably, however, the elaborate catalogue of Professor Aufrecht. If so, I would point out one or two circumstances which seem to me to be worthy of consideration here. Dr. Hall says distinctly that the Naishadhîya is cited in the Sarasvatî Kaṇṭhâbharaṇa.¶ On the other hand, Dr. Aufrecht's Catalogue—which, it may be observed, was published long after Dr. Hall's edition of the *Vâsavadattâ*—is simply silent as to any quotation under the name either of Śrî Harsha or the Naishadhîya. But Dr. Aufrecht does not go so far as to say categorically that the quotation does not exist in the copy inspected and catalogued by him. On the contrary, what he does say seems to me to take from this negative testimony of silence a considerable portion of its value. "Major vero," says he in his article on this Kaṇṭhâbharaṇa itself, "distichorum pars unde desumta sit hucusque me latet."** This being so, it may very well be that even in the Oxford copy of the Sarasvatî Kanthâbharaṇa, the quota-

* See Prof. Cowell's Introduction to the *Kusumâñjali*, page 10, and authorities there referred to.

† See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I. p. 229.

‡ Pages 6 and 8.

§ Page 28, referred to in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I. p. 299:—
तथाहमकथयं नैषधचरितस्य परमपुरुषस्तुतौ सर्गे इत्येवमादिकं.

‖ Page 7.

¶ *Vâsavadattâ*, Pref. p. 18.

** Page 208 *b*.

tion from the Naishadhîya may exist; and yet, from the name of the author of the stanza quoted not being there mentioned, Dr. Aufrecht may have been unable to recognise its origin. And to this circumstance I am inclined to attach particular weight, because Dr. Aufrecht, unless I misunderstand him, has in one part of his catalogue cited the words—

सप्तर्षिहस्तावचितावशेषाण्यधोविवस्वान्परिवर्तमानः *

apparently without recollecting that they form part of the sixteenth stanza of the first canto of Kâlidâsa's Kumârasambhava. Having said this much, I have only to add that if it should turn out that the quotation does occur in the Oxford MS. of the Sarasvatî Kaṇṭhâbharaṇa, Dr. Bühler's conjecture will lose much of its value. And if the question, as it will then be, is reduced to one of the comparative probability of the quotation from Śrî Harsha being interpolated, and of Râjaśekhara's account being erroneous, many will, I think, be inclined to hold that it is, at all events, safer to trust to the *fact* of the quotation, than to any *opinion* about the accuracy of a Jaina biographer.

It is only proper that I should add a remark here about Dr. Bühler's identification of the Jayantachandra mentioned by Râjaśekhara as the king in whose reign Śrî Harsha flourished, with the king Jayachandra who is known to history. When I first read the abstract of Dr. Bühler's paper given in the *Indian Antiquary*, I remarked that the learned Doctor's argument proceeded upon the 'assumption' that that identification was correct. Now that I have read *in extenso* the grounds on which Dr. Bühler arrives at that conclusion, I must say that the reasoning appears to me—I will not say conclusive, but certainly very cogent, and the 'assumption' of the identity has surely very good warrant.

I now proceed to another point. In the preface to his edition of the *Das'arûpaka*, which, as usual, bristles with the most varied items of information, Dr. FitzEdward Hall says:—"At the foot of page 71 begins a stanza which an intelligent pandit assures me [he] has read in the *Prasanna Râghava*. If this be so, we may have some clue to the age of the *Gîta Govinda*."† This observation of Dr. Hall's, it will be remarked, is not very positive. Professor Weber, however, who repeats it, is somewhat less cautious. Speaking of the *Prasanna Râghava*, he says:—"According to Hall (Preface to the *Das'arûpa*, p. 36), a verse from this drama is quoted in Dhanika, and it must therefore be placed before the middle of the tenth century."‡ If these remarks had been correct, we should probably have been able to add something valuable to our materials for inquiry in the present matter. For in the introduction to this excellent drama—a printed copy of which I have *recently obtained from Calcutta*—a certain Harsha is mentioned as the delight of the poetical muse; and this Harsha, as I am inclined to believe on various grounds, is more probably the Harsha of the Naishadhîya than the Harsha whose name is connected with the two dramas of Nâgânanda and Ratnâvalî.§ However that may be, I think there must have been some mistake in the information received by Dr. Hall. For first, I think, the stanza itself alludes to an event which cannot possibly be alluded to by any character in a play on any part of Râma's history, except by a gross anachronism. The stanza runs as follows:—

एतां पश्य पुरःस्थलीमिह किल क्रीडाकिरातो हरः ॥
कोदण्डेन किरीटिना सरभसं चूडान्तरे ताडितः ॥
इत्याकर्ण्य कथाद्भुतं हिमनिधावद्रौ सुभद्रापते ॥
र्मन्दं मन्दमकारि येन निजयोर्दोर्दण्डयोर्मण्डलम् ॥

The sense is not quite complete here, but it may be thus freely rendered:—

"He who gradually folded up his own big arms into a circle, on hearing this wonderful story of the lord of Subhadrâ (*i.e.*, Arjuna) in the Himâlaya Mountain, namely—

"Look at this spot in front of you; Here, of old, Mahâdeva, who had become a Kirâta in sport, was hit hard on the crest by Kirîṭin (*i.e.*, Arjuna) with his bow."

Now this clearly refers to the story of the rencontre between Śiva and Arjuna, an event which was yet in the womb of futurity, while

* Page 110 *b*.

† Page 36.

‡ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I. p. 257.

§ The stanza (p. 6, Calcutta edition, and p. 129 of *Pandit* newspaper for 1867) is set out in full in Dr. Aufrecht's Catalogue in the section on the *Prasanna Râghava Nâṭaka*, p. 142. It is remarkable that the name of Bhavabhûti, the poet of whom the *Prasanna Râghava* most often reminds one, has no place in this list. But I do not think any conclusion can be safely based on this fact.

the age of Râma's incarnation lasted. And secondly—and this is of greater importance—I have not been able to discover the stanza after looking through the whole of the drama for it, and after having once before read it. At present, therefore, we cannot in this investigation press to our aid the mention of Harsha by Jayadeva.

The date of Śrî Harsha is casually alluded to in Professor Cowell's Preface to Mr. Palmer Boyd's Translation of the Nâgânanda Nâṭaka.* But the Professor, after first remarking that his age is uncertain. simply refers to the conjecture of Bâbu Râjendralâla Mitra upon it, and then adds—"But I find, from a notice in the first number of the *Indian Antiquary*, that Dr. Bühler of Bombay has recently fixed his date in the twelfth century." Having regard to what has been said above on this point, this remark of Professor Cowell's cannot, of course. be considered satisfactory. Bâbu Râjendralâla identifies this Śrî Harsha with the Śrî Harsha who went over to the court of Âdisûra, in company with others, one of whom was Bhaṭṭa Nârâyaṇa, the author of the Veṇîsaṅhâra Nâṭaka.† But the Bâbu adds that "this assumption, probable as it may appear, is, it must be admitted, founded entirely upon presumptive evidence, and must await future more satisfactory research for confirmation."‡ The period of this migration of Harsha and Nârâyaṇa is fixed by Bâbu Râjendralâla in the middle of the tenth century—by a calculation, however, which admittedly can give a result but roughly correct. But it seems clear that, if the Bhaṭṭa Nârâyaṇa, who was received at his palace by king Âdisûra, was the author of the Venisaṅhâra, the date fixed by Bâbu Râjendralâla for his migration must undergo some modification. For about the middle of the tenth century, if not earlier, lived Dhanika, the author of the commentary on the *Daśarûpaka*;§ and this commentary in its earlier pages abounds with quotations from the Veṇîsaṅhâra,‖ which must, therefore, at that time have been old enough to be regarded as fit for quotation. Hence it would seem to result that the date of the migration of Bhatta Nârâyana must be put back a century or so; but this still, only on the hypothesis that this Bhatta Nârâyana is identical with the author of the Veṇisaṅhâra.¶ If so, and again taking Bâbu Râjendralâla's identification of the poet Śrî Harsha to be correct, it will follow that the Bâbu's conclusion as thus adjusted will be supported by the two different lines of argument suggested in my letter.

The net result of this investigation may be thus stated:—The Jaina biographer's account, albeit it has some points in its favour, cannot be much trusted. On the other hand, the fact of the Naishadhîya being quoted in a work which, at the latest, dates from the beginning of the eleventh century; the fact of the work of a poet, probably contemporaneous with Śrî Harsha, being quoted in a work dating from a still earlier period; the fact of an exceedingly well-known and well-informed writer of the fourteenth century making Śrî Harsha the contemporary of a philosopher who flourished some six centuries or more before his time:—these facts indicate a period which is about two centuries earlier than the period to which the Harsha Prabandha assigns the subject of its narrative. And although the considerations here adduced against Râjaśekhara's statement do not fix with any precision the date towards which they seem to point, still they are of value, at least to this extent—that they show pretty clearly that the question of the date at which Śrî Harsha flourished is not one which can be regarded as finally settled even by the circumstantial narrative of the Harsha Prabandha.

* See page 12.

† *Journal of the A. S. of Bengal*, No. III., 1864, p. 325,—alluded to by Prof. Cowell.

‡ Ibid., p. 327.

§ See Hall's *Daśarûpa*, Pref. pp. 2, 3,—with which should be coupled Hall's *Vâsavadattâ*, Pref. p. 50 addendum to p. 9, notes l. 12.

‖ See pp. 16, 18, 19, &c., and see Wilson's remarks in his *Hindu Theatre*.

¶ See Bâbu Râjendralâla's paper above referred to, p. 326.

# AN EMBASSY TO KHATA OR CHINA A.D. 1419

*From the Appendix to the Rauzat-al-Ssafâ of Muhammad Khâvend Shâh or Mirkhond.*

TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN

BY EDWARD REHATSEK, M.C.E.

IN the year 820 (A. D. 1419), the pious defunct well-known king Mirzá Sháh Rokh* sent an embassy to Khatá under the leadership and direction of Shády Khájah, who was accompanied by the royal prince Mirzá Báysanqar, Sultán Ahmad, and Khájah Ghayáth-ul-din, the painter, who was a clever artist; he ordered the first-mentioned Khájah that notes in writing should be taken, from the day of their starting from the capital of Herát till the day of their return, concerning everything they might experience; such as the adventures they should meet, the state of the roads, the laws of the countries, positions of towns, the state of buildings, the manners of kings, and other things of this kind, without adding or omitting anything.

Khájah Ghayáth-ul-din obeyed the above orders, and, having consigned everything he saw to his itinerary, presented it on his return: the following account of the strange and wonderful events the envoys met with, and all they saw, has been extracted from his diary; but the responsibility rests with the travellers.

They started from the capital Herát on the 16th of Dhulqâdah (Dec. 3rd) on their journey to Khatá, and arrived on the 9th Dhulhejjah (Dec. 27th) in Balkh, where they remained, on account of the great falling [of snow?] and the severe cold, till the beginning of Muharram of 823, and arrived on the 22nd of that month (Feb. 7th) in Samarqand. Mirzá Olugh Beg had already before this despatched his own ambassadors, Sultán Sháh and Muhammad Bakhshi, with a company of Khatá people. The envoys from Khorásan remained in the town of Samarqand till the ambassador of Mirzá Syurghatmesh arrived from Eráq, the ambassador of the Amir Sháh Malak came from Ardván, and the ambassador from the Sháh of Badakhshán, Táj-ul-din, joined them. Then they left the town of Samarqand in company of the Khatá envoys on the 10th Ssafar (25th Feb.), and having passed through Táshkant and Byrám, they entered among the Ayl of the Mughuls, and when they arrived, the news came that A'wys Khán had attacked Shir Muhammad Oghllan, and that on that account disturbances had arisen among the A'lós, but that afterwards peace had been restored. Amir Khodádád, who enjoys great authority in that country, met the ambassadors and treated them well; and on the 18th of Jomády the first (May 31st), they arrived in a place called Sâluyú subject to the jurisdiction of Muhammad Beg, where they remained for some time, so that some who were servants of the Sháh of Badakhshán, and had lagged behind, were enabled to rejoin them. They started from that place on the 22nd (June 4th), and crossing the river Langar, met the next day the governor of A'lós, Muhammad Beg Sultán Gurkán, who was the son-in-law of Sháh Jehán, and whose daughter had been married by Mirzá Muhammad Jogy; and on the 28th of the same month (10th June) they entered the Jalgáh of Yaldúz and the A'yl of Shir Behrám, and in that desert they found solid ice of the thickness of two fingers, although the sun was in the sign of Cancer.

On the 8th of Jomády the second (20th June), they heard that the sons of Muhammad Beg Wahy, who were the ambassadors of A'wys Khán, had been plundered; this circumstance put the [other] ambassadors on their guard, so that they continued their journey, crossing rivers and climbing over mountains, in spite of the rain, which continually poured from the clouds, and the abundant dews; and they arrived at the end of the month (11th July) in the city of Tturfán. They found that in that country most of the inhabitants were polytheists, and had large idol-houses, in the halls whereof they kept a tall idol. On the 2nd of the month Rajab (13th July), they departed from that place, and arrived on the 5th (16th July) in Qará-Khájah; on the 10th of the month (21st July), Khatáy writers came, who wrote down the names of the ambassadors and the number of their men. On the 19th (30th July) they made a halt in the district of Atá-Ssofy, where one of the high princes of Tarmad had constructed [for himself] a corner [of refuge], and had cast the anchor of permanency; they, however, beat the drum of departure from it, and arrived on the 21st (1st August) in the town of Qáyl, where Amir Fakhar-ul-din had built a high, very costly, and ornamented mosque, but near it the polytheists had constructed a large and a small temple with wonderful pictures, and on the gate of the idol-house they had drawn two Dyws in the act of fighting with each other; the governor of Qáyl was an extremely handsome and affable young man, whose name was Haykal Taymúr Bábery.

After leaving Qáyl, they travelled 25 stages, and obtained water every alternate day; and on the 12th (August 22nd) they met in that boundless desert

* Son of the celebrated conqueror Tamerlane.

a lion (*which statement is however contrary to* the assertion that none exist on the frontiers of Khatá) which had a horn on its head :—

*Hemistich* :—This is a new story, if it were true!

In short, on the 14th Shâbán (Aug. 24th), they arrived in a place where they saw a number of Khatáys who had come out to meet them, and who had in one day erected, in a meadow more beautiful than the garden of Erem, seats and arbours which they had furnished with couches and sofas, and with victuals, such as roasted ducks, fowls, cooked meat, and various kinds of fresh and dried fruits arranged on dishes of China. In that place they had prepared a banquet, which even in great cities could be got up only with much trouble. After the repast had been consumed, they brought forth different species of intoxicating liquors, and gave to every one what he wanted of sheep, flour, and barley. They made a list of all the servants each ambassador had; and insisted that their number should be given correctly and not exaggerated, because every one who tells falsehoods will lose his honour. The merchants had been enrolled as menials and performed services; accordingly the list was compiled as follows :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Amir Shády Khájah and Kukchah, | 200 men. |
| Sultán Ahmad and Ghayáth-ul-din the painter | 150 „ |
| A'rghdáq | 60 „ |
| Ardún | 50 „ |
| Táj-ul-dín | 50 „ |

The ambassadors of Mirzá Olugh Beg had proceeded in advance, and the couriers of Mirzá Ebráhim Sultán had not yet arrived.

On the 16th of Shâbán (Aug. 26), Wámek Wájy, who was the governor of that region, prepared a great banquet to which he invited the ambassadors; they went to his Yurt, where they found the Khatáy people assembled in great numbers as is their wont, in line after line, so that no created being could pass through them, except at four doors which had been left on the four sides of the quadrangle which enclosed a large space. Within this space there was a high pavilion of the extent of one *jarib* [space that will, if sown, produce 385 mudds or 768 pounds of corn]; a great tent was pitched there with two Khatáy lances standing in front of it, and with its borders tucked up like a royal seat. There was also a wooden kiôsk [standing on four pillars] and sheds, so that within that space of one *jarib* the sun could not shine. Beneath these two lances, the seat of Wájy had been placed, with sofas on both sides of it. The ambassadors took their seats on the left and the amirs of Khatá on the right, because the latter consider the left side to be more honourable than the right, since the *position of the heart, the sovereign of* the human frame, is on the left.

Before every one of the ambassadors and amirs, a table was placed with ducks, fowls, cooked meat, *dried fruits*, cakes, fine bread, and nice confectionery wrapped in paper and silk. Opposite, there was a royal *buffet* erected in an elevated place, filled with China bowls and goblets of crystal or silver; on the right and left of the *buffet* were places for vocal and instrumental performers with orghanûn, fiddle, fifes, and drums of various kinds. There were also handsome youths adorned like women with their faces painted red and white; they wore earrings of pearls, and represented a theatrical performance. In the open space, as far as the four doors, stood soldiers dressed in coats, who were so dignified and stately that they never moved a single step forward or backward.

The people were seated according to their dignity; the governor of the feast handed the cups round to amirs and envoys, whilst the actors, who wore pasteboard-masks, representing various animals, that concealed their features so well that not even their ears or necks could be seen, went on with their performances; and cup-bearers served out the beverages according to the distich :—

Throw away the lasso intended for Behrám's
game; take the cup of Jem;
For, I examined this plain; it contains neither
Behrám nor his onager.

Some moon-faced and tulip-cheeked boys attended, who bore pitchers of delicious wine, whilst others held, on the palms of their hands, platters full of sugarcandy, grapes, nuts, peeled chesnuts, lemons, with onions and garlic preserved in vinegar, and likewise sliced cucumbers and water-melons; whenever the amir gave a cup to any, one of them brought dishes for him to select whatever confectionery he liked.

They had also constructed the figure of a stork, in which a boy was enclosed who moved his feet according to musical time, and also leapt about in all directions to the astonishment of every one present. After spending that day from morn till even in joy and amusement, the travellers again resumed their journey on the 17th Shâbán (Aug. 27th), and arrived after a few days in Qaráwul.

Qaráwul is a very strong fort among the mountains, and can be entered only on one side by a road which also leads out of it on the other. The garrison took the name of every one of the travellers, who after leaving Qaráwul arrived in the town of Bykjú, where they were lodged in the large guard-house which was over the gate of the city; there the whole baggage was taken away, registered, and again returned to them. They obtained whatever food or drink they needed, as well as nice furniture with carpets; and a sleeping dress of silk, with a servant to wait on him, was given to every man; and the travellers were treated in this *manner in all the guard-houses As far as the city* of Khatá they met with the same hospitality. Bykjú is a great town, surrounded by a high wall; its form is a square, and it contains spacious

bázárs, each of which is 50 statute cubits broad, regularly swept, and sprinkled with water. In most of the houses tame pigs are kept, but in the butchers' shops sheep and hogs hang side by side. There are many bázárs and thoroughfares, the latter being covered by extremely handsome pavilions with *Khatáy-Muqranus.** Along the ramparts of the town there is a covered tower at every twenty steps. The four gates in the four walls of the town face each other, and although the road from one to the other through the town is long, it appeared to be short on account of the extreme straightness of the street; over each gate a story is built with a pavilion.

In this town there were numerous idol-houses, each of them occupying an area of nearly ten *jarib.* They were all built of burnt bricks, and provided with very fine and clean carpets on the floors. At the doors of the idol-houses beautiful boys were standing proffering invitations of amusement and entrance.

From this place to Khán-Bálygh [Peking] which is the capital of the Emperor of Khatá, there were ninety-nine Yám, each of which was in good condition. Every Yám contained a town and a Qusbah [district]. Between every two Yám there were several Qaräw, and *Qaraw* means a building sixty cubits high, always guarded by two men and so placed that the next Qaräw is visible from it, so that in cases of emergency, *e. g.*, the appearance of an enemy's army, they may immediately light a bonfire; and thus information from a distance, which requires a three months' journey, is conveyed to Khán-Bálygh in 24 hours.

In connection with the arrangement just described, the *Kydy-Qú* may be mentioned, who carry letters and relieve each other. The Kydy-Qú are horse-couriers established at various distances; their orders are that, whenever they receive any written despatches, they must immediately carry them to the next Kydy-Qú, so as to bring them to the notice of the Emperor without delay. The distance from one Kydy-Qú to the other is ten *Qarah,* sixteen of which make one statute farsang [a league of about 18,000 feet]. The Qaräw is so garrisoned that ten men take the watch by turns [of two]; whilst the Kydy-Qú men are compelled to dwell constantly at their station, where they possess houses and cultivate fields.

The distance from Bykjú to Qamjú, which is another district, and larger than Bykjú, amounted to nine Yám, and there Ankjy, who is the highest Wájy of those regions, was the governor. Each Yám contains four hundred and fifty horses and carts, with boys to take care of the horses; these boys are so numerous that they take the waggon ropes upon their shoulders and pull them. To each cart twelve persons are appointed, and no matter how great the rain or the cold may be, they do not slacken their pace in drawing these vehicles; all these boys are of pleasant conversation and of very fair complexion; the horses kept in readiness for envoys are saddled and bridled; they have also whips. In every Yám, sheep, ducks, fowls, rice, honey, flour, and all kinds of vegetables were kept ready. In the towns banquets were prepared for the ambassadors in the *Dúsúns,* by which name they call their reception-halls. In every *Dúsún* in which a banquet was prepared, a daïs was placed in front of the royal *buffet,* and curtains suspended; then a man used to stand by the side of the daïs and spread out a very clean and nice felt cloth beneath it, on the upper portion whereof the ambassadors took their station, all the other people standing behind them in lines, as is customary with Musalmáns when they *hold* prayers. *Then the individual posted at the* left uttered an invitation thrice in the Khatáy language, when all the people sat down at the table and began to eat. On the day Ankjy made the banquet for the ambassadors it was the 12th of Ramazan (Sept. 20th).

At Qamjú there was an idol-house 500 cubits long and as many broad, containing an idol 50 cubits high; the length of its foot alone was 5, and its circumference 21 cubits; on the head and back of this idol others were placed, and the temple was adorned with pictures and figures that moved, so that the beholder imagined they were alive. Around that idol-house there were buildings like the apartments of a caravansera; all of them, however, contained gold-embroidered curtains, gilded chairs, sofas, chandeliers, and pitchers, to be used in banquets.

In this city was also another building which Moslems call "a sky-wheel." It is an octagonal kiösk which consists of 15 stories, each of which contains verandas with a *Khatáy-Muqranus,* and small as well as large chambers; around the verandas there are all kinds of pictures; among these there is one representing a prince sitting on his throne, surrounded on the left and right by attendants, slaves, and girls. Beneath this kiösk there were some statues which supported on their back this structure, which is 20 cubits in circumference and 12 high, the whole being made of wood, but so gilded as to appear a mass of solid gold. From a subterranean apartment, an iron axis, standing in a socket of iron, rises and passes through the kiösk, in the top of which its upper extremity is fixed, in such a manner that at the least touch the whole of that large kiösk turns around this axis.

In this city all the presents brought by the ambassadors for the emperor were taken away from them, except a lion, which Pehlván Ssulláh, the lion-keeper, was allowed himself to take to the court of the emperor.

The nearer the ambassadors approached *Khán-Bálygh* the more careful did the governors and Daroghahs of the various Yám become in their attentions and hospitalities; they arrived every day in

* Domes.

a Yám and every week in a town, and reached on the 4th Shawál (Oct. 12th) the river Qarámún, *which is of the same size as the Jayhún* (Oxus). This river is spanned by a bridge of 23 boats chained together. Every chain is as thick as a man's thigh, and ten cubits of it are on the land on both sides, and are attached to iron-posts of the thickness of a man's body, fixed in the ground on the bank. The boats are moreover made steady by hooks and other chains, and are covered with planks; the whole being level and immoveable, so that the ambassadors crossed the river without the least difficulty or inconvenience. On the other bank of the river there was a large town full of inhabitants and buildings: there the ambassadors were feasted more splendidly than anywhere else. The town also contains a temple, the like of which does not exist in any place they had hitherto visited; it contains likewise three taverns (kherábát), adorned with beautiful girls; and although most of the Khatáy women are handsome, this town is on account of their surpassing pulchritude surnamed 'the abode of beauty.'

Resuming their journey, they arrived on the 11th Dhulqadah (Nov. 18th), after passing through several towns, near a water which is twice as broad as the Jayhún; this they safely crossed in a ship, as well as several others, partly in boats and partly by means of bridges, reaching Ssadyn-Qúr on the 27th of the same month (Dec. 3rd). This is a large *city inhabited by a countless population. It contains* a large temple with a corpulent brass-idol, which is gilded and 50 cubits high. This idol has so many hands that it is surnamed the "thousand-handed," and is very celebrated in the Khatáy country. The *foundation is very wonderfully made* of cut-stone, on which this idol and the whole building rests; around the idol rise galleries and verandas in several stories, the first of which reaches a little beyond the ankle, the second does not go as high as its knee, another passes above the knee, the next goes up almost to the waist, the next reaches the breast, and so on up to the head. The top of that building is surrounded by *mugranus*, and is so covered that it is looked at with astonishment, and the whole number of stories which may be reckoned from within and from without, amounts to eight. The idol is in a standing position; its two feet, the length of each of which is 10 cubits, stand on the two sides of the foundation, and it is stated that about one hundred thousand donkey-loads of brass were consumed in that work. There are other small idols of mortar and colours, at the side of each of which there are chapels with figures of monks and Jogis sitting in their cells, employed in religious observances. There are also pictures of lions, tigers, dragons, and trees produced by the pencil of magic. The paintings on the walls of these idol-houses are executed with extreme skill, and the chief temple is higher than any other building; this town possess- also a turning kiösk, larger and more elegant of the town of Qamjú.

The ambassadors travelled daily *four farsangs*, and arrived on the 8th of Dhulhejjah (Dec. 14) at the gate of Khán-Bályg'h. They obtained sight of a very large and magnificent city entirely built of stone, but as the outer walls were still being built, a hundred thousand scaffoldings concealed them. When the ambassadors were taken from the tower, which was being constructed, to the city, they alighted near the entrance to the Emperor's palace, which was extremely large; up to this entrance they proceeded on foot by a pavement formed of cut-stone, about 700 paces in length. On coming close they saw five elephants standing on each side of the road with their trunks towards it; after passing between the trunks the ambassadors entered the palace, through a gate near which a crowd of about a hundred thousand men had assembled. *Within the precincts they found them*selves in a spacious, pleasant, airy court-yard, where they saw, in front of a kiösk, a basement about three cubits high, supporting a colonnade with three doors, the central one being the highest and serving for the Emperor to pass through, whilst the people went through the lateral doors; above the kiösk there was a stage for the big drums; two sentries stood on it waiting for the Emperor to step upon the throne. On that occasion about 300,000 men had assembled, and 2,000 musicians were performing a vocal concert in the Khatáy language and singing the praises of the Emperor, whilst 2,000 stood with staves, javelins of steel, lances, swords, war-clubs, and others held Khatáy fans in their hands. All round were elegant houses with high columns, and the pavement was of cut-stone.

When the sun had gone up, the band which was waiting for the Emperor on the top of the kiösk commenced to strike the great and the small drums, and to play on the musical instruments. Then the chief door was opened and the people rushed in quickly. According to the custom of the Khatáys, to see the Emperor means 'to run.' After passing through the first court-yard, they arrived in the second, which was also extremely spacious, but of more pleasing aspect; it contained also a larger kiösk than the first, and a throne of a triangular shape measuring about four cubits [on each side] was placed in it, and covered with a gold-embroidered yellow *atlas* Khatáy carpet, with figures of the Symurgh and other birds on it. On this throne a golden chair was placed, near which the Khatáys were arranged in lines, so that *Tomán Amirs* (commanders of 10,000 men) stood nearest, then the *Hezarah* (of thousands), and then the *Ssadah* (of hundreds) in great numbers, every one holding in his hand a board one statute *gaz* in length and one-fourth of it in breadth, and not looking on any other object except on these boards. To the rear of these stood soldiers in countless numbers, dressed in coats, holding lances and bare swords in their hands, in lines so silent that it seemed they were not even breathing.

After an hour the Emperor came out from the Harem, and a silver-ladder with five steps being placed against the throne, he mounted it and sat down on the golden chair. His stature was of the middle size; his beard was neither long nor short; nevertheless about two or three hundred hairs of it were so long that they formed three or four ringlets. On the two sides of the Emperor, to the right and left of the throne, two girls, beautiful like the moon and splendid like the sun, with amber-coloured hair, whose countenances and necks were not veiled, and who had great ear-rings, sat with paper and pen in hand, and watched to write down whatever the Emperor would say, to be presented to him on his return to the Harem, subject to his revision, and afterwards expedited into the chancery to be properly arranged.

In fine, after the Emperor had taken his seat on the throne, the ambassadors were brought forward back to back with the prisoners. First of all the Emperor examined the prisoners and criminals, who were seven in number; some had two branches on their neck [to pinch it], others were tied to a long plank through which their heads protruded, every one had a guard who kept hold of the prisoner's hair with his hand, waiting for the order of the Emperor. Some of them the Emperor sent to prison, and others he ordered to be killed, as there is no governor or Dárogah in the Khatáy dominions who has a right to condemn a culprit to death. The crime a man commits is written, together with the sentence, on a piece of board and tied round his neck, and he is, according to the religion of the infidels, chained and despatched to K h á n - B á l y g h, not being allowed to stop in any place till he reaches the foot of the throne.

When the business with the culprits was completed, the ambassadors were brought to the throne, and when they were at a distance of fifteen cubits from it, an amir fell on his knees and read a statement about the ambassadors, which had been drawn up in Khatáy characters on a sheet of paper, the contents whereof were :—That they had made a long and distant journey from S h á h R o k h and his sons, and had brought various presents for the Emperor, and were desirous to pay homage and to obtain a look of condescension.

After that, Mullána Yusuf Qádzy, who was one of the amirs and courtiers, and presided over one of the twelve Imperial Ministries, came forward with several Moslems, who were linguists, to the ambassadors, and told them first to bend down low, and then to touch the ground thrice with their heads. The ambassadors obeyed, and took into both hands the letters from His Majesty S h á h R o k h, from the Jenáb Baysanqar, and from the other princes, which they had, according to the advice of the courtiers, wrapped in yellow *atlas*, as it is the custom of the Khatáys that everything which belongs to the Emperor must be enveloped in yellow silk. Then the above-mentioned Mullána Yusuf took the letters from them and handed them to the chamberlain, who, in his turn, gave them to the Emperor. Then the following seven of the ambassadors were brought near to the throne, *viz.*, Shády Khájah Kukchah, Sultán Ahmad, Ghayáth-ul-din, A'rghdáq, Ardwán, and Taj-ul-din, all of whom fell on their knees. The Emperor first inquired about the health of the reigning Sultán Sháh Rokh, and asked whether Qara Yusuf had sent an ambassador with presents. The reply was :—"Yes, and your Wájys have seen that his letters, as well as his gifts and offerings, have likewise been brought." He further asked :—"Is the price of corn high in your country or low, and the produce abundant?" The answer was :—"Corn is extremely plentiful, and provisions are cheap beyond all expectation." He continued :—"Indeed, if the heart of the king be with God the Most High, the Creator will confer great benefits upon him." He added :—"I have a mind to send an ambassador to Qará Yusuf, and to ask from him some fine race-horses, for I have heard that there are good ones in his country." He also asked whether the road was safe; and the ambassadors replied :—"As long as the government of S u l t á n S h á h R o k h exists, people will be able freely to travel." He continued :—"I am aware that you have come from a long distance; rise and eat some food." Accordingly they were taken back to the first court-yard, where a table was placed before every man. After they had finished their dinner, they returned, according to command, to the Bámkhánah, where they found every apartment furnished with a fine bed and cushions of *atlas*, as well as slippers and an extremely fine morning-gown of silk, a sofa, a fire-pan, and beautiful mats spread on the ground; they saw many more apartments of this kind, and every man obtained one for his use, as well as a pot, a cup, a spoon, sherbet, and raisins. Every person received a daily allowance of ten sirs of mutton, one duck, two fowls, two mann of flour according to the statute measure, one great bowl full of rice, two ladles full of sweetmeats, one vessel with honey, and onions and garlic, as well as of salt and various kinds of vegetables, and lastly, one platterful of confectionery. They had also several beautiful servants.

The next day, which was the 9th Dhulhejjah (Dec. 15th), an equerry made his appearance in the morning with a number of saddled horses, and said to the ambassadors :—"Get up and mount; this day the Emperor gives a banquet." Accordingly they were led away and made to alight on their arrival at the gate of the first palace, and on that occasion there were about 300,000 persons near it. When the sun had gone up, the three doors were opened, and the ambassadors were taken to the foot of the throne, where they were ordered to make five salutations in the direction of the [throne of the] Emperor. After that, they were told to go out, and

to answer any calls of nature, because afterwards it would be impossible to do so during the banquet. Accordingly the ambassadors dispersed for a while, and on coming together again they were led through the first and the second court-yard which contains the throne of the sovereign, and entered the third. This was a fine enclosure paved with cut-stone; it contained a tent in which a large throne could be seen, with three silver-ladders placed against it; one in front, one on the right, and the third on the left; with two chamberlains standing, whose mouths were bandaged up to the lappets of the ears with strong paper; and on the throne there was a small table with many legs, all of which were of gold. The columns, wood-work, and bridges of that building were all painted and varnished in such a manner as to excite the amazement of skilled artists. Tables with food, confectionery, and bouquets of flowers had been placed before the Emperor, on whose right and left respectable Wajys were standing with quivers and girded swords, and their shields suspended from their shoulders. In their rear stood soldiers, some with halberts and others with drawn swords.

On the left side a place had been prepared for the ambassadors, whilst in front of the Emperor, near the tent, the *buffet* for the big kettle drum had been arranged, and near it a man had taken his position on a high bench, having by his side the musicians standing in lines. In front of the throne stood also seven umbrellas of seven different colours. Beyond the tent-ropes on the right and on the left 200,000 armed men had taken up their position. At the distance of an arrow-shot, a place ten cubits long and ten broad, enclosed by walls of yellow *atlas*, had been set apart for arranging the food of the Emperor, and the beverages were also there. Whenever food or drink is brought for the Emperor, all the musicians begin to play on their instruments; the abovementioned seven umbrellas are quickly brought, the food is placed in a box, covered, and carried to the Harem, before which a large curtain is suspended, having a silken rope on each side, which being drawn by the two chamberlains standing at the sides, the curtain is folded and the door opened. After everything had been prepared for the assembly, the door opened in the manner just described, the Emperor came out, and the music began, but as soon as he was seated it became silent. At the height of ten cubits above the head of the Emperor there was a large bouquet made of yellow *atlas* by way of a canopy, as well as four dragons fighting with each other.

When the Emperor had taken his seat, the ambassadors were brought forward, and saluted him five times as they had been instructed: after that they returned and sat down near their own tables. Besides what was already on the tables, every hour new dishes were brought containing meat, lamb, ducks, and chickens, and beverages were also served out

Meanwhile various performances were going on First, a company of beardless youths, beautiful as the shining sun, their faces painted red and white like females, with pearls in their ears and dressed in gold-embroidered clothes, holding in their hands bouquets of roses and tulips of various colours, manufactured of paper and silk, performed various dances in a very artistic manner. After that two boys, ten years old, were tied on two planks, and a man, stretching himself on his back on the ground, lifted up both his feet, on the soles of which several large bamboos were placed; then another man took his position on these bamboos, holding in his hands several [short ones], which he arranged above each other, and placed on the topmost one a boy of 10 or 12 years of age, who performed various tricks, throwing away gradually all the bamboos till he arrived at the last, on which he continued his play, until he suddenly left the bamboo, so that everybody thought he was falling, but the man who was stretched on the ground, jumping up, caught him in his arms in the air; and in this manner other games were also carried on. The assembly was protracted from the morning till the first prayers. In this court-yard there were also thousands of birds, such as pigeons, ring-doves, ravens, crows, and others, which picked up the fruits and refuse from the dinner without being afraid of the people, nor did any person injure them in the least.

On the termination of the banquet, the Emperor gave presents to the speakers [actors], and then the people dispersed with his permission.

The ambassadors had sojourned five months in this city, and had daily received the same provisions as on their arrival without any diminution or increase. On several occasions banquets had been arranged for them, in each of which the performers displayed other tricks.

On the day of sacrifices [which falls on the 10th Dhulhejjah] the ambassadors spent that blessed festival with due solemnity in the company of Musalmans at the mosque erected by the Emperor for them.

On the 18th Dhulhejjah (Dec. 23rd) some criminals were, by order of the Emperor, taken to the place of execution. The Khatáy infidels register the crime and the punishment of every culprit in their judicial court, which is very useful; they are moreover so scrupulous according to their laws and customs with reference to delinquents and culprits, that if in one of the courts of justice, of which the Emperor has twelve, the accused individual has not been condemned, and has been found guilty in eleven, he may still escape punishment; but a man is often imprisoned from six to eleven months, and not punished until his accuser arrives and the crime can be brought home to the perpetrator.

On the 27th Muharrem (1st Feb 1421), Yusuf Qádzy sent some one to the ambassadors with messages that, as on the morrow the new year would begin, the Emperor was to enter the new

camp, and that no one was to put on white clothes, which are among them the sign of mourning. During the night of the 28th the Emperor despatched a man to convey the ambassadors to the new camp, which was an empty building. That night the inhabitants had lit in their shops and houses so many candles, lamps, and torches, that one would have said the sun was shining. In that camp nearly one hundred thousand men from the countries of Chin, Khatá, Má-Chin, Qalmáq, Tibbet, and others had congregated; the Emperor gave a banquet to his amirs, and the ambassadors were seated without the throne-hall. There were about 200,000 men present who bore arms, and boys performed all sorts of extraordinary games and dances. The distance from the hall of audience to the end of the buildings was 1,925 paces. All these edifices had been constructed of stones and burnt bricks, the latter being made of China-earth; there was carpeting which extended to a distance of nearly 300 cubits. In stone-cutting, carpentry, and painting the artizans of that country have no equals. In fine, the banquet was terminated about mid-day, and the people went to their houses.

On the 9th of the month Ssafar (Feb. 13th), horses were brought in the morning and the ambassadors were mounted on them. Every year there are some days on which the Emperor eats no animal food, and does not come out from his retirement, neither is any man or woman admitted to his presence. He spends his time in an apartment which contains no idol, and says that he is worshipping the God of heaven. On the day when the ambassadors were taken out, the Emperor had come forth from his retirement, and his procession to the Harem was as follows:—The elephants were fully caparisoned and marched in pairs before the golden Sedan-chair in which he sat, the standards of seven colours, and troops to the amount of 50,000, accompanied the *cortége* as a van and rear-guard. Another Sedan-chair was carried on the backs of men, and such a music was made as cannot be described in words, so that, in spite of the extraordinary crowd, no other sounds except those of musical instruments could be heard; and after the Emperor with that pomp and solemnity had made his entrance into the Harem, the people returned to their own homes.

At that season the feast of lanterns takes place, when for seven nights and days in the interior of the Emperor's palace a wooden ball is suspended from which numberless chandeliers branch out, so that it appears to be a mountain of emeralds; thousands of lamps are suspended from cords, and mice are prepared of naphtha, so that when a lamp is kindled the mouse runs along those ropes and lights every lamp it touches, so that in a single moment all the lamps from the top to the bottom of the ball are kindled. At that time the people light many lamps in their shops and houses, and do not condemn any one during those seven days [the courts of justice closed ?]. The Emperor makes presents and liberates prisoners. That year, however, the Khatáy astrologers had ascertained that the house of the Emperor would be in danger of conflagration, and on that account no orders for illumination had been issued, nevertheless the amirs met according to ancient custom, and the Emperor gave them a banquet and made them presents.

On the 13th Ssafar (Feb. 17th) an imperial messenger arrived and took the ambassadors to the gate of the first palace, where more than 100,000 people were assembled. At the door of the first kiösk a gilded throne had been placed, and, the door being opened, the Emperor took his seat on the throne, and the assembled multitude prostrated their heads to the ground. After that another throne was placed opposite to that of the Emperor, and his proclamation was placed thereon; this document was taken up by two men, one of whom read it in a loud voice to the people; but as it was in the Khatáy language, the ambassadors could not understand it: the contents were however as follows:—"This month three years have elapsed since the Emperor's feast of lanterns, and another feast of lanterns has arrived. All culprits receive amnesty, except homicides. No ambassador is to go anywhere." After this document had been read, something nicely enclosed in a golden capsule was affixed to it by means of a cord of yellow silk; which was also wrapped round it and served to lower it down, whereon an umbrella was held over it, and, whilst the people marched out with it from the kiösk, the musicians played until they arrived at the Yám, whence the proclamations are sent to various provinces.

When the first quarter of the moon commenced to appear in Rábyı the first, the Emperor kept falcons in readiness and again sent for the ambassadors. On that occasion he said:—"I shall give falcons to him who has brought fine horses for me." Then he gave three falcons to Sultán Sháh, the ambassador of Mirza Olugh Beg; three to Sultán Ahmad, the ambassador of Mirzá Báysanqar; and three to Shády Khájah, the ambassador of the prosperous sovereign [Sháh Rokh]; all of which he then surrendered again to his own falconers to take care of till the time of departure. The next day he again sent for the ambassadors and said:—"An army is marching to the frontier and you may also accompany it, and thus reach your country." Turning to A'rghdáq, the ambassador of Syurghatmesh, he said:—"I have no more falcons, and even if I had some, I would give none to thee, because thou hast allowed thyself to be robbed of the gifts the king had sent me; and it is likely thou would'st be robbed this time also." A'rghdáq replied:—"If your Majesty will graciously bestow a falcon upon me, no one shall be able to take it away from your servant." The Emperor said:—"Then remain here till two other falcons arrive, and I shall give them to thee."

On the 8th of the month Rábyı the first (13th March 1421), Sultán Shah and Bakhshy Malak were called, and each of them received eight ingots of silver,

thirty royal robes, two horses, one of which was saddled, one hundred javelins, and five Khatáy girls, except that Bakhshy Malak obtained one ingot less; also the Empresses made presents to the ambassadors. On that day the ambassador of Awys Khán with 250 men obtained an audience from the Emperor and paid him the customary homage; the courtiers provided them with royal garments, and rations were assigned to them.

On the 13th (March 18th) the Emperor sent for the ambassadors and said to them:—"I shall depart on a hunting expedition, and shall perhaps stay away for some time. Take charge of your falcons, lest you lose them." According to this command the birds were surrendered to them, and the Emperor went to the chase. During his absence a royal prince arrived from the country of Tamna; the ambassadors paid him a visit on the 18th (March 23rd), and found him sitting on the eastern side of the Emperor's house, which was, according to custom, adorned with tables laid out; they ate some food and came out again.

In the beginning of Rabyī the second (March 25th), the ambassadors received information that the Emperor had returned from the hunt, and that they must go out to meet him. Accordingly they mounted their horses, but when they reached the Yámkhanah, they found Mullánà Yusuf Qadzy sitting on his horse in a state of great melancholy and dejection, and, asking for the reason of his sadness, he whispered to them:—"The horse sent by His Majesty Sháh Rokh has thrown the Emperor whilst hunting, which event made him so angry that he ordered the ambassadors to be taken back in fetters to the city of Khata [Peking]." At these words the ambassadors became much distressed and confused. In the camp of the Emperor, where they had alighted in the night, they perceived a wall built around it, which was 400 cubits long and as many broad, the wall itself was four paces broad and two cubits high; it had been built up that night. They built the wall of green trees and left two gates in it; in the rear of the wall, which was plastered with mud, a deep fosse could be seen. At the gates armed soldiers were standing, and within the [enclosure of the] wall were two square tents, each 25 cubits long and supported by four poles; around them stood smaller tents and sheds of yellow and gold-embroidered *atlas*. As the ambassadors were yet 500 paces distant, Mullánà Yusuf said to them:—"Get down from your horses and remain on this spot till the Emperor comes." Then he went alone forward, and when he arrived near the escort of the Emperor, he alighted and found him sitting with Lyllájy and Jan Wajy, and blaming the ambassadors; both of these men, however, as well as Mullaná Yusuf Qádzy, touched the ground with their heads, and interceded, representing to him that the ambassadors were not guilty, since their king, to whose government no damage would be done in case these men should be killed, was obliged to send a good horse, but that on the contrary His Imperial Majesty, who was far and near celebrated for his mercy, would be accused of an act of tyranny for punishing in this manner ambassadors who were not guilty according to any code of laws. The Emperor approved of this argument of the well-wishers, and gave up his intention of punishing the ambassadors. Accordingly Mullánà Yusuf went joyfully to them and said:—"God the Most High and Glorious has taken mercy on you, poor fellows, and the Emperor has graciously pardoned the transgression you have not committed." Afterwards the Emperor came near, mounted on a tall black horse, with white legs, which Mirzá Olugh Beg had sent him. He wore a red gold-embroidered dress, and rode slowly, having an Okhtaji on each side; his beard was encased in a wrapper of black *atlas*; and he was accompanied by seven small Sedan-chairs, which were covered and contained girls sitting in them: there was also one lárge Sedan-chair borne on the shoulders of seventy men, and escorted by numerous mounted troops on the right and on the left, no other person daring to move a single step forward or backward, and the interval from the people was always 20 steps.

When the Emperor had arrived nearer, the ambassadors made demonstrations of respect at the instigation of Jan Wajy and Lyllajy and of Mullana Yusuf, and the Emperor said to them:—"Mount your horses!" Accordingly the ambassadors departed in the *cortege* of the Emperor, who had by way of complaint said to Shady Khájah that the presents of horses and other animals sent with the other offerings ought to be good ones and added:—"On account of my affection for thee I rode the horse thou hadst brought when I was on the hunting ground, but it was so vicious that it threw me and injured my hand." Shady Khajah apologized and represented that the horse was a souvenir from His Majesty, the Lord of the two conjunctions, the Amir Taymur Kurkán, and that the king Shah Rokh had sent it as a present to the Emperor to show him respect." This excuse the Emperor accepted, and marched to the capital, in the vicinity of which great crowds of men were assembled uttering good wishes and praises of the Emperor in the Khatáy language; and amidst this display of power and glory the Emperor alighted at his own palace, whilst the people returned to their homes.

On the 4th of Rabyī the second (April 8th), an imperial messenger came again, and said to the ambassadors whilst he took them away:—"This day the Emperor will give you presents!" When they arrived at the foot of the throne, they observed that the Emperor had heaps of gifts collected around him, which he distributed to the ambassadors as follows:—To Shady Khajah ten ingots of silver, thirty robes of *atlas*, with seventy pieces of cloth, and various other presents; to Sultan Ahmad, to Kukjah, and to Arghdaq, severally, eight ingots of silver, sixteen robes of *atlas*, and other things. To Khajah Ghayath-ul-din, to Ardvan, and to Táj-ul-din, severally, seven ingots of silver, sixteen robes of *atlas*, and other articles. When the ambassadors

had received these gifts, they returned to their lodgings, and the ambassadors of Mirzá Olugh Beg had also received presents, as was already mentioned.

At this time one of the ladies of the Emperor who was beloved by him happened to die, but the fact was not published before all the preparations for mourning had been completed, so that her death was not known before the 8th Jomády the first (May 11th): it happened also by the decree of God that, during the night which preceded the morning of her interment, the new palace of the Emperor was struck by lightning, so that the prediction of the astrologers [mentioned above] was fulfilled. *An edifice eighty cubits long and thirty broad*, supported by coloured pillars so thick that a man could not embrace one of them with his arms, was completely burnt; the fire spread also to a kiosk which was sixty cubits distant, and consumed likewise the Harem-Serái of the Emperor. In the neighbourhood 250 houses were burnt to ashes, with a number of men and women. In spite of all the efforts of the people, the conflagration could not be subdued till the [time of] second prayers; the Emperor, however, and the amirs did not concern themselves about it, because, according to their religion, that was considered one of their fortunate days in which they did no business. The Emperor went to the idol-house, where he engaged in supplications and wailings, saying:—"The God of heaven has become angry towards me and has burnt the locality where my throne is, although I have done nothing, and committed no act of tyranny." This grief made him sick, and on that account it has not become known how the lady of the Emperor was buried.

It is related that in Khatá there is a mountain appointed for the burial of grand ladies, and when one of them dies, she is taken to that mountain and put into a *dukhmah* [sepulchre]; her private horses are also let loose on that mountain, to graze at their own pleasure, and to be molested by nobody. In that *dukhmah* [cemetery], which is extremely spacious, many female attendants and chamberlains, who draw salaries, spend their lives and die there; but in spite of all these arrangements for the interment of the [imperial] ladies, it has, on account of the catastrophe of this fire, never become known in what manner the above mentioned lady was buried.

Meanwhile the malady of the Emperor increased day by day, and his son took his place in the administration of the government; the ambassadors also obtained leave to depart, and started from *Khán-Bályg h* in the middle of Jomády the first (18th May 1421); several Wájys accompanied them, and the Khatáys did them the same service on the return-journey, with reference to the provisions and other matters, as on their coming.

In the beginning of Rajab (July 2nd), they arrived in the town of Baugán, when high and low came out to meet them; on account of the imperial mandate, however, they abstained from examining the baggage of the ambassadors, although according to law they ought to have done so to see whether some things were not exported contrary to the rules. The next day they gave a banquet to the ambassadors with many demonstrations of civility. From this place they again started and arrived on the 5th Shābán (5th Aug.) in Qaramún, *which they again left, and arrived every day in* another desert, and every week in another town, where they obtained a public repast and again departed.

On the 24th Shābán (24th Aug.) they arrived in the town of Qamjú, where everything taken from the ambassadors on their first arrival, by the Khatáys, was again restored to them without addition or diminution. In this town they remained during seventy-five days, and leaving it on the first day of Dhulhejjah (Nov. 27th), they arrived on the 17th (Dec. 3rd) in the town of Bokjú, in which place the ambassador of Mirzá Ebráhim Sultán, who had arrived from Shyráz, and the envoy of Mirzá Rustum, who was coming from Essfahán, met the ambassadors of His Majesty Sháh Rokh, and asked them for information concerning the manners and customs of the Khatáys, which was given to them.

On the month Muharram of the year 825 (the 1st Muharram fell on the 26th Dec. 1421), they left Bokjú and went to Qáyl, where the authorities informed them it was the custom of the Khatáy people to register the names of travellers on their return from, just as on their arrival in, the country. After they had been searched and examined, they left Qáyl, and selected the road through Chál on account of the insecurity of the highways, and arrived after much trouble on the 9th of Jomády the first (May 1st) in the town of Khotán, after leaving which they passed on the 6th Rajab (June 26th) through Káshghar, and on the 21st (July 11th) they passed over the heights of Andagán, where some of the ambassadors selected the road through Khorasán and others through Samarqand; in the beginning of Ramazan (Aug. 19th) they arrived in Balkh, and on the 10th of the same month (Aug. 28th) they reached the capital city Herát, where they were admitted to the honour of kissing the carpet of His prosperous Majesty the Khaghán Sháh Rokh (may God increase his fame); and were made happy thereby.

# PROGRESS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH IN 1870-71.

[*From the Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society, June* 1872.]

IN their Report to the Society read on the 30th of May 1870, the Council expressed some disappointment at the result of the expeditions sent at the expense of the Government of India to procure representations of objects of antiquarian interest in Orissa and at Bombay. They are now, however, happy to report that a second expedition, under the sole control of Mr. H. H. Locke, the Principal of the Government School of Art in Calcutta, was sent to Orissa in the spring of the present year, and has been attended with complete success. Mr. Locke has made and safely brought back to Calcutta casts of all the principal sculptures in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves, and photographs from these casts, made in January last, have already reached this country, and exhibit a series of sculptures as full of interest as any that have yet been brought to this country or are known to exist in India.

In general character, some of these sculptures very much resemble those from the gateways of the Sanchi Tope, and may be as old, if not older. The principal subject, lithographed by Prinsep in 1838 from a drawing by Kittoe,* is now found to be repeated twice over. The bas-relief of it in the Râj Râni Cave is ruder than the Sanchi sculptures, and the first impression consequently is that it may be more ancient. That in Ganes'a Cave—the one drawn by Kittoe—bears much more resemblance to Greek art. A curious question thus arises, whether we are to consider the latter as the direct production of Yavana or Baktrian artists, which afterwards degenerated into the ruder art of the Râj Râni sculptures, or whether the ruder were afterwards improved into the more perfect forms under foreign influence. At present the materials do not seem to exist for answering these questions, though they are of extreme interest to the history of ancient Indian art, and as bearing on the influence, more or less direct, which foreigners exerted on its first formation.

It is also understood that Mr. Locke's party has brought away fresh impressions of the celebrated "Aira" inscription in the so-called Hasti cave, first noticed by Stirling, and afterwards so successfully deciphered by Prinsep.† As it seems to be the oldest of the inscriptions in the Lât character, if any additional information can be obtained regarding its contents, it will be a most interesting addition to our scanty stores of authentic documents for the elucidation of early Indian History.

In the spring of the year 1871, a set of the casts obtained by the party sent down to Orissa in 1868-9 reached this country, and, owing to the delay of a month in opening the Indian Annexe, they were in time to be exhibited in the International Exhibition of that year. As, however, no description and no lists accompanied them, there existed no means of ascertaining from what temples they were taken, nor what parts of any temples they represented. All that could therefore be done was to build them up into what was called a trophy, mixed up with Mr. Terry's casts from Bombay, and some from Dr. Hunter at Madras. When any descriptive lists or any further information reaches us with regard to these casts, we may be able to form an estimate of their value; at present the materials do not exist in this country for any such appreciation. In like manner a set of drawings of details of architectural ornaments made by the pupils of the School of Art were sent home and exhibited in 1871; but as only the name of the pupil who made it was inscribed on each drawing, we are still in ignorance of what these drawings are intended to represent.

One set of the photographs made by the party who were sent down in 1868-9 reached this country about six weeks ago, and are in private hands. So far as can be ascertained, they are the only copies which have yet reached this country; but, as only the names of the temples are attached to them, though they are very admirable as photographs, the information they convey is limited to those who were previously acquainted with the objects they represent.

Mr. Terry's casts from Bombay, as mentioned above, arrived simultaneously with those from Bengal, just in time for exhibition in June 1871. As they were accompanied by plans and sections of the building from which they were taken, as well as the photographs, there was no difficulty in understanding their position or appreciating their value. The result of this expedition does not, however, we are sorry to observe, seem to have encouraged the Government of Bombay to make any further attempts in that direction, and no further expenditure seems to have been made by them for archæological purposes.

Meanwhile, however, we are happy to be able to report that Mr. James Burgess continues successfully his archæological labours. In addition to the splendid work on Pâlitânâ, noticed in our report of 1870, he has since published a similar work on the Temples of Somnâth, Girnâr, and Junâgarh, illustrated by 41 photographs by Sykes, and accompanied by descriptive letter-press; and another work, of almost equal interest, on the Cave Temples of Elephanta, with elaborate descriptive texts and photographs of all the principal sculptures. He has also visited and procured photographs of the Caves of Nâsik, Kârla, Bhâjâ, and Bedsâ; the last

* *J. A. S. B.*, vol. VII., part 2, pl. xliv.

† *J. A. S. B.*, vol. VI. 1080 *et seqq.*

being the oldest yet known to exist on the western side of India, dating probably from early in the second century B.C. These and other researches were undertaken with reference to a large and comprehensive work he has undertaken on the Cave Temples of Western India, which will be published, when complete, by the India Office—the Home Government of India having, with their accustomed liberality, undertaken to defray the cost of the work.

In Madras, Dr. Hunter continues his career of usefulness. During the past year he, with his pupils, has made a complete and much more perfect set of photographs of all the Rock-cut Temples and Rock Sculptures of Mahavellipore, or the Seven Pagodas, and, having turned up some fragments broken off from the great rock-cut bas-relief, has proved incontestably that it was dedicated to Serpent-worship, and that only; though probably of a comparatively later date to other examples known. He has, besides, procured numerous photographs and casts of other interesting temples and sculptures throughout Southern India.

From private sources it is understood that General Cunningham is pursuing assiduously, and with considerable success, the researches he was appointed to undertake; as, however, no report has yet been issued, the Council are unable to communicate to the Society any information regarding the results hitherto attained by him.

The operations of the Trigonometrical, Geological and other Surveys of India, are carried on more vigorously than ever, and their results are made public from time to time through reports and maps. To those unable to follow the details of official accounts, Mr. C. R. Markham's Memoir on the Indian Surveys affords a highly interesting and instructive historical sketch of the progress of operations of the various survey establishments.

While so much is done by the Government towards a scientific exploration of India, it is a matter of regret that the archæological operations in Ceylon, the promising aspect of which we were able to point out in our last report, have since come to a stop.

Two works recently published by Indian officers of more than ordinary experience have added greatly to our knowledge of the history, manners, and institutions of the people in some parts of India, *viz.*, Dr. W. W. Hunter's "Orissa," being the continuation of the same author's "Annals of Rural Bengal;" and Mr. E. Bowring's "Eastern Experiences." Of the latter work, which treats chiefly of Mysore and Coorg, a second edition has already appeared. In Mr. J. Fergusson's "Rude Stone Monuments" some light is also incidentally thrown on the ancient architectural remains of eastern countries.

Of the Durgâ Pûjâ, or chief national festival of the Hindus of Bengal, Mr. Pratâpachandra Ghosha has given a full and interesting account; and Mr. J. Garrett has published a Classical Dictionary, which is intended to embody the information we possess regarding the mythology, literature, and manners of ancient India. This manual, though necessarily imperfect as a first attempt, will no doubt prove a useful book of reference to the general reader.

The Council have observed with satisfaction the appearance of Mr. Burgess's *Indian Antiquary*, a monthly magazine, which may prove a useful medium of communication on matters of Indian research, and is calculated to awaken in English civilians, no less than in intelligent natives, a sense of moral obligation which will urge them to take each his share in the elucidation of the manifold problems of Indian history. It is a matter for congratulation to our Society that the number of native gentlemen desirous of joining us has been steadily increasing for some years past, and the Council rejoice to see them appear among the contributors to Mr. Burgess's periodical, side by side with the names of some of our best scholars in India.

The *Pandit*, a monthly periodical issued by the Benares scholars, is continuing its course of usefulness in furnishing hitherto unpublished Sanskrit texts and English translations of Sanskrit works, as well as notices of Benares MSS. . . . . . . . .

The search for Sanskrit MSS. and examination of libraries in India has been carried on with signal success during the past twelvemonth. Of Râjendralâla Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit MSS. three fasciculi have hitherto been received, describing for the most part sectarial and Tantrical works. Dr. G. Bühler has just issued, for the Bombay Government, the first part of a Catalogue, or rather classified list, containing 1433 entries of some very important works, chiefly Vaidic. This list, when complete, is to include upwards of 12,000 MSS., and will be very useful to Sanskrit scholars, giving, as it will do, a pretty complete survey of the MSS. contained in the Brahmanical libraries of the Northern Division of the Bombay Presidency. This, however, is merely intended to serve as a kind of index to a fuller notice of the various MSS., which is now being prepared on the model of the Calcutta Catalogue. Meanwhile the survey is carried on as briskly as ever; and Dr. Bühler already mentions that, since the compilation of the catalogue now printing, he has received further lists containing about 5,000 entries. The Brahmanical MSS. in the larger libraries of his division are estimated by him at upwards of 30,000. This, however, does not include the Jaina books, which are much more numerous, and may probably amount to four or five times that number. As this branch of Hindu literature is as yet very imperfectly known, Dr. Bühler proposes to give, in the first place, a list of the oldest works, the Sûtras, with a brief analysis of each and a general survey of the

whole literature according to Jaina writers, and afterwards the contents of the principal libraries.

The Sanskrit collection at Tanjor has now been thoroughly examined by Mr. A. Burnell, who is about to communicate the result of his labours in a *Catalogue raisonné*, to be printed in England.

The process of cataloguing Oriental MSS. has been carried on not less vigorously in this country. The catalogue of Arabic MSS. at the India Office Library—including the hitherto entirely unknown Bijapur collection—which is in course of compilation by Dr. O. Loth, is all but complete. The catalogue of the magnificent collection of Sanskrit MSS., from both Northern and Southern India, is also progressing rapidly, though, on account of the large number of works to be examined and described, several years must elapse before it will become accessible to students.

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## CROMLECHS IN MAISUR.

*(From a Memorandum by Capt. R. Cole.)*

WHEN on duty as Officiating Inam Commissioner of Maisur at Perisandra, which is situated in the Kolár district, about 48 miles on the road from Bangalor to Haidarabad, I happened to be riding across country, and found a monolith of which a rough outline is given (figure 1) in the accompanying sketches of the various specimens of ancient pottery found by me on the occasion. This monolith stood 11 feet 4 inches above the surface, and was 3 feet broad, with a thickness varying from 8 inches to 1 foot 3 inches. In the centre was marked (*a* and *b*) the forms of "Surya" (sun) and "Chandra" (moon), and below, as shewn in the sketch, were faint outlines of four lines with a few bars at right angles, which looked as if they had formed some inscription. Knowing that such monoliths were coeval and co-existent with those strange stone-cists, the origin and use of which have been matters of mere conjecture, I looked around for those magic circles of stone which generally surround the cromlechs. I soon found them in the vicinity, and, on making further enquiries, I found 54 cromlechs near the adjoining village of Máshalli.

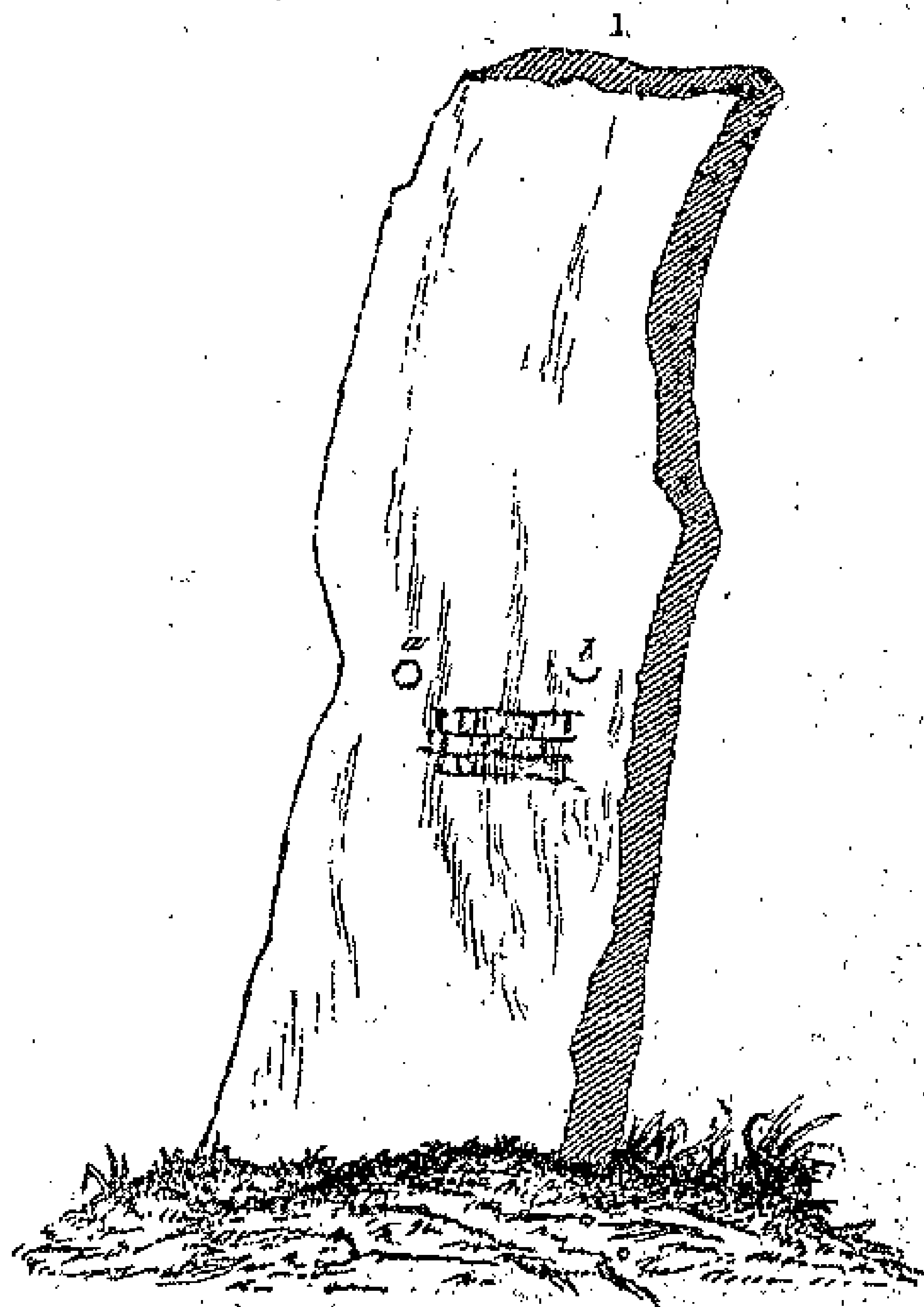
I found them all exactly similar to those I had discovered in Kurg. They consisted of stone-cists, formed by single slabs of granite on the sides, and flagged at the bottom by similar slabs, with a large superincumbent block of granite, which was rough and unhewn. On digging away the earth in front of the *east* face, I found the same circular, or semicircular orifice, which formed the opening to the cist. These stone chambers were completely filled with earth, well rammed in by the action of time and floods, as of the deluge; and the curious specimens of antique pottery were found, as usual, piled up in the corners to the west, or opposite the entrance. The same small round vessels, vases on tripods, curiously but elegantly shaped vases of an egg-like form, impossible to stand by themselves, and larger round chatties, with smaller basins and plates, were also found in these cromlechs, as delineated in the sketch. Some of these vessels, which were of the usual red or black clay, well burnt and polished, were ornamented with circular ... the neck and top. One (figure 10) had round it an elegant beading, consisting of successive arrow-headed lines between two rings. In one of these cromlechs I found the only specimen of a handle (figure 7) I have yet come across. There was also a curiously shaped article (figure 5) in the shape of an elephant's tusk, which was made of a more whitish clay and not polished. It was partly hollow, and had an orifice at the centre (*a*). Figure 12 represents the exact size and form of three teeth, which were found close to the vessels; and figures 13 and 14 are evidently remnants of stone implements. Figure 15 represents a strange article, which I have never found before. It is half of a round hollow ball of burnt and polished clay, with a short handle, and a small round opening into the ball at the junction of the handle and ball. The finest vessel, however, I have yet discovered is delineated in figure 2. It is perfect with the exception of a small portion of the rim of the mouth, and has not a crack or flaw in it. It stands 2 feet 9 inches high, and is 5 feet 11 inches in circumference at the centre. It is elegantly shaped, and has a beading of oval rings between two lines, which do not join, but terminate in two knobs 4 inches apart, from which five oval rings are carried in a curve as noted in the sketch. The mouth is 3 feet 5 inches in circumference, and the neck of the vase is 2 feet 10½ inches round. I am not aware that a finer specimen of such antique pottery has been found hitherto. Figure 3 is a fine vessel of the same size, but not of such an elegant form, and was made of unburnt clay. I have never before come across any that were not well baked. I regret to say that it has already fallen to pieces.

The following were the dimensions of the interior of the cromlechs excavated by me:—

| No. | Length. | | Breadth. | | Depth. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Feet. | inches. | Feet. | inches. | Feet. | inches. |
| 1... | 11 | 0 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 0 |
| 2... | 8 | 3 | 4 | 9 | 4 | 0 |
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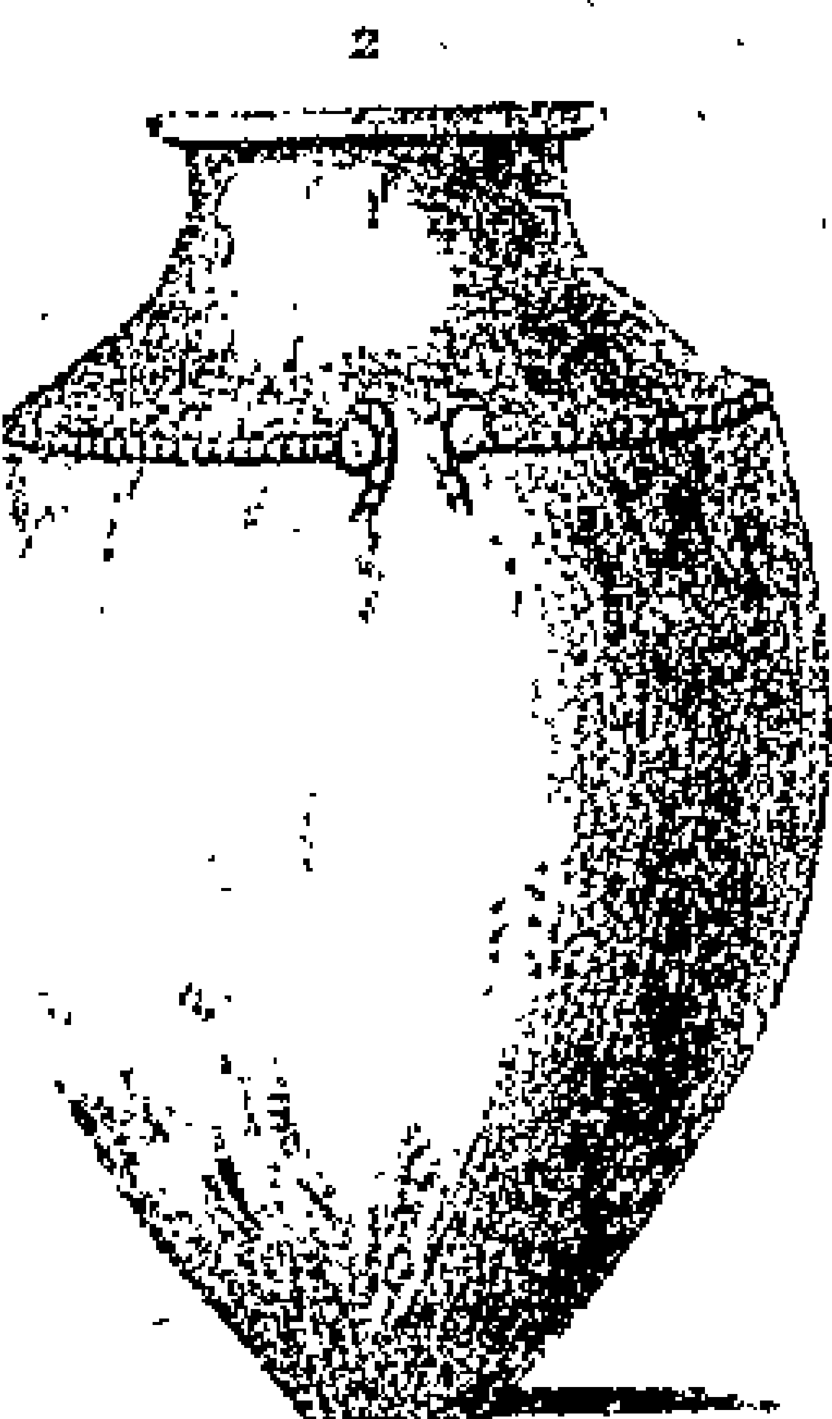
The dimensions of some of the superincumbent slabs were noted as follows:—

| No. | Length. | | Breadth. | | Thickness. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Feet. | inches. | Feet. | inches. | Feet. | inches. |
| 1... | 12 | 8 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2... | 8 | 8 | 6 | 8 | 0 | 10 |
| 3... | 11 | 4 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 4 to 8 inches. |

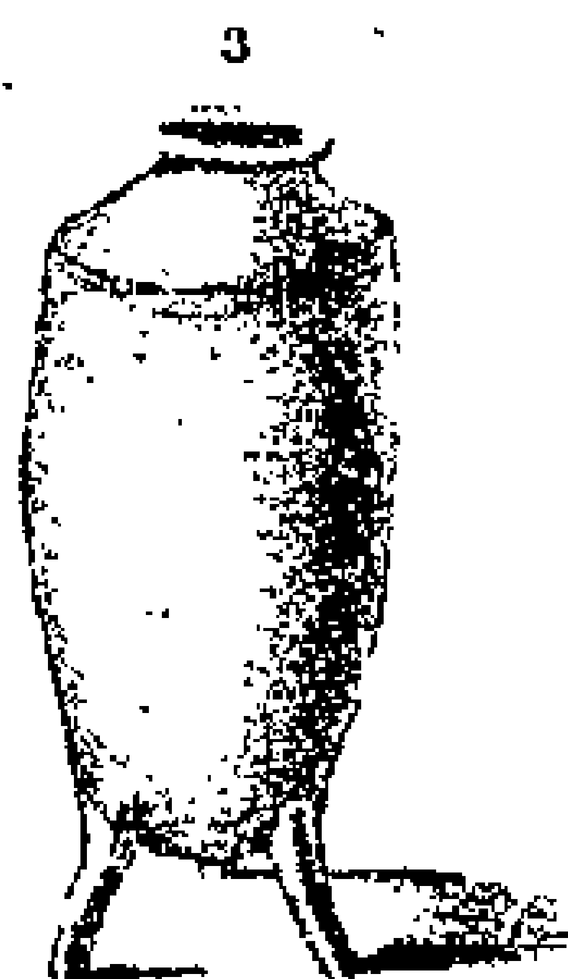

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## *CROMLECHS IN MAISUR*

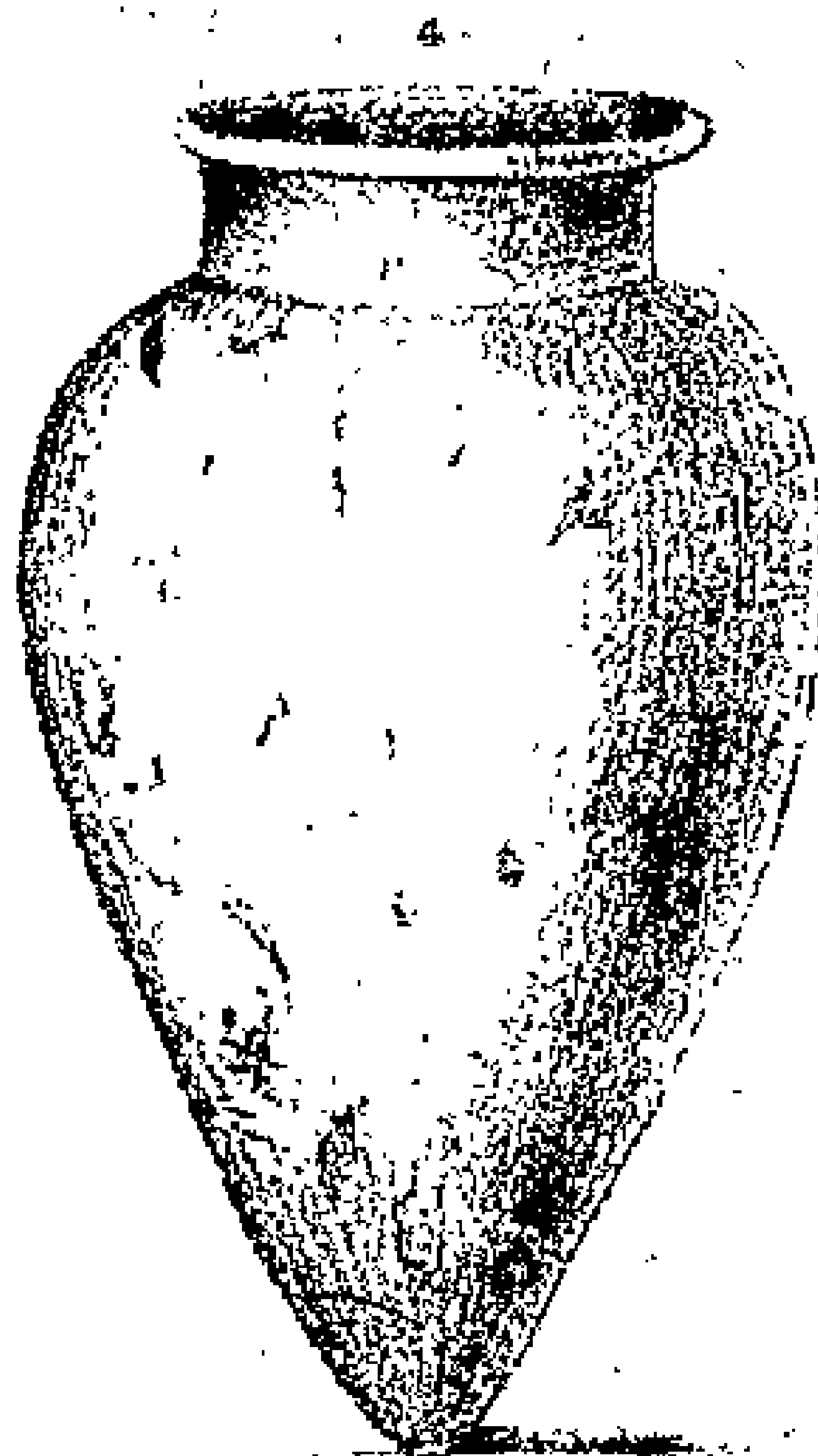
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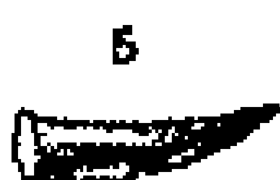
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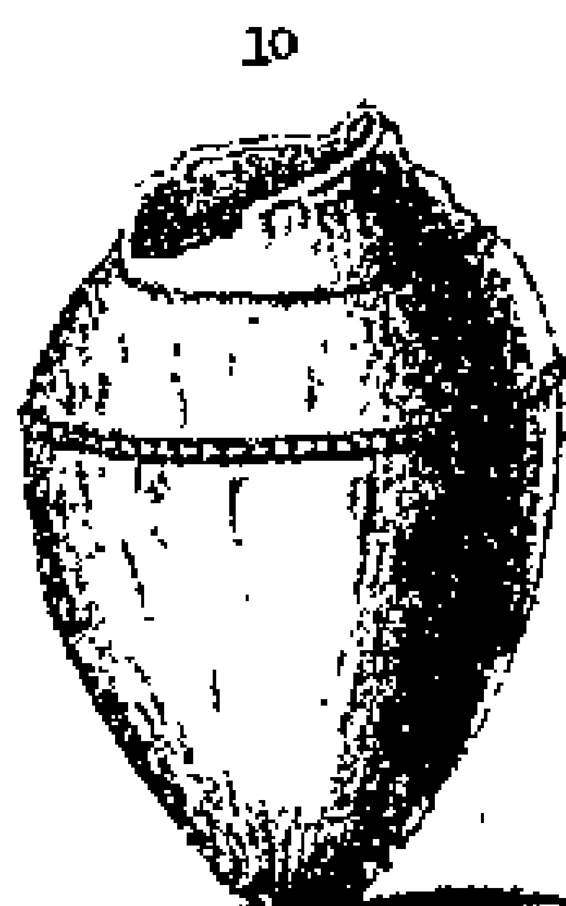
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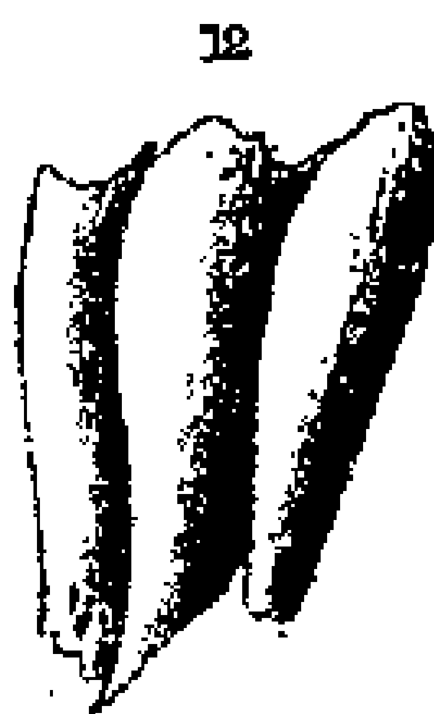
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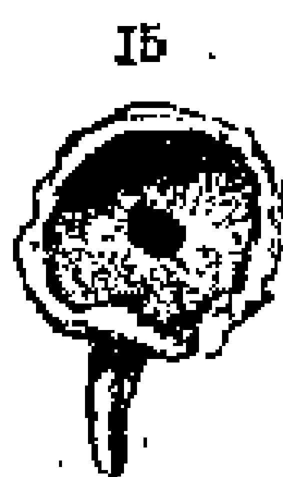
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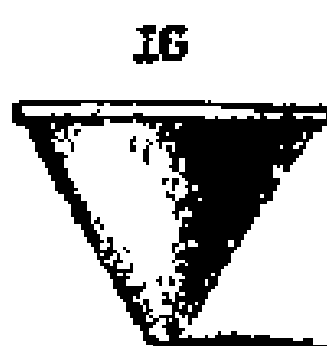
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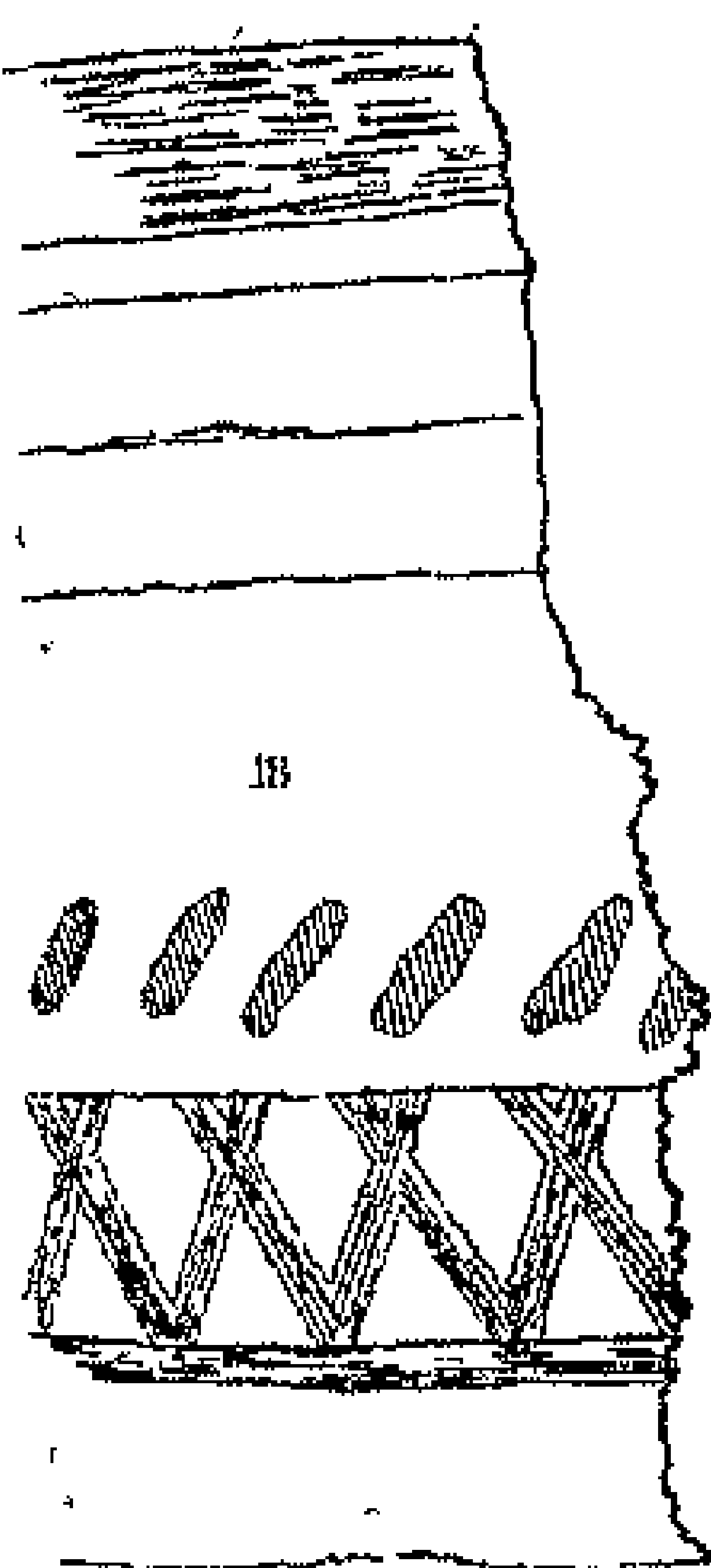


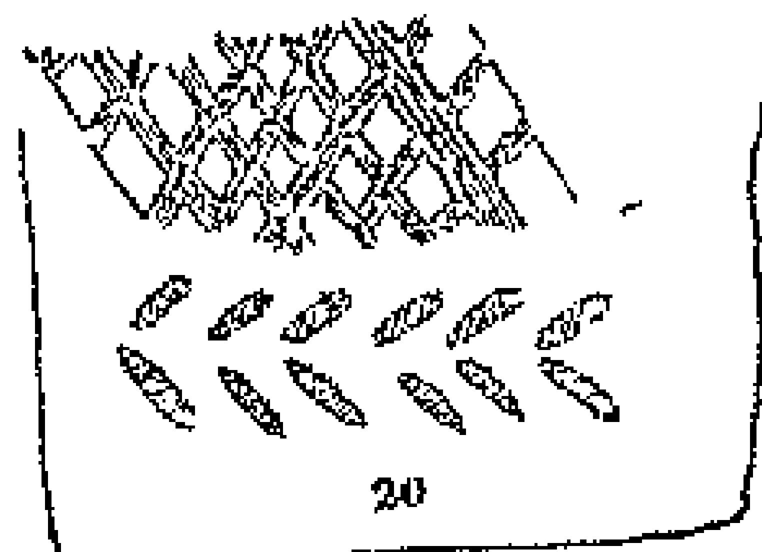
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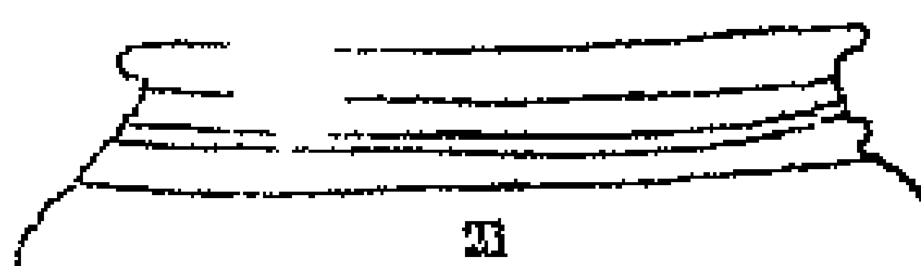


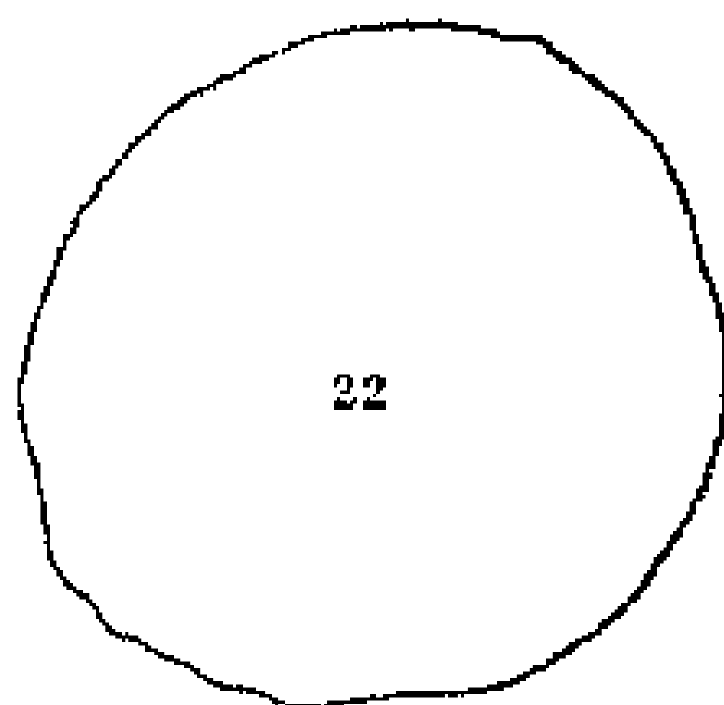
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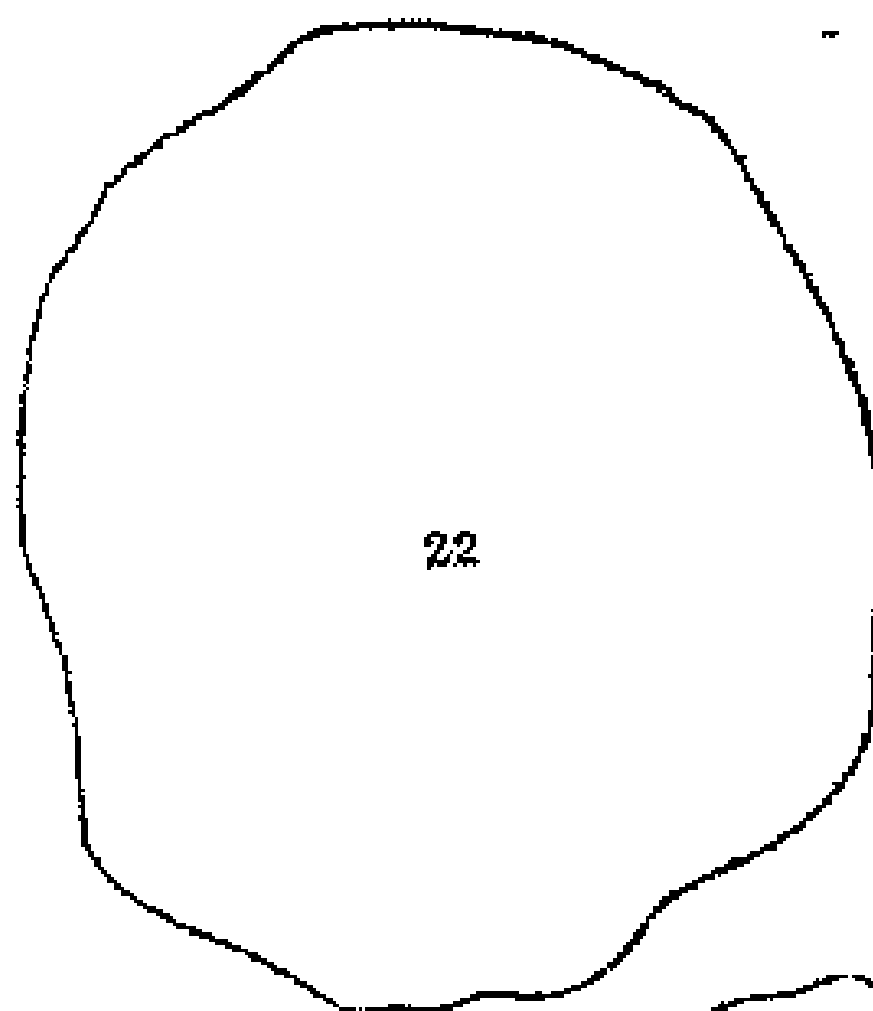



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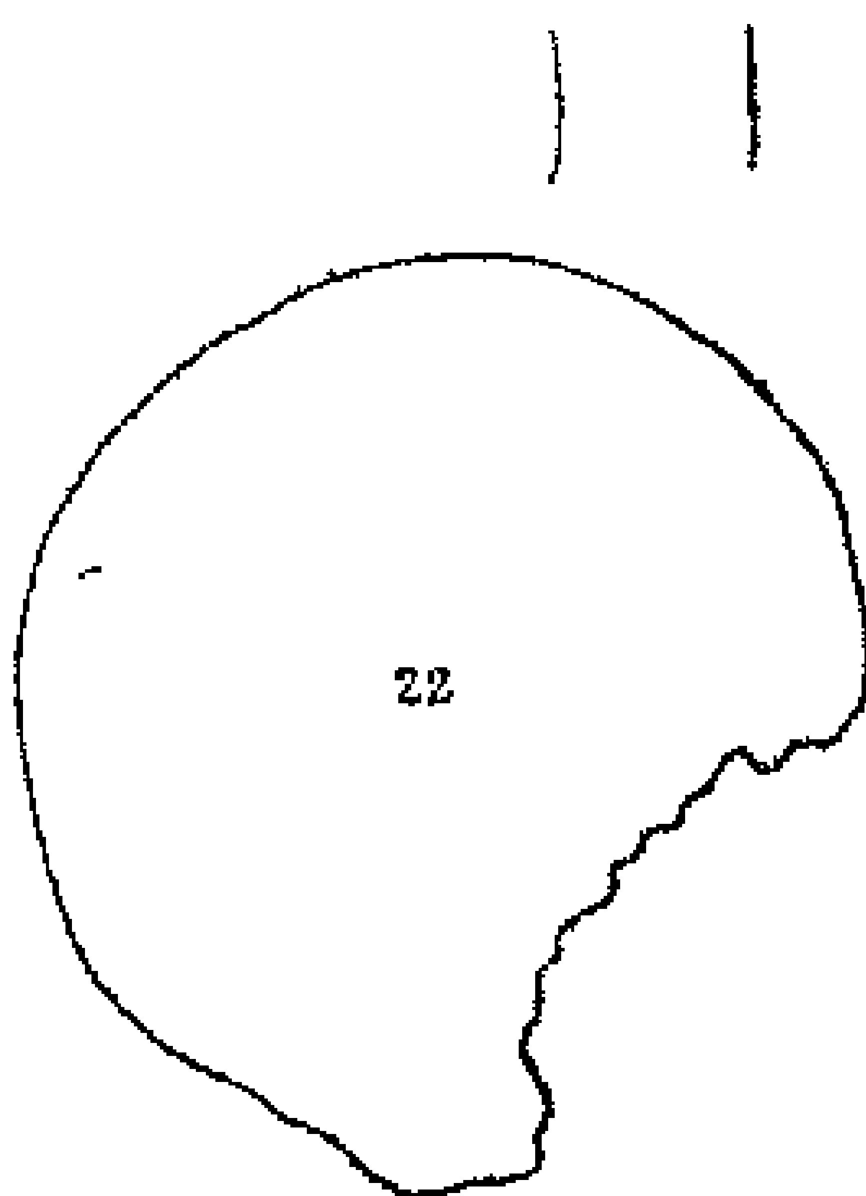

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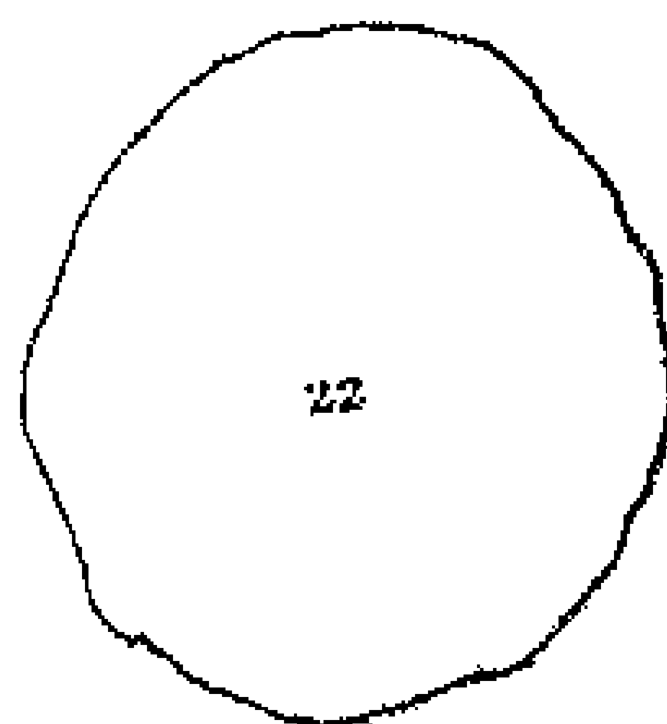

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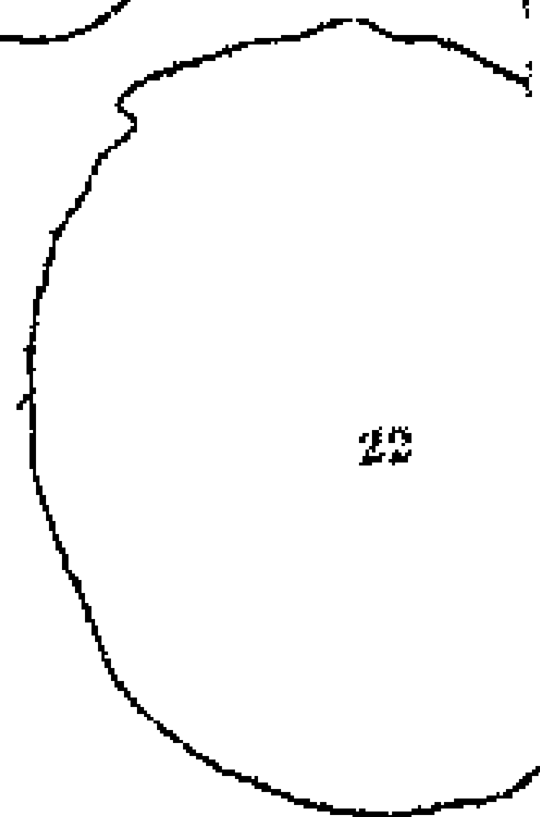

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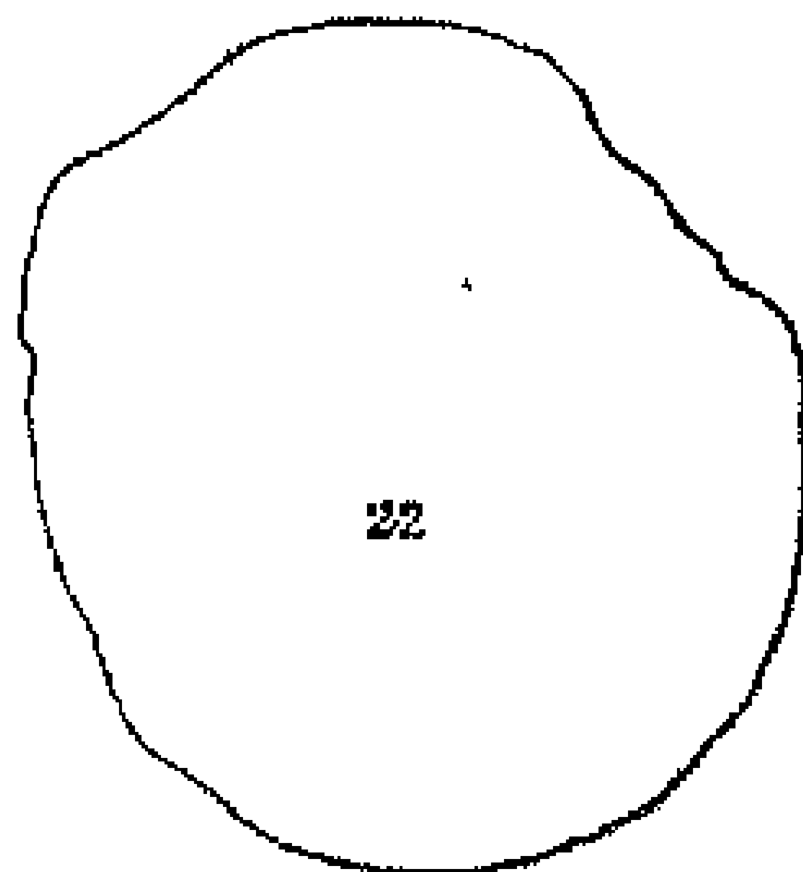

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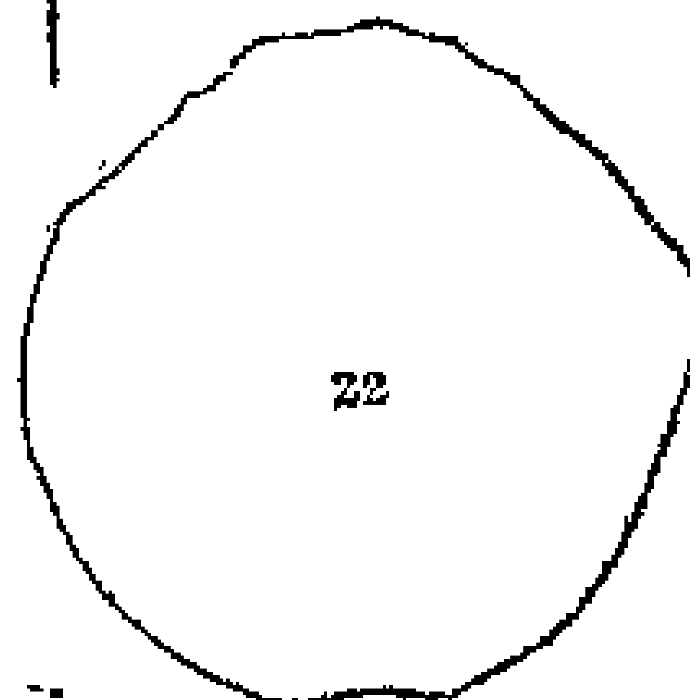

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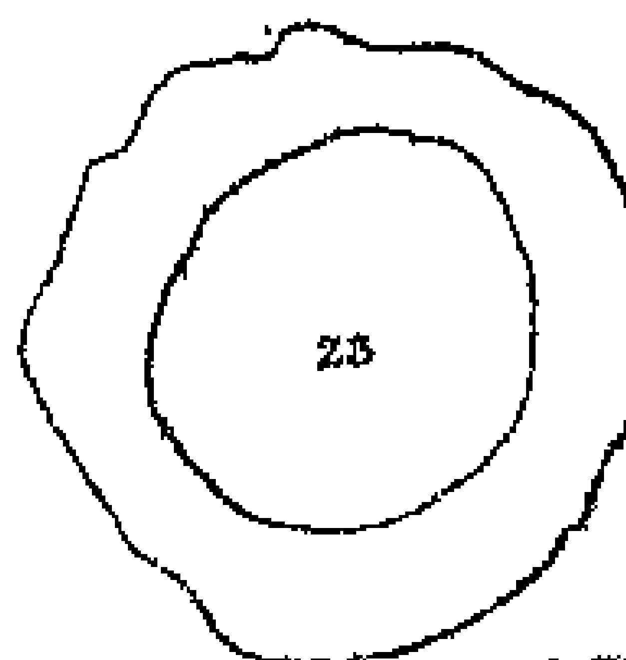

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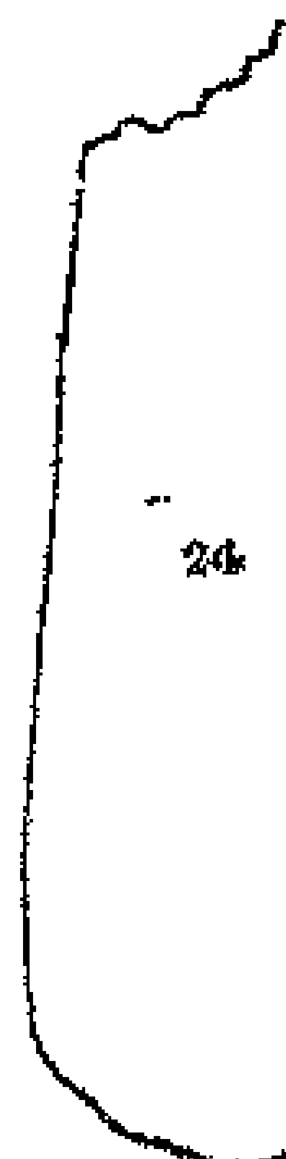

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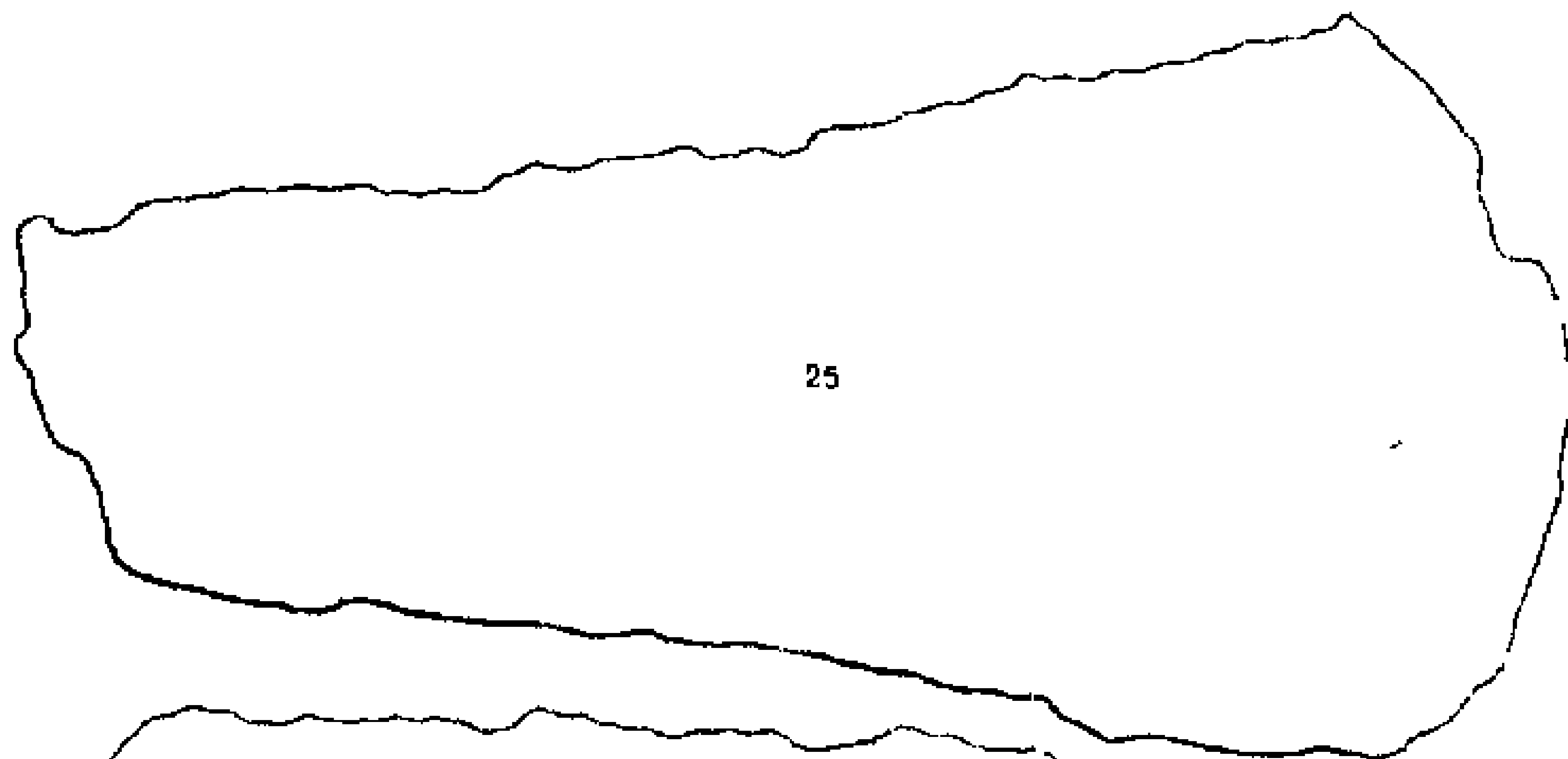

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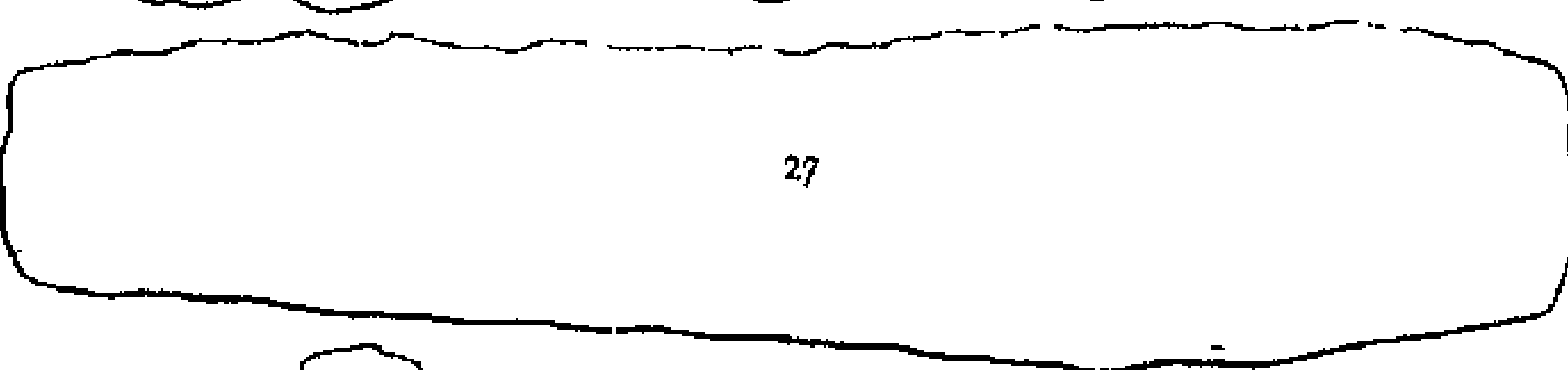

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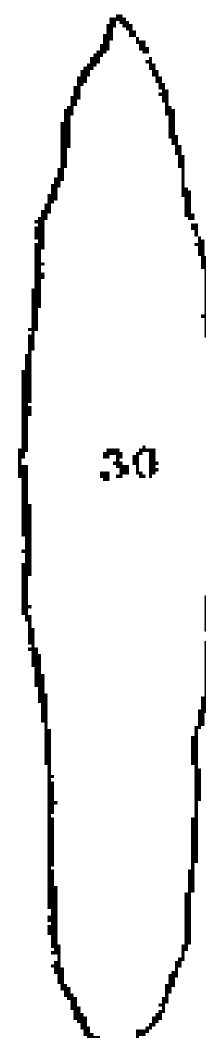

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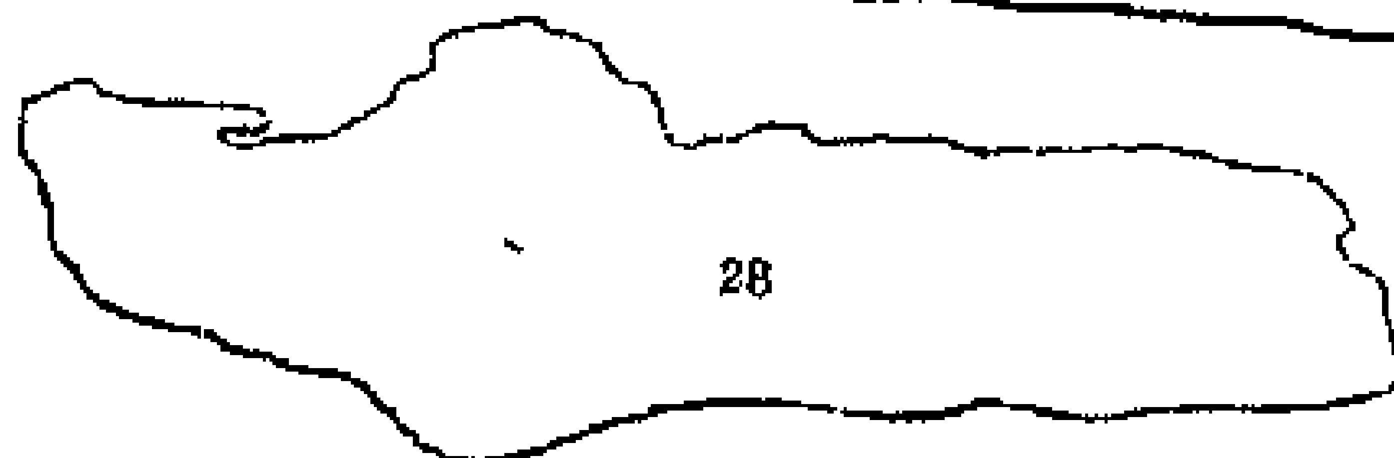

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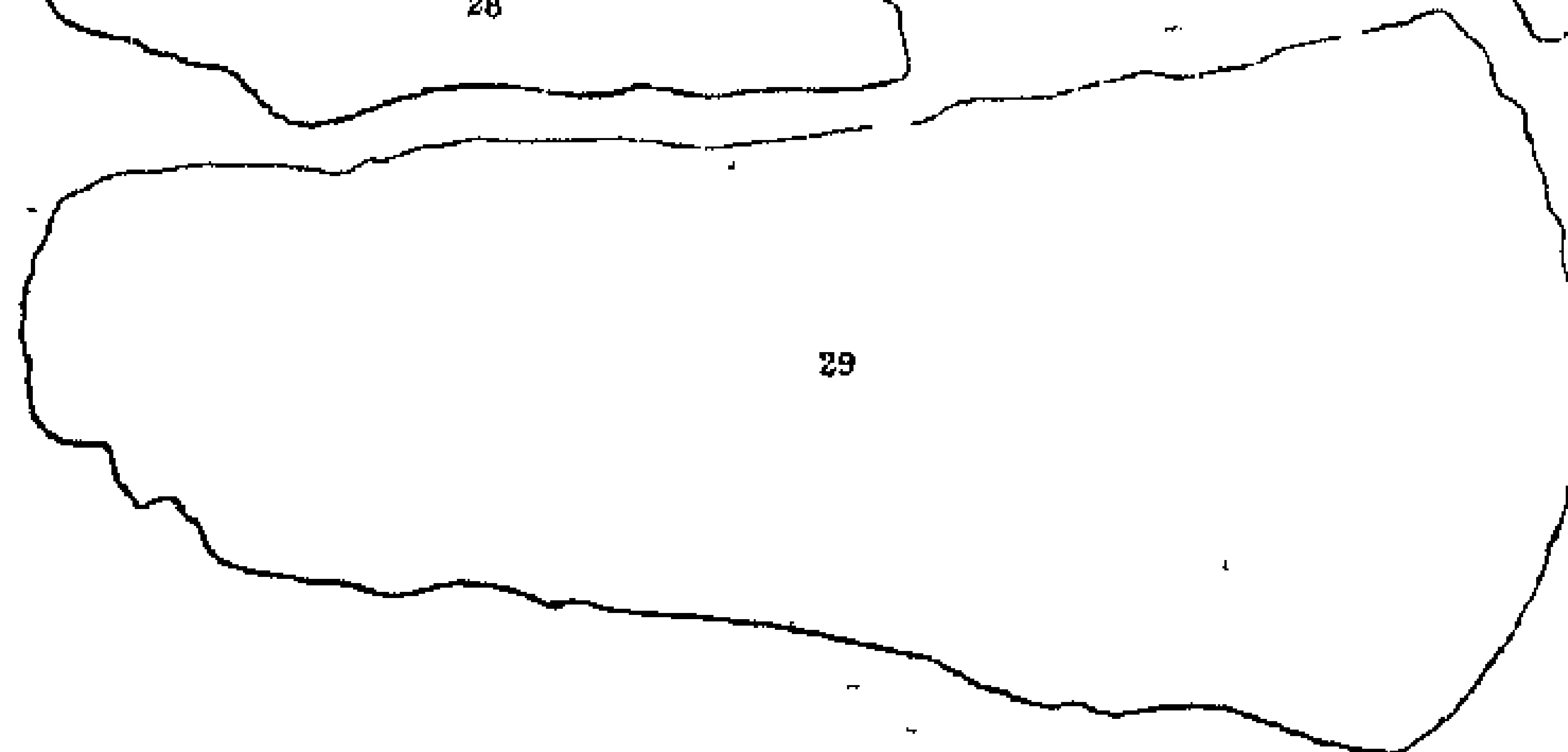

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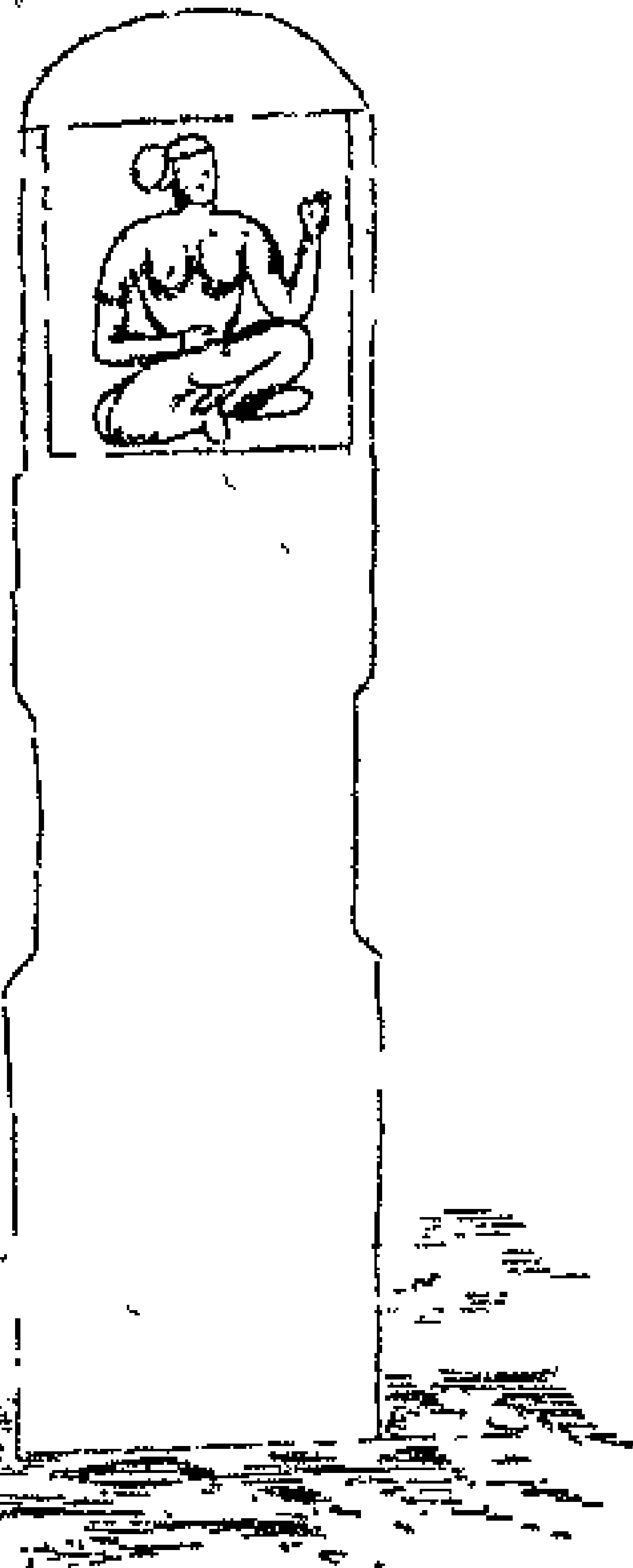

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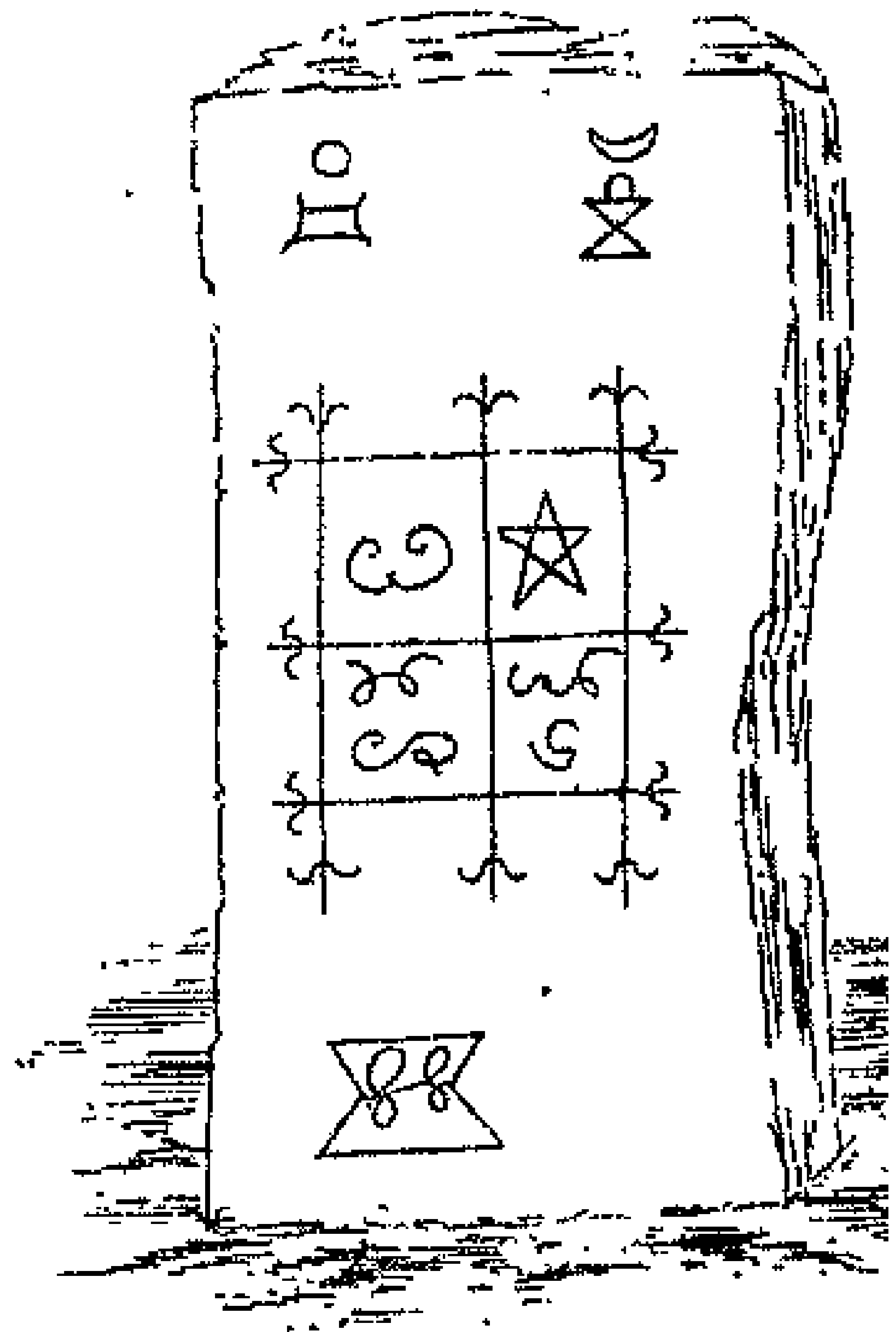

29

## MENHIRS OF HASSAN.

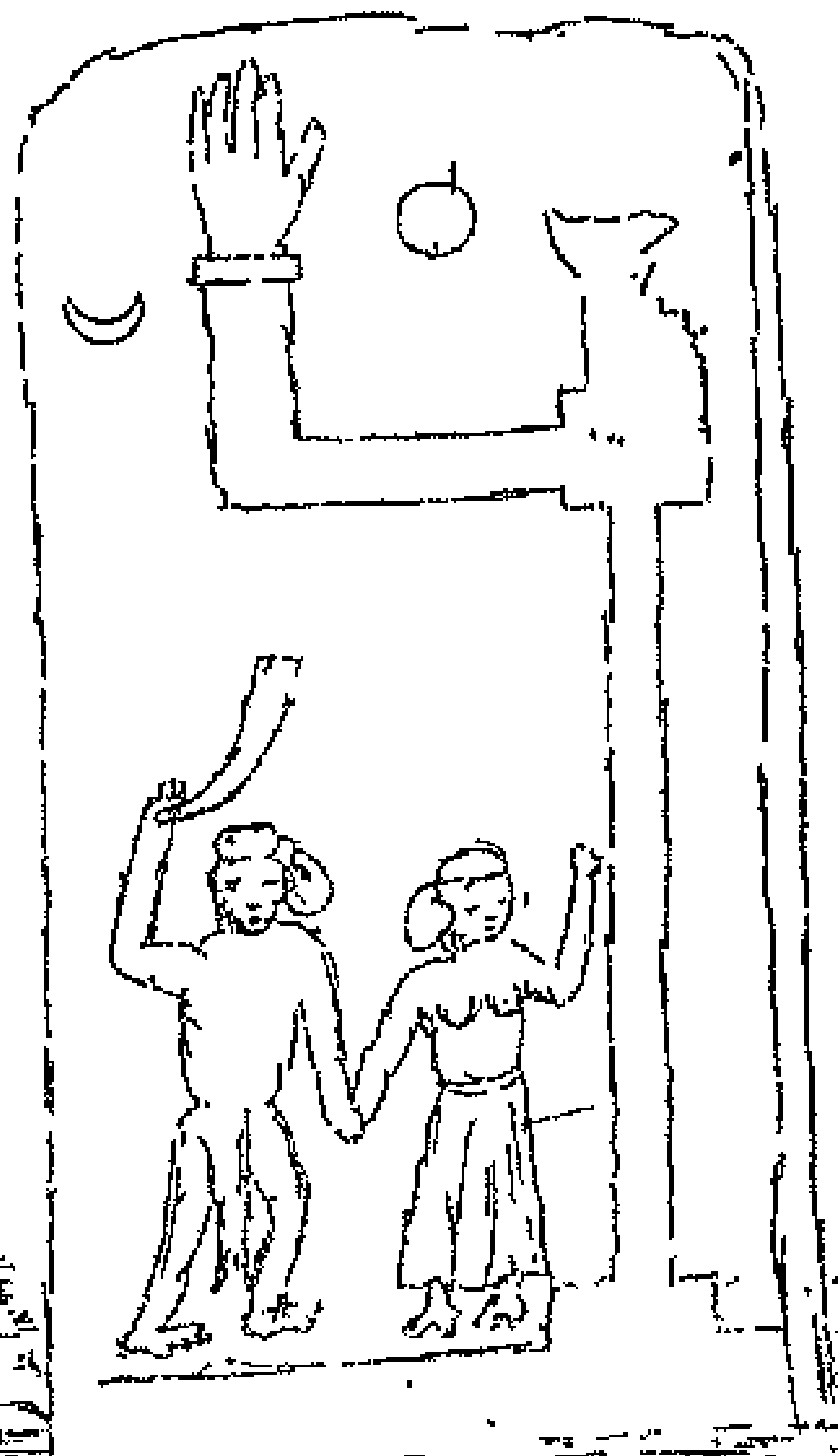
Maste-kallu.



Toda Kerai-kallu



Vyusana tóle-kallu



The diameter of the orifice, which forms the entrance, is generally about 1 foot 8 inches, and the superincumbent slab projects from 1 to 2 feet over the entrance.

On breaking up my camp at Perisandra, and moving across the low range of rocky hills which separate that portion of the Chikka Ballapura tâluk from the adjoining tâluk of Gudibanda, I came across two cromlechs standing in bold relief on the top of a rocky eminence, looking as if they had formed the altars on which human sacrifices had been offered up to that "Unknown Being" who has been recognized from the earliest time by the instinctive nature of man as the great Creator and Founder of all things. These were perfectly empty, and of the same size and dimensions as those which I had elsewhere found buried below the surface of the earth. I found a few similar structures, located in the same manner on a rocky summit, in the depths of the Kurg forests, and only in one place. I then threw out the suggestion that they may have formed sacrificial altars.

Further on, by the side of the new road to Gudibanda, I found a few more cromlechs which I had also excavated, and was rewarded by finding a perfectly new form of vessel (figure 16), which was circular at the top and terminated with a sharp point at the bottom. Vessels of the usual shape were also found in them, as also a round vase, which stood 1 foot 8 inches high, and was 4 feet 6 inches in circumference at the centre. The rim forming the mouth was ornamented with three deeply-cut parallel lines.

Whilst at Gudibanda, I discovered the contents of another cromlech, which had evidently been dismantled by the Waddars, or stone-masons, who had worked in that locality for years past. A few feet off the main road, and on a short cut to the village of Wobasandra, the surface was of hard gravel and I observed that it was curiously marked with fine black veins. On examining these finely-drawn lines, it struck me that the shape was like those of the top rims of the vases usually found in cromlechs. I had the earth loosened all round, and found that my conjectures were right. The top and side slabs of the cist had apparently been removed, and the roadway worn down to a level with the mouths of the vessels below. I may add that fragments of bones were also found in these cromlechs.

On approaching the town of Kolar, near the third mile-stone from the place, I observed the circles of stones which indicate the presence of cromlechs, and, on near approach, I found them to be, as usual, in the centre of the circles, with the top flag just visible above the surface. I caused them to be excavated, but found no vessel intact. On the fragments of the upper portion of the vessels, however, I observed more ornamentation than I had ever met with before. I have attempted to delineate them, and it will be observed that they consist of rectangular or rhomboidal shaped figures caused by lines sunk in the surface of the rims. These rims, I may observe, stand out in relief, and project about $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ of an inch above the surface, whilst the lozenge-shaped figures above or below are sunk in the surface of the vessel. Figure 18 pourtrays an exact fragment, and the lozenge-shaped figures are found above the raised rim, whilst in the others, figures 19 and 20, they are below. Figure 21 had only four lines parellel to each other, with the centre lines closer to each other.

I also found in this locality eight small round pieces of the same material as the vessels, much in the shape of medals. The exact size and thickness of each are given in figure 22. Their use can scarcely be imagined, unless it be assumed that they were used for purposes of counting, and that they had formed the coins of a period when the precious metals were not in use. The only other fragment worth noticing was a short piece of a tube, figure 23, like the neck of a goglet.

*En route* from Kolár and about two miles from the rising town of Bowringpété, I came across some more of these circles of stone, which usually denote the presence of these strange stone-cists below the surface. I found here, however, for the first time in Maisur, that the circles were not single, but consisted of two concentric circles. There were no stone-cists to be found within the circles, and in one alone I found the east slab with the circular orifice, which indicates that the stone Waddars had been at work and carried off the slabs.

About two miles further to the east, and near the village of Margal, there were some more cromlechs, in which there were only small fragments of earthen vessels; but a number of bones and pieces of iron were found. One piece of iron (figure 24) measured 11 inches by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom, and evidently formed the end portion of some implement. It was about $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch thick in the centre, but had evidently formed a sharp edge at the end. Other fragments of iron were portions of a rod, and looked as if they formed a spear or javelin.

The diameter of the smallest circle of stones observed by me was 13 feet, and the largest 24 feet.

In these stone chambers was also found a sort of pestle made of soft "balapam," or soap-stone. Its shape is pourtrayed, half size, in figure 27. The shape would lead us to suppose that it had been used as a pestle; but it is so exceedingly soft and friable, that portions of itself would be ground up too if used as a pestle. The surface is also smooth to a degree, and shews that it had not been so used. Held at the thin edge, it might be used as a formidable weapon of offence for hurling at a foe. There were several fragments of iron weapons (figures 25, 26, 28, and 29) also found, which are given half size. Figure 28 would look like the handle of a dagger. The natives have an idea that the fragments (figures 25 and 29) formed the iron *chuppal* or sandal, which, some of them assert, the Pandus used to wear, though on what authority I cannot find

out. Figure 30 is much harder, and looks more like steel than anything I have yet found.

Professor J. Oldham, LL.D., when President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, delivered, in September 1869, a most interesting lecture on the results of my excavation on the Muribetta hill in North Kurg, and compared the cromlechs of Kurg with the Pandu kolis in Malabar. From the description given in his suggestive notes on the subject, it would appear that the Pandu kolis of Malabar are chambers purposely excavated in the rock below the surface, generally in the laterite, which abounds in that district, and are merely covered with a mushroom-shaped rock. The cromlechs of Kurg and Maisur, however, are not excavations, but actual structures, consisting of a large flagstone of granite at the bottom, with four similar slabs (all hewn and made to fit) forming a stone-cist, the superincumbent stone being a large unhewn block of granite. This block is generally found in the centre of the circle of stones, with the top just visible above the surface, or about a foot below it. The stones forming the circles are buried from 1 to 3 feet below the surface, and project above from 1 to 2 feet. In a few of the circles I have come across, no stone-cists or chambers have been found, though I have dug down to a depth of 8 feet; but remnants of vessels have been found, apparently buried without the usual stone receptacle for them. The circles on the Muribetta hill were of this description, and the miniature vessels were found buried, as far as I remember, at the foot of a large stone opposite the entrance, and the two upright slabs arched above, alluded to by Dr. Oldham, were apparently the entrance to the enclosure formed by the circles of stones, and not to any chamber. On that occasion was discovered the only metallic object yet found, consisting of a peculiar shaped disc of copper, covered with a thin plate of gold. I may here remark that the same traditions existed amongst the people here as in Kurg. Some declared that these structures had formed the residence of the pigmy race known as Pundarus; whilst others asserted that they had been the tombs of the Pándavas, whose exile and wars with the Kauravas are so graphically described in the great Hindu epic poem of the Mahábhárata.

The Kurgs lay claim to their country having been the original "Matsyadés'a," or "ráj of Virát," and point out a site near the tombs of the rájás of Kurg at Merkara as that of the palace of Viráta Rájá, in whose capital the Pándavas took refuge in the thirteenth year of their exile, as narrated in the Mahábhárata. I have heard the expression in Maisur of the Kurgs being imbued with "the essence (or spirit) of the Pándus." I am aware that the districts of Dinájpura in Bengal and Gujarát in Bombay both claim the same distinction, the modern town of Dholka in the latter being declared to be on the site of Matsya Nagara or Virátapura; but it is a strange coincidence that the rájás of Kurg have borne, even up to the time of our conquest of the province, the name of Vira Rájá. It is impossible, however, to fix the exact geographical positions of many of the localities depicted in these ancient poems, which have doubtless received embellishments at the hands of their Brahmanical compilers. In each country and in each dynasty it became of importance to trace some connection with the incidents narrated in their great poem; and I may mention that the village of Kaivára in the Sidalaghatta táluk of the Kolár district, is here said to have been the site of the town of Yékachekra, in the vicinity of which Bhíma is said in the poem to have had his mortal combat with the A'sura Baká; and local tradition asserts that the adjoining hill of Kaivára, or Bhaimángarh, as it is styled by the Muhammadans, was thrown on the top of the giant, and that his blood oozes out to this day. It is a remarkable fact that a reddish, bituminous matter oozes out from a fissure near the top of the hill, and flows down the side of the rock for a few days in each year,—I believe in February. Local tradition ascribes the name of Hidimba, the man-eating Asura, to the giant buried below the hill; but this episode in the life of Bhíma occurred before the five brothers went to the city of Yékachekra, which Mr. Wheeler has shewn, in his great work on the Mahábhárata, to have been the modern city of Arrah in Bengal. I trust that these remarks may not be considered out of place, but they are offered in the same spirit as led the poet Warton to remark on our own great Druidical remains of Stonehenge—

> Studious to trace thy wondrous origin,
> We muse on many an ancient tale renowned.

*Bowringpete, 18th July* 1871. Rob. Cole.

## THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

### *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No.* 180—1872.

The first paper in this part is on the 'Buddhist Remains of Bihár' by A. M. Broadley, and may be regarded as an amplification and continuation of his papers in vol. I. of this journal, with lengthy extracts from Julien's Hiwen Thsang, Beal's Fah-Hian, Bigandet's Gaudama, &c.

[The] second paper is on 'the Tírthas of Vrin[dávana] and Gokula' by F. S. Growse, M. A.—and may also be regarded as a companion paper to those by the same author which appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* last year. Of Vrindávana he writes,—

"At the present time there are within the limits of the municipality about a thousand temples, including of course many which, strictly speaking, are merely private chapels, and fifty ghâts constructed

by as many Râjâs. The peacocks and monkeys, with which the place abounds, enjoy the benefit of special endowments, bequeathed by deceased princes of Kota and Bharatpur. There are some fifty *chhattras*, or dole houses, for the distribution of alms, and extraordinary donations are not unfrequently made by royal and distinguished visitors. Thus the Râjâ of Datia, a few years ago, made an offering to every single shrine and every single Brâhman that was found in the city."

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...y bear the titles of Gobind Deva, Gopînâth, Jugal-kishor, and Madan Mohan. The first named is not only the finest of this particular series, but is the most impressive religious edifice that Hindu art has ever produced, at least in Upper India. The body of the building is in the form of a Greek cross, the nave being a hundred feet in length, and the breadth across the transepts the same. The central compartment is surmounted by a dome of singularly graceful proportions; and the four arms of the cross are roofed by a waggon vault of pointed form, not—as is usual in Hindu architecture—composed of overlapping brackets, but constructed of true radiating arches as in our Gothic cathedrals. The walls have an average thickness of ten feet, and are pierced in two stages, the upper stage being a regular triforium, to which access is obtained by an internal staircase. At the east entrance of the nave, a small narthex projects fifteen feet; and at the west end, between two niches and incased in a rich canopy of sculpture, a square-headed doorway leads into the choir, a chamber some twenty feet deep. Beyond this was the sacrarium, flanked on either side by a lateral chapel; each of these three cells being of the same dimensions as the choir, and, like it, vaulted by a lofty dome. The general effect of the interior is not unlike that produced by St. Paul's cathedral in London. The latter building has greatly the advantage in size, but in the other, the central dome is more elegant, while the richer decoration of the wall surface, and the natural glow of the red sandstone, supply that relief and warmth of colouring which are so lamentably deficient in its Western rival.

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"There must originally have been seven towers—one over the central dome, one at the end of each transept, and the other four covering, respectively, the choir, sacrarium, and two chapels. The sacrarium has been utterly razed to the ground, and the other six towers levelled with the roof of the nave. Their loss has terribly marred the effect of the exterior, which must have been extremely majestic when the west front with its lofty triplet was supported on either side by the pyramidal mass of the transepts and backed by the still more towering height that crowned the central dome. The choir tower was of slighter elevation, occupying the same relative position as the spirelet over the sanctus bell in Western ecclesiology. The ponderous walls, albeit none too massive to resist the enormous thrust once brought to bear upon them, now, however much relieved by exuberant decoration, appear out of all proportion to the comparatively low superstructure. As a further disfigurement, a plain masonry wall has been run along the top of the centre dome. It is generally believed that this was built by Aurangzeb for the purpose of desecrating the temple; though it is also said to have been put up by the Hindus themselves to assist in some grand illumination. In either case it is an ugly modern excrescence, and steps should be at once taken for its removal.

"Under one of the niches at the west end of the nave is a tablet with a long Sanskrit inscription. This has unfortunately been much mutilated, but enough remains as record of the fact that the temple was built in Sambat 1647, *i. e.*, A. D. 1590, under the direction of the two Gurus Rúpa and Sanâtana. The founder, Râjâ Mân Sinha, was a Kachhwâhâ Thâkur, son of Râjâ Bhagawân Dâs of Amber, founder of the temple at Gobardhan, and an ancestor of the present Râjâ of Jaypûr. He was appointed by Akbar successively governor of the districts along the Indus, of Kâbul, and of Bihâr. By his exertions, the whole of Orissa and Eastern Bengal were re-annexed; and so highly were his merits appreciated at court, that, though a Hindu, he was raised to a higher rank than any other officer in the realm. He married a sister of Lakshmî Nârâyan, Râjâ of Koch Bihâr, and at the time of his decease, which was in the ninth year of the reign of Jahângîr, he had living one son, Bhâo Sinha, who succeeded him upon the throne of Amber, and died in 1621 A. D.† There is a tradition to the effect that Akbar at the last, jea-

* The derivation of this word is a little questionable. It is the local name of the actual Brindâ grove, to which the town owes its origin. The spot so designated is now of very limited area, hemmed in on all sides by streets, but protected from further encroachment by a high masonry wall.

† *Vide* Professor Blochmann's *Aín-i-Akbarí*, p. 341.

lous of his powerful vassal, and desirous to rid himself of him, had a confection prepared, part of which contained poison; but caught in his own snare, he presented the innoxious portion to the râja, and ate that drugged with death himself. The unworthy deed is explained by Mân Siñha's design, which apparently had reached the emperor's ears, to alter the succession in favour of Khusrau, his nephew, instead of Salim.*

"In anticipation of a visit from Aurangzeb, the image of the god was transferred to Jaypur, and the Gosâin of the temple there has ever since been regarded as the head of the endowment. The name of the present incumbent is Syam Sundar, who has two agents resident at Brindaban. There is said to be still in existence at Jaypúr the original plan of the temple, shewing its seven towers; but there is a difficulty in obtaining any definitive information on the subject. However, local tradition is fully agreed as to their number and position; while their architectural character can be determined beyond a doubt by comparison with the smaller temples of the same age and style, the ruins of which still remain. It is therefore not a little strange that of all the architects who have described this famous building, not one has noticed this, its most characteristic feature: the harmonious combination of dome and spire is still quoted as the great crux of modern art, though nearly 300 years ago the difficulty was solved by the Hindus with characteristic grace and ingenuity.

"It is much to be regretted that this most interesting monument has not been declared national property, and taken under the immediate protection of Government. At present no care whatever is shewn for its preservation: large trees are allowed to root themselves in the fissures of the walls, and in the course of a few more years the damage done will be irreparable. As a modern temple under the old dedication has been erected in the precincts, no religious prejudices would be offended by the State's appropriation of the ancient building. If any scruples were raised, the objectors might have the option of themselves undertaking the necessary repairs. But it is not probable that they would accept the latter alternative; for though the original endowment was very large, it has been considerably reduced by mismanagement, and the ordinary annual income is now estimated at no more than Rs. 17,500,† the whole of which is absorbed in the maintenance of the modern establishment."

From his account of Gokula we make the following extract:—

"Great part of the town is occupied by a high hill, partly natural and partly artificial, extending over more than 100 bighas of land, where stood the old fort. Upon its most elevated point is shewn a small cell, called Syam Lala, believed to mark the where Jasodá gave birth to Maya, or Joganidra, substituted by Vasudeva for the infant Krishna. But by far the most interesting building is a covered court called Nanda's Palace, or more commonly the Assi Khamba, *i. e.*, the Eighty Pillars. It is divided by five rows of sixteen pillars each into four aisles, or rather into a centre and two narrower side-aisles, with one broad outer cloister. The external pillars of this outer cloister are each of one massive shaft, cut into many narrow facets, with two horizontal bands of carving: the capitals are decorated either with grotesque heads or the usual four squat figures. The pillars of the inner aisles vary much in design, some being exceedingly plain, and others as richly ornamented, with profuse, and often graceful, arabesques. Three of the more elaborate are called, respectively, the Satya, Dwapar, and Tretayug; while the name of the Kaliyug is given to another somewhat plainer. All these interior pillars, however, agree in consisting, as it were, of two short columns set one upon the other. The style is precisely similar to that of the Hindu colonnades by the Qutb Minâr at Delhi; and both works may reasonably be referred to about the same age. As it is probable that the latter were not built in the years immediately preceding the fall of Delhi in 1194, so also it would seem that the court at Mahában must have been completed before the assault of Mahmúd in 1017; for after that date the place was too insignificant to be selected as the site of so elaborate an edifice. Thus Fergusson's conjecture is confirmed that the Delhi pillars are to be ascribed to the ninth or tenth century. Another long-mooted point may also be considered as almost definitively set at rest, for it can scarcely be doubted that the pillars, as they now stand at Mahaban, occupy their original position. Fergusson, who was unaware of their existence, in his notice of the Delhi cloister, doubts whether it now stands as originally arranged by the Hindus, or whether it had been taken down and re-arranged by the conquerors; but concludes as most probable that the former was the case, and that it was an open colonnade surrounding the palace of Prithirâj. "If so," he adds, "it is the only instance known of Hindu pillars being left undisturbed." General Cunningham comments upon these remarks, finding it utterly incredible that any architect, designing an original building and wishing to obtain height, should have recourse to such a rude expedient as constructing two distinct pillars, and then without any disguise piling up one on the top of the other. But, however extraordinary the procedure, it is clear that this is what was done at Mahâban, as is proved by the outer row of columns, which are each of one unbroken shaft, yet precisely the same in height as the double pillars of the inner aisles. The roof is flat and perfectly plain, except in two compartments, where it is cut into a pretty quasi-dome of concentric multifoil

* The above tradition is quoted from Tod's Râjasthan.
† Of this sum only Rs. 4,500 are derived from land and house property; the balance of Rs. 18,000 is made up by votive offerings.

circles. Mothers come here for their purification on the sixth day after child-birth—*chhathi-puja*—and it is visited by enormous crowds of people for several days about the anniversary of Krishna's birth in the month of Bhádon. A representation of the infant god's cradle is displayed to view, with his foster-mother's churn and other domestic articles. The place being regarded not exactly as a temple, but as Nanda and Jasodá's actual dwelling-house, Europeans are allowed to walk about in it with perfect freedom. Considering the size, the antiquity, the artistic excellence, the exceptional archæological interest, the celebrity amongst natives, and the close proximity to Mathurá of this building, it is perfectly marvellous that it found no mention whatever in the archæological abstract prepared in every district by orders of Government a few years ago, nor even in the costly work compiled by Lieutenant Cole, the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, which professes to illustrate the architectural antiquities of Mathura and its neighbourhood.

"Let into the outer wall of the Nand Bhavan is a small figure of Buddha; and it is said that whenever foundations are sunk within the precincts of the fort, many fragments of sculpture—of Buddhist character, it may be presumed—have been brought to light: but hitherto they have always been buried again, or broken up as building materials. Doubtless, Mahâban was the site of some of those Buddhist monasteries which the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian distinctly states existed in his time on both sides of the river. And further, whatever may be the exact Indian word concealed under the form Klisoboras, or Clisobora, given by Arrian and Pliny as the name of the town between which and Mathurá the Jamuná flowed—*Amnis Jomanes in Gangem per Palibothros decurrit inter oppida Methora et Clisobora*—Pliny. Hist. Nat. vi, 22—it may be concluded with certainty that Mahâban is the site intended. Its other literary names are Brihad-vana, Brihadaranya, Gokula, and Nanda-grama; and no one of these, it is true, in the slightest resembles the word Clisobora, which would seem rather to be a corruption of some compound in which 'Krishna' was the first element; possibly some epithet or descriptive title taken by the foreign traveller for the ordinary proper name. General Cunningham in his 'Ancient Geography' identifies Clisobora (read in one MS. as Cyrisoborka) with Brindaban, assuming that Kalikavartta, or 'Kalika's Whirlpool,' was an earlier name of the town, in allusion to Krishna's combat with the serpent Kâlika. But in the first place, the Jamuna does not flow *between* Mathura and Brindaban, seeing that both are on the same bank; secondly, the ordinary name of the great serpent is not Kâlika, but Kâliya; and thirdly, it does not appear upon what authority it is so boldly stated that "the earlier name of the place was Kalikavartta.' Upon this latter point a reference has been made to the great Brindâban Pandit, Swami Rangâchari, who, if any one, might be expected to speak with positive knowledge; and his reply was that, in the course of all his reading, he had never met with Brindâban under any other name than that which it now bears. In order to establish the identification of Clisobora with Mahâban, it was necessary to notice General Cunningham's counter-theory and to condemn it as unsound; ordinarily the accuracy of his research and the soundness of his judgment are entitled to the highest respect.

"The glories of Mahâban are told in a special (interpolated) section of the Brâhmanda Purâna, called the Brihad-vana Mahatmya. In this, its *tirthas*, or holy places, are reckoned to be twenty-one in number as follows:—

*Eka-vinsati-tirthena yuktam bhúrigunánvitam.*
*Yamal-árjuna punyatamam, Nanda-kupam tathaiva cha,*
*Chintá-harana Brahmandam, kundam Sarasvatam tathá,*
*Sarasvati silá tatra, Vishnu-kunda-samanvitam,*
*Kurna-kupam, Krishna-kundam, Gopa-kúpam tathaiva cha,*
*Ramanam-ramana-sthánam, Nárada-sthánam eva cha,*
*Pútaná-patana sthánam, Trinávartt-ákhyapátanam,*
*Nanda-harmyam, Nanda-geham, Ghátam Ramana-samjnakam,*
*Mathuránáthodbhavam-kshetram punyam pápapranasanam.*
*Janma-sthánam tu Sheshasya, jananam Yogamayaya."*

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In connection with this paper it may be mentioned that Mr. Growse has addressed the Government of the North-West Provinces, representing that the destruction of the temple of Govind Deva would be a national and irreparable loss, which immediate steps for its preservation can alone avert. "The Taj at Agra has been declared national property as the finest specimen of *Muhammadan* architecture; and it is in every way highly desirable that the same course should be followed with reference to this building as the recognized master-piece of *Hindu* architecture." He accordingly suggests "that the Government address the Maharaja of Jaypúr, representing the exigency of the case, and enquiring whether he is prepared himself to undertake the repair of the building, or whether he will cede it to the State as national property. The latter plan would be far preferable: and it is probable that if the Maharaja himself undertook the repairs, he would not only repair but also renovate, and further again devote it to religious service, by which means it would become closed to Europeans. As regards the temple of Haridева at Gobardhan the remedy is simpler. One compartment of the roof still remains as a guide for restoring the remainder, nor are funds wanting. The village of Bhagosa is a permanent endowment, and it has been decided in the Civil Court that the revenue must be expended strictly on religious uses, and cannot be appropriated by the shareholders as private income.

Accordingly there is already a deposit of more than Rs. 3,000 in the local treasury, and nothing more is required but a definitive order that this sum, and what shall hereafter accrue, shall be devoted, under Government supervision, to the restoration, until such time as it is thoroughly completed."

The Lieutenant-Governor has promised to act upon this suggestion.

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## REVIEW.

Essays on Eastern Questions, by Wm. Gifford Palgrave, Author of "Central and Eastern Arabia." (London, Macmillan & Co. 1872.)

This handsome volume of Essays is very appropriately dedicated to the Earl of Derby, "whose guidance of England's foreign policy has been always marked by a statesmanlike insight into character and race." There are ten Essays here reprinted:—Three on "Mahometanism in the Levant" from *Fraser*; from the same periodical there are other three, entitled "The Mahometan Revival," "The Monastery of Sumelas," and "The Poet 'Omar;" two from the *Cornhill*, called—"The Turkomans and other Tribes of the North-East Turkish Frontier," and "The Abkhasian Insurrection;" one from the *Quarterly* on "Eastern Christians;" and one from *Macmillan* on "The Brigand Ta'abbet Shurran."

"To expect," says the author, "that the collection of a few Essays and their republication can have any material effect towards removing erroneous ideas, or substituting exacter ones, about the Mahometan East of our own times, would be presumptuous indeed. Yet even these writings may in a measure contribute to so desirable a result; for correct appreciations are, like incorrect ones, formed not at once, but little by little. . . . These Essays, taken together, form a sketch mostly outline, part filled in, of the living East, as included within the Asiatic limits of the Ottoman Empire. Now, as for centuries past, the central figure of that picture is Islam, based on the energies of Arabia and the institutions of Mahomet, propped up by the memories of Chaliphs and the power of Sultâns, and though somewhat disguised by the later incrustations of Turanian superstition, still retaining the chief lineaments, and not little of the stability and strength, of its former days. Round it cluster the motley phantoms of Eastern Christianity, indigenous or adventitious; and by its side rises the threatening Russian colossus, with its triple aspect of Byzantine bigotry, western centralization, and astern despotism. This group, in its whole and n some of its details, I have at different times ndeavoured to delineate; and if the pencil be an nskilful one, its tracings, so far as they go, have he recommendation, not perhaps of artistic graceulness, but at least of realistic truth."

Mr. Palgrave has an uncommon knowledge of he religious and social manifestations of Muhamma- in India, Arabia, Egypt, and Turkey. Per- the most instructive of all these Essays is the one devoted to the Mahometan Revival (*Fraser*, February 1872), which was written on the perusal of Hunter's *Our Indian Mussalmans*, to which it forms a sort of supplement. "Its object is to show calmly, and without sensational exaggeration, how widespread and deep-rooted is the present revival of Islam, particularly in that part of the world which may be looked upon as its stronghold, the Asian Turkish Empire. Hence it is natural to infer with what caution and steadiness of statesmanship we should deport ourselves towards such manifestations of it as arise within the circle of our own dominion; though I have purposely abstained from specialized conclusions." To quote briefly—"So strong, indeed, is the bond of union supplied by the very name of Islam, even where that name covers the most divergent principles and beliefs, that, in presence of the 'infidel,' the deep clefts which divide Soonnee and Sheeah are for a time and purpose obliterated; and the most heretical sects become awhile amalgamated with the most uncompromisingly orthodox, who in another cause would naturally reject and disavow them. Very curious in this respect is the evidence afforded by Mr. Hunter; nowhere more so than in the light he throws, almost unconsciously it would seem, on the true character of the so-called Wahhabee movement, spreading from the rebel camp of Sittana to Lower Bengal, and reconcentrating itself in the centres of Maldah, and at Patna in particular. Here we have the most simple and rigid form that Islam has ever assumed, namely, the puritanical Unitarianism of the Nejdean Wahhabee, combined with all that the Nejdean Wahhabee, as such, would most condemn—I mean, the superstitious belief in a coming 'Mahdee,' the idea of personal and, so to speak, corporeal virtue and holy efficacy in the 'Imam' of the day; and lastly, with the organised practice of private assassination, a practice long held for distinctive of the free-thinking Isma'eleeyeh and their kindred sects among the Rafidee heretics. . . . Islam is even now an enormous power, full of self-sustaining vitality, with a surplus for aggression; and a struggle with its combined energies would be deadly indeed. Yet we, at any rate, have no need for nervous alarm, nor will its quarrel, even partially, be with us and our Empire, so long as we are constantly faithful to the practical wisdom of our predecessors, that best of legacies bequeathed to us by the old East India Company."

Speaking of Indian legal difficulties—"Where plaintiff and defendant, testator and legatee, are alike Muslims, let matters be between them in a court cognizant of Muslim civil law, and re-

gulated as near as may be after Muslim fashion; and let the legal officers of such courts, from the highest to the lowest, be invested with all the sanction that our own Indian Government, the only one on Muslim, no less than on non-Muslim, principles competent to do so within Indian limits, can give. A Kazi-el-Kuzât in each Presidency, with a Sheykh-Islam at Calcutta, nominated by the Government, salaried by Government, removable by Government —all conditions, be it observed, of the Sheykh-Islam and of every Kadi in the Ottoman Empire itself—endowed with the appropriate patronage for subordinate appointments, but requiring for the validity of each and every nomination our own confirmatory sign and seal; good Muhammadan law colleges and schools, conducted under our supervision, and maintained on our responsibility:—these are what would give us a hold over the most important, because the most dangerous, element in our Indian Empire, such as nothing else could give: a hold that the disaffection, did it ever occur, of others from within, or the assaults of rival powers, not least of 'infidel ones,' from north or elsewhere without, would only strengthen.

"Let us be wise and understand this, and not incur the reproach of those, rulers too in their day, who 'could not discern the signs of the times.' We can no more check or retard the Muhammadan 'revival' in India than we can hinder the tide from swelling in the English Channel when it has risen in the Atlantic. The 'Revival' is a world-movement, an epochal phenomenon; it derives from the larger order of causes, before which the lesser laws of race and locality are swept away or absorbed into unity. But we can turn it to our own advantage; we can make the jaws of this young-old lion bring forth for us honey and the honey-comb. And this we can do without in the least compromising our own Christian character as a Government or as a nation. The measures required at our hands in our Indian heritage are simply mercy, justice, and judgment; and these belong to no special race or creed; they are the property of all, Christian and Muslim alike—of West as of East, of England as of Mecca."

No finer contribution has recently been made on a question of vital importance to the government and destinies of India.—A. R. B.

## CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

### ON INDIAN DATES.

*To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.*

SIR,—So much of our knowledge of the mediæval history of India depends on the correct decypherment of inscriptions on rocks and stones or copper-plates, that it is of the utmost importance, not only that their meaning, but more especially their dates, should be tested by every available means. The inscriptions, it must be confessed, have hitherto proved of very little use in settling our chronology, or affording dates for buildings; and this state of things must continue until orientalists can agree among themselves as to the eras from which they are dated. So long, for instance, as Mr. Thomas is of opinion that the Sah kings date their coins and inscriptions from the era of the Seleucidæ (311 B. C.); Mr. Justice Newton from that of Nahapâna, practically Vikramâditya, which is a favourite with others (56 B. C.); and Dr. Bhâu Dâji from the S'aka era (78 A.D.)—we have some 400 years among which to choose for the date of the famous repairs of the Palesini bridge. In like manner, till it is agreed whether the Guptas began to reign 318 A. D. or were then exterminated—and those who have treated this subject are about equally divided on this point—we have at least a couple of centuries to veer and haul upon for all the dates of this period; and, except Lassen, I know of no distinguished orientalist who has fairly looked on both sides of the Ballabhi difficulty, and assigned to its kings what I believe to be their true date—though, in doing this, he differs to the extent of 300 and 400 years from Wathen, Dowson, and almost every other recent writer on these subjects.*

All this is bad enough, and renders inscriptions *per se* nearly useless for the purpose of fixing the dates of buildings or events; but it would be a fearful aggravation of the case, if, besides the difficulties attaching to the initial date, it should turn out that, either from negligence or design, the dates in the inscriptions were so falsified that they could not be depended upon. I have recently been led to suspect that this is the case in more instances than one; and it seems so important that it should be ascertained whether this is so or not, that I request you will allow me an opportunity of laying the case before your readers. The first case I wish to refer to, is the well-known copper-plate grant of Pulakes'i I. of the Châlukya dynasty, dated in 411 S'aka, or 489 A.D. This was first brought to the notice of the learned by Sir Walter Elliot, in the 4th volume of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, p. 7, *et seqq.*; but even at that early date he saw the difficulty of reconciling this date with the circumstances narrated in the inscription, and therefore proposed (page 12) to substitute S'aka 610 for S'aka 411.

When I wrote on the subject in 1869 (*J. R. A. S.*, new series, volume IV. p. 92), this appeared to me too violent a correction, and I suggested substituting

* Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 61.—ED.

511 for 411; and if the facts are as stated in the inscription, and Pulakesi I. was the grandfather of Pulakes'i II., which I see no reason for doubting, some such correction as this seems indispensable, but not to a greater extent than 100 years.

If this were the only inscription in which an error had been detected, it would be of little consequence; but on reading Dr. Bhau Dâji's very unsatisfactory analysis of the inscriptions published by the Committee of Architectural Antiquities in Western India, a second occurs, in which the falsification is even more evident. At page 315, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, vol. IX., an inscription of Pulakes'i II. is *quoted, dated S'aka 506, or A. D. 584. This* inscription, of which a second abstract is quoted (page 199) in the same volume, tells us how he fought with Harsha Vardhana, the Silâditya of Hiwen Thsang, and speaks of their wars in the past tense. *Now we happen to know, not only* by inference from Hiwen Thsang, but from the more precise testimony of Ma-twan-lin (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. VI. p. 68), that these events took place between the years 618 and 627; and consequently, as this inscription could not have been written till after the last-named year, its date is certainly 43 years too early; or more probably 50 years at least. Besides this, another inscription was quoted by Mr. Eggeling at the last meeting of the Asiatic Society,* dated in the third year of the second Pulakes'i's reign, S'aka 534 or A. D. 612, which I have no doubt is the correct date (*J. R. A. S. N. S.*, vol. IV. p. 94). Here then we have two important inscriptions, one of which requires a correction of about 100 years, the other of about 50, to bring them into accordance with known historical events; and what I want to ask your learned readers is, whether they can offer any solution of this difficulty, or whether, on the contrary, we must be prepared to meet with such falsifications again in other places?

Unfortunately the *long dates in this inscription* do not help us in this matter At page 315, Bhâu Daji states them as follows:—Kaliyuga 3855, and from the war of the Mahâbhârata 3730, and consequently shewing an interval of 125 years between these events. Now, applying our usual Kaliyuga equation, 3101 B. C., to these, we have 754 A. D. for the first, which is much too late, and 629 for the second, which certainly is so near the correct date that it might be adopted as final, if we felt sure it is in the inscription. But at page 199, Dr. Bhâu Dâji, with a glaring want of correctness, gives a very different version of matters, and, that there may be no mistake this time, gives his dates in words, not in figures. According to this last version, the beginning of the Kaliyuga is placed 3506 before the date of this inscription, and the Bhârata 3855 years before the same time. In other words, the Mahâbhârata was fought out in the Treta Yuga, and the interval between these two events was 349 years instead of 125, as we were told in a previous paragraph. Fortunately we know too well the cause of these modern discrepancies, and can apply the correction. With the more ancient ones, it is not so easy.†

In conclusion, allow me to express an earnest hope that, before long, some competent antiquary will visit Iwalli and Badami. The inscription above discussed shows the building on which it is found to be the oldest structural temple known to exist in Western India, and, if Stirling is to be depended upon, *cotemporary* with the *great temple* at Bhuvanes'war in Katak, which is the oldest known temple in Eastern India. If, too, the inscription No. 12 in the Badami cave should turn out to belong to the sixth century, as Dr. Bhâu Dâji conjectures from the form of the characters, it will throw a new light on the history of cave-temple architecture in the West. From such imperfect data as I have at my command, I would guess these caves to be considerably more modern; but we sadly want plans and *architectural details of this most interesting* group of monuments; while, except from the sequence of architectural details, I know of no mode by which dates can in India be ascertained with even proximate certainty.

JAS. FERGUSSON.

*Langham Place, 30th Jan.* 1873.

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ON THE INTERPRETATION OF PATANJALI.

SIR,—In the extract from Prof. Weber's *critique* on Dr. Goldstücker, given in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II. p. 61, there are several points, besides the main one I took up (at page 59), which require notice. From the passage about the Mauryas quoted by Dr. Goldstücker, Prof. Weber infers that Pânini, in making his rule V. 3, 99, had in his eye such images as those that had come down from the Mauryas. How the passage supports such an inference, I am at a loss to see. Pânini in that

* Asiatic Society,—*Jan.* 20.—Mr. J. Eggeling, the Secretary, submitted translations of, and notes on, a number of South Indian inscriptions, with a view to shew what materials are available in England for improving our knowledge of the history of the Dekhan. These materials were stated to consist partly of original copper-plates in the possession of the Society, the India Office, British Museum, and private individuals, especially Sir W. Elliot. . . . The dynasty which receives most light from these documents is that of the Châlukyas. Of the Eastern or [illegible] branch especially, there are in Sir W. Elliot's [illegible] [of impressions] several highly important grants, [illegible] complete chronological records of that line from the first king, Vishnuvardhana, the Hunchback (about A. D. 604 to 622), to Amma Râjâ, who reigned in A. D. 945, being then ten years old. Regarding the Kalyâni line also, these materials contribute some *valuable information (one* grant of Satyâsraya being dated in the third year of his reign, S'aka 534, A. D. 612), as they do regarding nearly every dynasty of the Dekhan. One inscription, containing in the introductory s'lokas a list of the solar race, supplies thirteen name of princes of a branch of the Chola dynasty.—*Athenæum*, Jan. 25, 1873, p. 118.

† To prevent its misleading, I may as well point out that in inscription 8, p. 316, the date is misprinted as 789 A. D.; it ought to be 889.

sûtra tells us that the termination *ka* applied to the names of objects, in the sense of images of those objects, is dropped in cases when the images enable one to earn his livelihood, but are not saleable. Upon this Patanjali observes that, because the word 'unsaleable' is used, such forms as *S'ivah*, *Skandah*, and *Vis'akhah* (in which the termination *ka* is dropped) are not valid. Why not? Because the Mauryas, desirous of obtaining gold, used, or applied to their purpose, *i.e.*, sold, objects* of worship. Since, then, these (*viz.*, images of S'iva, &c.) were sold by them, they were *panya*, or 'saleable,' and hence the termination *ka* should not be dropped. It may not be dropped in those cases (*i. e.*, the proper forms must be S'ivaka, &c.), says Patanjali, but it is dropped in the case of those images which are now used for worship. This interpretation of the passage is consistent and proper. Prof. Weber understands it to mean, that the only cases in which the rule about the dropping of the termination does not apply, are those of images with which the Mauryas were concerned. But that it is inapplicable to all images that are saleable, is clear from the passage itself, and the two commentaries on it. Kaiyata distinctly says that the rule does not apply to those that are sold, and gives *S'ivakân Vikrinîte* as an instance. What Patanjali means to say is that the termination *ka* should be applied to the names of the images sold by the Mauryas, according to Pâṇini's rule; but the rule is set aside in this case, and the wrong forms S'iva, Skanda, and Vis'akha are used. Nagojibhatta expressly states—*tatra pratyaya-sravanam ishtameveti vadan sûtrasyodâharanam dars'ayati* (*i. e.*, saying that the use of the termination there is necessary, he points out an instance of the rule). Now, in all this there is not only nothing to show that Panini had the images sold by the Mauryas in view, but that the names of those images violate his rule. Dr. Goldstücker's interpretation of this passage is also not correct.

In the next place Prof. Weber thinks that the word acharya in such expressions as *pas'yati twâchâryah*, occurring in the Mahabhâshya, applies to Patanjali. It appears to me that Prof. Weber has overlooked the context of these passages. In all these cases the achârya meant is clearly Pâṇini, and not Patanjali. I will here briefly examine two or three of the passages referred to by the Professor, for I have no space for more. In the first of these, the question Patanjali discusses is this:—Which *n* is it that is used in the term *an* occurring in the sûtra *ur an raparah*, *i. e.*, does *an* here mean only *a*, *i*, and *u*, or all the vowels, semi-vowels, and *h*? He answers by saying that the *n* in this case is clearly the first, and not the second, that is, that which is at the end of the sûtra *a*, *i*, *un*, and hence *an* signifies only the vowels *a*, *i*, and *u*. And why is it to be so understood? The sûtra *ur an raparah* means, when *an* is substituted for *ri*, it is always followed by *r*, that is, if, for instance, you are told in a sûtra to substitute *a* for *ri*, you should substitute not *a* alone, but *ar*. Now, the reason why, in this sûtra, *an* signifies the first three vowels only, is that there is no other significate of the more comprehensive term *an*, that is, no other vowel or any semi-vowel or *h* which is ever substituted for *ri*. "Why not? there is," says the objector. One instance brought forward by him is explained away, and another that he adduces is *Mâtrinam*. In this case, by the sûtra *nami*, a long vowel, *i. e.*, *rî*, is substituted for the short *ri*. *Rî* is a significate of the more comprehensive *an*, and not of the less comprehensive. Hence, then, the objector would say the *an*, in the sutra *ur an*, &c., is the more comprehensive one. But, says the *siddhanti*, this is not a case in which the substitute has an *r* added on to it. Does it follow from Pâṇini's work itself that no *r* is to be added? For aught we know, Pâṇini may have meant that *r* should be added in this case also. Now, the evidence from Panini for this is in the sûtra *rita iddhâtoh*. 'This is the reason,' says the *siddhânti*, 'why the word *dhatu* is put in the sûtra,—that in such cases as *Mâtrinam* and *Pitrinam*, which are not *dhâtus*, *ir* may not be substituted for the long *rî*. If the long vowel substitute in *Mâtrinam* had an *r* following it, it would not be necessary to put the word *dhatu* in this sutra, for Matrir would not then be an *anga* or base† ending in *ri*, and such bases only are intended in the sutra *rita iddhatoh*. The use of the word *dhatu* then shows that "the âcharya sees that in *Matrinam*, &c., the long substitute has not an *r* following it, and hence he uses the word *dhâtu* in the sutra." ‡ Now, it is evident from this that the acharya is Panini, for the âcharya is spoken of as having put the word *dhatu* in the sutra for a certain purpose. The author of the sûtras being Panini, the acharya meant must be he himself. In the same manner, in the passage at page 196 (Ballant. edition), Panini is intended, for the âchârya is there spoken of as having put *i* after *ri* in the sûtra *urrit*. Similarly, in page 197, the âchârya is represented as having used *n* twice in the pratyâhâra sutras. The author of these sûtras, then, is meant there. And I may say that, so far as I have seen the Bhâshya, the word achârya used in this way applies either to Pâṇini or Katyâyana, and Patanjali never speaks of himself as âcharya.

Thirdly,—Prof. Weber's interpretation of the vartika *parokshecha loka*, &c., is different from Dr. Goldstücker's and mine. But he will see that our interpretation is confirmed by Kaiyata and Nâgojibhatta. He seems to take *paroksham* in the sense of the 'past.'

* The reading in the Banaras edition is *archyah*, and not *arckah*.

† *Anâyatvâd*, the reading in Ballantyne's Mahâbhâshya, is wrong or not good. It ought to be *anantyatvad*, as in the new Banaras edition.

‡ Pas'yatitvâcharyo natra raparatvam bhavati tato dhâtu grahanam karoti.

But Patanjali's own explanation is *param akshnoh paroksham* (that which is turned away from the eyes, *i. e.*, not seen), and one of his quotations from other writers about the sense of the word is *kudya-katántaritam paroksham** (that which is hidden from one even by a fence), both of which show that the only essential sense of the word is 'a thing not seen by the speaker.' *Dars'ana-vishaya*, the Professor interprets by 'a thing once seen, or that once fell within the range of the speaker's vision;' but if it has been once seen, it can never be called *paroksha* in the sense which is always attributed to the word.

Fourthly.—Prof. Weber quotes from Patanjali the passage *mathuráyáh Pátaliputram púrvam*, and infers that the author of the Mahâbhâshya lived to the east of Pâtaliputra. His interpretation of the passage seems to be 'Pâtaliputra is *first* and Mathurâ *afterwards*.' But the natural sense is—'Pâtaliputra is to the east of Mathurâ,' as it is, or rather was, as a matter of fact. That Patanjali lived, not to the east of Pâtaliputra, but to the north-west of Sâketa, I have shown in a separate article. Lastly, Dr. Goldstücker and Prof. Weber understand the word *áchâryades'iya* used by Kaiyata in some places in the sense of 'countryman of the *áchárya*.' It is not unnatural that an antiquarian, looking for historical facts in what he reads, should interpret his author thus; but it is not natural that a Hindu commentator, caring only for his subject, and not at all for history, should use such an expression to contrast one of the authors he comments on with another. He will look to the scale of estimation in which he holds them. To the Hindu grammarian the greatest *âchárya* is Pânini, next to him is Kâtyâyana, and next to this latter is Patanjali. If it is necessary in one place to contrast one of them with another, he would naturally use some such expression as *âchárya* and *âchárya the younger*. And this appears to me to be the sense of the word, and a Hindu would naturally understand it thus. It is derived, according to Pân. V. 3, 67, but the sense ought not to be taken as 'an unaccomplished teacher,' as Dr. Goldstucker does, but a teacher who is lower in the scale, or the younger teacher. And that Patanjali was so is plain. That there is very great reason to believe that Patanjali and Kâtyâyana did not belong to the same country, I have shown elsewhere.

RAMKRISHNA G. BHANDARKAR.

## NOTES.

1. I HEARTILY accept the Editor's correction about the true identity of *Supara* (see Vol. I. p. 321). I was not aware of the survival of the name near Wasâi, and I followed Ibn Haukal's *data*, which present the itinerary as follows:—

Cambay to Sûbârah, 4 marches (½ parasang from the sea.)
Sûbârah to Sindân, 5 " (do. do
Sindân to Saimûr, 5 "

(See *Elliot's Historians*, by Dowson, Vol. I. p. 3, and note—also the map at page 32; and at page 30 the same itinerary in *al-Istakhri*; also in *Idrisi* at page 85). The last-mentioned geographer says:—"*They fish for pearls here.* It is in the vicinity of Bâra, a small island on which some cocoanut trees and the costus grow." Can any explanation be given of this? The passage looks as if it might contain some light on the *Perimula* of Pliny, which was according to his indications—(1) the chief mart of India, (2) the seat of a pearl-fishery, (3) somewhere on the west coast, and (4) certainly anything rather than Manar, as Lassen makes it.

2. The following short extracts from Valentyne's History of the Dutch East Indies may be of interest to many of your readers, as an item in the history of the "Discovery of Sanskrit." That very industrious and intelligent author, after referring to what had been written by the chaplains, Abraham Rogerius and Philip Baldaeus, concerning the Hindu religion, proceeds:—"We do indeed find many things in those two books concerning the religion (of the heathen); but yet by no means all that it would be well to know. And the sole cause of this is that neither of those gentlemen understood the Sanskrit language (which Rogerius calls *Samscortams*, and which others call *Girandam* or *Kerendum*), in which language the *Vedam*, or Holy Lawbook of these heathens, is written. And thus they had no power to read or translate the Vedam, and thereby to lay open before the eyes of the world this religion in its real essence and on its true foundation. . . . . Above all, it would be a matter of general utility to the coast that some more chaplains should be maintained there for the sole purpose of studying the Sanskrit tongue,† the head-and-mother-tongue of most Eastern languages, and once for all to make an exact translation of the Vedam, or Lawbook of the Heathen (which is followed not only by the heathen on this coast, but also, in whole or in part, in Ceylon, Malabar, Bengal, Surat, and other neighbouring kingdoms), and thereby to give such preachers further facilities for the more powerful conviction of the heathen here and elsewhere, on their own ground, and for the disclosure of many mysteries and other matters with which we are now unacquainted. . . . . This Lawbook of the Heathen, called the Vedam, had in the very old times 4 parts, though one of these is now lost. . . . These four parts were named *Roggo* Vedam, *Sadura* or *Issoure* Vedam, *Sama* Vedam, and *Tarawana* or *Adderawana* Vedam."—*Keurlyke Beschryving van Choromandel*, pp. 72, 73 in Vol. V.

*Palermo, Dec.* 26, 1872. H. YULE, Colonel.

* See the Mahâbhâshya under *Parokshe lit.* III. 2, 115.

† "De Sanskritse taal."

*Query.*

THIRTEEN miles north of the city of Dacca is a village called Uttarkhân, with an old tomb said to be that of Shâh Kabîr. His descendants possess a sanad dated A. H. 1047 (1637), conferring a piece of land rent-free on "Khandesh 'urf Burhanpûr Kabîr Wâlî Agha." In addition, he was allowed a sum of money, which, with the rent of the lâkhirâj land, amounted to eight rupees a day.

Can any of your readers give further particulars regarding this Shâh Kabîr? The last king of Khandesh was Bahadur Shâh, or, as he is styled by Prinsep, Bahadur Khân Turkî, who, after the conquest of his country by Akbar in A. D. 1600, was imprisoned in Gwalior. Was Shâh Kabîr his son?

JAMES WISE.

*Dacca, 20th Feb.* 1873.

REMARK ON THE NOTE CONCERNING ANCIENT DRAVIDIAN NUMERALS.*

THE Dravidian tribes along the crests of the Eastern Ghâts, and those who inhabit the interior of the country between the Godavari and the Mahânadi, are notably deficient in the art of counting.

Towards the north, where their speech has been influenced by Uriya immigrants, the higher numbers are adopted from that language; and about the Godavari, where the Telugus have come among them, the aborigines have made use of Telugu for this purpose. I give a few examples :—

Kôi—Orrote, Irruvûr, Muvvûr, Nâlûr, Aivvûr, A'ruvûr, Veduvûr, Ennunidi (Tel.†), Tommidi (Tel.), Padi (Tel.), &c.

Gadaba—Moi, Umbâr, Iyen, Mun, Mulloi, Tiyir, Sât (Uriya), A't (Ur.), No (Ur), &c., &c.

Kerang Kâpu—Moi, Umbâr, Ingi, O, Malloi, Turu, Gû, Tammâr, Santing, Gô'a, Gommoi, Gombâru, Gongi, Gôuk, Gommali, Gotturu, Gogu, Gottamar, Gosanting, Salgam, &c.

Pengu Porja—Ruân, Bia, Tin (Ur.), Châr (Ur.), Pânch (Ur.), &c., &c.

Durwa Gonds—Undi, Rond, Mund, Nâlu, Hânig, Hârung, Sât (Ur.), A't (Ur.), No (Ur.), &c., &c.

Selliya Porja—Undre, Rundi, Mundri, Nalge, Aidu (Tel.), A'ru (Tel.), &c., &c.

Tagara Porja—Vakat, Irudu, Mundu, Nâlu, Chendu, Soitan, Sât (Ur.), A't (Ur.), &c.

These tribes are classed as Dravidian and Kolairean, the Kerang Kâpu and the Gadaba being of the latter strain, and the rest of the former. Of the Dravidians, none can count in their own language beyond 'seven.' The Penga Porja, indeed, has had to borrow a word for 'three.' No attempt has yet been made to study the derivation of these words; but if the Kôi has a word signifying 'to be nice' or 'to be beautiful'—which I am inclined to doubt—akin to his expression for 'four,' I shall, on its discovery, derive it from Nâlûr, and not Nâlûr from it.

The numeration of the Kerang Kâpus seems to be better developed than that of the Gadabas. The two belong, evidently, to the same family; and it is curious that the Gadaba, when casting about for an expression for 'seven,' should have taken an Uriya word, and not one of the dialect akin to his own. It will be seen that the Kerang Kâpu has a decimal notation. I am inclined to think that this idea must have been borrowed from the Aryan type, as I have a list of Gadaba numerals which betray a leaning towards a quaternary notation. In the table alluded to, 'eight' is called Vumbâru-punja, *i.e.*, 2-4, and 9 Vumbâru-punja-moi, *i.e.*, 2-4-1.

H. G. T.

*Vizagapatam, 10th Feb.* 1873.

* See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 24.

† Tel. = Telugu. Ur. = Uriya.

THE SAURASHTRA SOCIETY.

A SOCIETY has been formed in Kathiawar for the purpose of investigating the geography, natural history, ethnology, antiquities, and folklore of the peninsula. The officers and chiefs of the province, and many of the Pandits and men of learning and influence among the natives, are joining, and hopes are entertained that the Society will facilitate the efforts of antiquaries in Bombay and elsewhere, at least so far as pointing out to them the places that ought to be examined.

PARJANYA, THE RAIN GOD.

[As represented in the hymns of the Rig-Veda, v. 83, and vii. 100, 101.]

I.

Parjanya laud with praises meet;
The fertilizing god extol
And bless, of living things the soul,
Whose advent men, exulting, greet.

II.

In steeds a charioteer has spurred,
His watery scouts before him fly.
Far off, within the darkening sky,
The thundering lion's roar is heard.

III.

Fierce blow the blasts, the lightnings flash,
Men, cattle, flee in wild affright.
Avenging bolts the wicked smite;
The guiltless quake to hear the crash.

IV.

Malignant demons stricken lie;
The forest's leafy monarchs tall
Convulsed, uprooted, prostrate fall,
Whene'er Parjanya passes by.

V.

Urge on thy car, Parjanya, haste,
And, as thou sweepest o'er the sky,
Thine ample waterskins‡ untie
To slake with showers the thirsty w[aste].

‡ This image is, of course, ... well known that in Eastern c... preserving wine and carrying ...

VI

Now forth let swollen streamlets burst,
  And o'er the withered meadows flow:
  Let plants their quickening influence know,
And pining cattle quench their thirst.

VII.

Thy wondrous might, O god, declare;
  With verdure bright the earth adorn,
  Clothe far and wide the fields with corn,
And food for all the world prepare.

VIII.

But O, we pray, Parjanya kind,
  Since now our harvests, drenched with rain,
  Invoke the Solar powers in vain,
Thy waterskins no more unbind.*

*Edinburgh, Sept.* 13, 1872. J. MUIR.

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## EARLY PRINTING IN INDIA.

THE art of printing was introduced into India by the Goa Jesuits about the middle of the sixteenth century, but they printed only in the Roman character at first. Father *Estevaô* (*i.e.*, Stephens, an Englishman), about 1600, speaks of the Roman character as exclusively used for writing *Konkani*, and the system of transcription which he used in his *Konkanî* Grammar (*Arte de lingoa Canarin*) and *Purana* is really worthy of admiration. It is based on the Portuguese pronunciation of the alphabet, but is accurate and complete, and has been used by the numerous *Konkanî* Roman Catholics of the west coast of India up to the present time. In the seventeenth century the Jesuits appear to have had two presses at Goa; in their College of St. Paul at Goa, and in their house at Rachol. Few specimens of their work have been preserved, but there is ample evidence that they printed a considerable number of books, and some of large size. About the end of the seventeenth century, it became the practice at Goa to advance natives to high office in the Church, and from that time ruin and degradation began, and the labours of the early Jesuits disappeared. Literature was entirely neglected, and the productions of the early presses were probably used as waste-paper by the monks, or left to certain destruction by remaining unused and uncared for on their bookshelves. There is, however, in the Cochin territory a place quite as famous as Goa in the history of printing in India. Often mentioned by travellers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, *Ambalacatta* (*i.e.*, *Ambalakkadu*, or "Church-wood") is not to be found on the maps, and recent inquirers have supposed that the site is forgotten, and that inquiry was useless. The late Major Carr appears to have arrived at this conclusion after visiting *Goa* in order to get information about it. The place, however, still remains, but as a small village with a scanty population of schismatic Nestorians; it is inland from *Cranganore*, and a few miles to the north of *Angamali*. The Jesuits appear to have built here a seminary and church dedicated to St. Thomas soon after 1550, and in consequence of the results of the Synod of *Udayompura*, presided over by Alexius Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, in 1599, it became a place of great importance to the mission. *Sanskrit*, *Tamil*, *Malayalam*, and *Syriac* were studied by the Portuguese Jesuits residing there with great success,† and several important works were printed, of which, however, we have only the names left us as recorded by F. de Souza and others, and still later by Fr. Paulinus. The last tells us that: "Anno 1679 in oppido *Ambalacatta* in lignum incisi alii characteres Tamulici per Ignatium *Aichamoni* indigenam Malabarensem, iisque in lucem prodiit opus inscriptum: *Vocabulario Tamulico com a significaçaô Portugueza composto pello P. Antem de Proença da Comp. de Jesu, Miss. de Madurê.*" The first Malabar-Tamil (? Malayalam) types had been cut by a lay brother of the Jesuits, Joannes Gonsalves, at Cochin, in 1577. *Ambalacâtta* was destroyed by order of Tipu, when his army invaded Cochin and Travancore; a true barbarian and savage, he spared neither Christians nor Hindus, and to him attaches the infamy of destroying most of the ancient Sanskrit MSS which time had spared in S. India. Brahmans have yet stories current, how in those times their ancestors had to flee to the forests with a few of their most precious books and possessions, leaving the remainder to the flames. A. B.—*in Trübner's Record*, Oct. 31.

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## DEFINITION OF FO OR BUDDHA.

"WHAT is Fo?" asked an Indian king of a disciple of a saint of Hindustan named Tamo. This disciple, whose name was Poloti, replied—"Fo is nothing else than the perfect knowledge of nature—intelligent nature."—"Where is this nature to be found?" rejoined the king. "In the knowledge of Fo," answered the disciple; "that is, in the understanding which comprehends intelligent nature." The king reiterated the question—"Where does it reside then?" The disciple replied—"In use and knowledge."—"What is this use?" said the king, "for I do not comprehend it." Poloti replied—"In that you speak, you use this nature; but," added he, "you do not perceive it on account of your blindness"—"What," said the king, "does this nature reside in me?" The disciple replied—"If you know how to make use of it, you would find it throughout you; since you do not use it, you cannot discern it."—"But in how many places

* This verse, which has been mainly suggested by the (in Scotland) disastrous rains of the present season, is justi- by a brief reference in a verse of one of the hymns ·88, 10).

† The German Jesuit Hanxleden, who died at *Pâ'ûr* (in S. Malabar) in 1732, possessed a comprehensive knowledge of Sanskrit literature.

does it reveal itself to those who use it?" inquired the king. "In sight," replied the disciple, adding as follows:—"Seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, touching, speaking, and walking are our corporeal faculties; but there is yet another faculty in us and throughout us, which includes in itself the three worlds, and comprehends all things in the small space of our bodies. This faculty is called *nature* by wise men, and *soul* by fools." The king then became converted; and having sent for Tamo, by the advice of Poloti, embraced the religion of Fo, whose mysteries were fully explained to him by the saint.—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. xxi, 1826.

## EXTRACTS FROM SHERRING'S 'CASTES.'*

### KAYASTHS.

THE Writer caste comes somewhere at the head of the Sudras, or between them and the Vaisyas. Nothing is known decisively respecting its origin; and although disputation on the subject seems to have been unbounded, no satisfactory result has been arrived at. The Kayasths themselves affirm that their common ancestor, on the father's side, was a Brahman; and therefore lay claim to a high position among Indian castes. But the Brahmans repudiate the connection, and deny their right to the claim, giving them the rank of Sudras merely. Wilson, in his Glossary, states that they sprang from a Kshatriya father and a Vaisya mother, but gives no authority for the assertion. According to the Padam Purana they derive their origin, like the superior castes, from Brahma, the first deity of the Hindu Triad. The Brahmans assent to this; but add that it was from the feet of Brahma, the least honourable part, from which they imagine all the Sudra castes have proceeded. The Kayasths as a body trace their descent from one Chitrgupt, though none can show who he was, or in what epoch he existed. They regard him as a species of divinity, who after this life will summon them before him, and dispense justice upon them according to their actions, sending the good to heaven and the wicked to hell. The Jatimala says that the Kayasths are true S'udras. Manu, however (X. 6), states that they are the offspring of a Brahman father and a S'udra mother. With so many different authorities it is impossible to affirm which is correct.

In point of education, intelligence, and enterprise, this caste occupies deservedly a high position. A large number of Government officials in Indian courts of law, and of wagils, or barristers, belong to it; and in fact it supplies writers and accountants to all classes of the community, official and non-official. Thus it comes to pass that the influence and importance of the Kayasths are felt in every direction, and are hardly equalled in proportion to their numbers by any other caste, not excepting even the Brahmanical. As revenue officers, expounders of law, keepers of registers of property, and so forth, they are extensively employed; indeed they regard such duties as theirs by special birthright, while other persons who may discharge them are, in their estimation, interlopers. These views are rudely dealt with by the liberal Government of India, which shows no respect to persons or castes, and selects for its servants the best qualified individuals. Nevertheless the Kayasths adhere to the notion in spite of the difficulty of defending it.

The proportion of men able to read and write in this caste is, I believe, greater than in any other, excepting the Brahmans. They are eager in the pursuit of knowledge, and send their sons in large numbers both to the Government and missionary colleges and schools in all parts of the country. I understand that a considerable number of the women of this tribe can read; and that it is esteemed a shame for any man of the caste not to be able to do so. In regard to their position in Bengal, Mr. Campbell, in his "Ethnology of India," makes the following observations:—"In Bengal," he says, "the Kaits seem to rank next, or nearly next, to the Brahmans, and form an aristocratic class. They have extensive proprietary rights in the land, and also, I believe, cultivate a good deal. Of the ministerial places in the public offices they have the larger share. In the educational institutions and higher professions of Calcutta, they are, I believe, quite equal to the Brahmans, all qualities taken together; though some detailed information of different classes, as shown by the educational tests, would be very interesting. Among the native pleaders of the High Court, most of the ablest men are either Brahmans or Kaits; perhaps the ablest of all, at this moment (1866), is a Kait." Speaking of the Kayasths in Hindustan Proper, in contradistinction to Bengal and other parts of India, his remarks are of value. "Somehow there has sprung up this special Writer class, which among Hindus has not only rivalled the Brahmans, but in Hindustan may be said to have almost wholly ousted them from secular literate work, and under our Government is rapidly ousting the Mahomedans also. Very sharp and clever these Kaits certainly are."

* Continued from page 82.

The Kayasths are notorious for their drinking and gambling propensities. On special occasions many of them devote day and night to these vices, by reason of which the caste loses much of that respectability which its talent and education would otherwise secure. These terrible evils well illustrate, however, the bondage of caste. Whatever any caste sanctions, whether it be right or wrong, its members are in honour bound to carry out. This accounts for the prevalence of these two pernicious habits among the Kayasths. The caste upholds and sanctions them, so that I believe he would be regarded as a renegade who should not, on great occasions, indulge in them. Yet a few persons are to be found here and there in the caste, who altogether spurn such habits; and to keep themselves quite pure, as they imagine, from pollution, neither drink spirits, nor gamble, nor eat flesh. They are termed *bhagats*, or religious persons, and wear the sacred thread, and the *kanthi* or small necklace of beads. Should they, at any time, fall into temptation, these sacred objects are taken from them.

There is one other evil to which this tribe is addicted, which indeed is not peculiar to the Kayasth caste, but is cherished, more or less, by all castes of every degree. This is the inordinate expense incurred at marriage festivals. Some members of the Kayasth caste, the Srî Bastabs in particular, indulge in such expenses to a most extravagant and ruinous extent. Men with an income of ten rupees a month, will spend three hundred, and even five hundred, at the marriage of their daughters, which they borrow at the enormous interest of twenty-four per cent. per annum, or more, and under the burden of which they lie for many years, and at their death hand down, perhaps, to their children. Great and most laudable efforts have been made of late in Banâras, Allahabad, and other cities in the North-Western Provinces, to bring not only the Kayasths, but all the principal castes, to agree to a great diminution of marriage expenses. This, it is hoped, will facilitate marriage; and lessen, if not wipe out, the crime of infanticide so prevalent among certain castes; and give to Hindu girls, not only a better chance to live, but also a more honourable, because less expensive, position in native society.

The Kayasths are called Devi-putra, or sons of *Devi*, a term used to express a female divinity in general. In other words, they pay more homage to female deities than to male; though why, I am unable to say. They hold Brâhmans in great respect, more so, perhaps, than other castes; although every caste, from the highest to the lowest, reverences the Brâhmans even to worshipping them.

This tribe is divided into twelve sub-castes, which are really independent of one another, as, with the exception of the Mathurs, the first on the list, they do not intermarry, nor eat cooked food together. They may smoke together, however, from the same *cocoa-nut hukah*—a condition of considerable liberty. They may all likewise drink spirits with one another indiscriminately. For some unexplained reason, it is the privilege of all the sub-castes below the first to intermarry with it, although they are not permitted to intermarry with one another. The sub-castes are descended, tradition affirms, from one father, Chitrgupt, and two mothers—one the daughter of Suraj Rishi, the other the daughter of Surma Rishi. From the first marriage four sub-castes have, it is said, proceeded, and the remainder from the second. There is also half a caste called Unai, commonly appended to these twelve, sprung, it is asserted, from a concubine of Chitrgupt. But the Kayasths proper do not associate with its members. Yet they are always spoken of as Kayasths. So that, in public Hindu estimation, there are twelve and a half castes of Kayasths. It should be stated, however, that the impure Unai sub-caste of Kayasths is devoted to trade, and does not pursue the special occupation of the Writer caste.

### THE KAYASTHS OF BENGAL.

From the manuscript on Hindu Castes by Babu Kishori Lal, a native of the North-Western Provinces, I learn that there are four separate clans of Kayasths in Bengal, the names of which are as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Kowas. | 3. Sirdatt. |
| 2. Nowas. | 4. Abni. |

For the correctness of this list I am unable to vouch. It certainly does not agree with one which I have received from a respectable Bengali Kayasth of Banâras. He states that the Bengali Kayasths are divided into eleven clans, three of which are Kulin, and are of higher rank than the rest.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Ghose, | Kulins. | 7. Palit. |
| 2. Bhose, | | 8. Sen. |
| 3. Mittr, | | 9. Singh. |
| 4. De. | | 10. Das. |
| 5. Datt. | | 11. Guha. |
| 6. Kor. | | |

# ON THE DIALECT OF THE PALIS,

By G. H. DAMANT, B.C.S., DINAJPUR.

As might be expected from the peculiar customs and isolated position of the Palis, they use many words and forms of expression which would not be understood by an ordinary Bengali. Their pronunciation in itself is very indistinct and difficult to follow; the letter *r* they seem quite unable to pronounce, and ignore it altogether when it is an initial; again in many words they insert an initial *h*—thus *âmi*, the personal pronoun I, is invariably pronounced *hâmi*, with a strong accent on the first syllable; and the common expressions *ei sthâne, se sthâne* are corrupted into *hiti, huti*. The use of the common forms of the personal pronouns is very rare, except in speaking to superiors. Among themselves they always say *mui* and *tui*. Some of the forms they use as terminations of tenses and verbs are curious. In place of *âmi jâibo*, 'I shall go,' a Pali will say *mui jâm*, or, if he is speaking to a superior, *hâmi jâmo*. For *chhilâm*, 'I was,' they say *âchhilam*. The plural form *gula* is used instead of the common Bengali forms *dig* or *gan*. I have appended a list of Pali words, which appear to have been hitherto unnoticed, in the hope that some one may be willing and able to give satisfactory explanations of them. In some instances I have ventured to hazard derivations, but they are mere conjectures. These words have been selected from a list of several hundreds, from which I have eliminated all that I could derive with certainty from either Sanskrit, Bengali, or Hindi.

काड़ोया Kâṛoyâ, the person who arranges a marriage; answers to the ordinary Bengali word *ghatak*.

लबड़ांग Labaṛâng, a cloth made of two pieces sown together.

हारंग Hârang, a kind of purdah formed of split bamboo, used in place of a door.

पाइला पातिल Pâilâ, pâtil, names for a large kind of earthen pot.

नोका पइंच Nokâ, painch, the young shoots of a plantain tree.

नूकी Nûkî, the young uncurled leaf of a plantain tree. Nokâ and nûkî may possibly be both derived from *lukâna*, 'to be hid,' *n* and *l* being constantly interchanged.

दामाल Dâmâl, a raised path across rice-fields.

पौना चाड़ि Paunâ, châṛi, earthen pots.

काइंठा Kâinṭâ, the portion of land which adjoins a house.

लगते Lagate—first, 'near;' second, 'quickly;' in the first sense undoubtedly derived from lagâna.

पाटीपेला Pâṭipelâ, the inner apartments of a house.

सून्दार Sûndâr, the land which adjoins the front door of a house. Can this be a corrupted form of Sk. siñhadwâra, the principal gate of a house?

बाटखुरा Bâṭkhûrâ, the sitting-house.

डाहुंकी Dâhuñkî, a small trowel.

लेलान Lelân, to cut grass with a ḍâhuñki.

हिड Hiṛ, a field of sugar-cane.

झाकपड़ा Jhakpaṛâ, to fall senseless.

नादाड़ि Nâdâṛi, a newly-married woman It may be a mere corruption of Sansk nabodhâ.

काहिन Kâhin, widow-marriage; answers to the Musalmân nika.

खुटि Khuṭi, an earthen jug.

गाबुर Gâbur, an old woman.

गलान Galân, to search.

फाइक Phâik, many.

भुंति Bhûti, a torch made of straw.

होको Hoko: this word is used by the Palis as the name of some kind of evil spirit. I have not been able as yet to ascertain precisely what they mean by hoko, but it appears to be a spirit of the air.

पक्षिपयाल Pakshipayâl, plural of bird. I cannot explain *payal*, unless indeed it is a mere repetition of *pakshi*, like *jal tal*.

जुकाले Jukale, if; probably. Sk. yat kâle.

खेड़ि Kheṛi, thin.

धड़ेया Dhaṛeyâ, a mouse.

सलेया Saleyâ, a rat.

सलेहा Salehâ, idle.

नेंगड़ा Nengaṛâ, the rope attached to a plough.

कुड़िस Kuṛis, a club, mace, cudgel.

टुइ Ṭui, the roof-tree, top of a house.

सिखइ Sikhai, the thread tied round the loins to which the nengti is attached.

समदी Samdi, father of a son's wife or daughter's husband. Possibly a corruption of sambandhi.

फोकदइ, पेल्का Phokdai, polkâ, different names for a kind of curry.

पाझल Pajhal, the Pali word for nengti.

काच काटा Kach kâṭâ, to cut through an ail or division between rice-fields.

गदाइंग बाहूंका Gadhaing, bahuṅka, a bamboo which is put over the shoulder to carry burdens. Gadhaing, I am told, is an Assamese word; and bahuṅka may be a corruption of the common Bengali word bank.

कातरा Katara, a plank attached to an oil-mill on which the driver sits.

गुला Gula, the block of wood inside the mill which squeezes the oil from the seeds.

सूया Suya, a piece of wood attached to the gula.

छेउंट Chheuṅt—used in two senses—first, a piece of sugar-cane; secondly, a woman's cloth. In the first sense it is probably connected with the root chhid, to split; in the second, with chhad, to cover; but the corruption is remarkable.

भुंड़ी Bhuri, the hollow beneath a rice-pounding machine.

दाईमारा Daimara, to thresh corn with oxen. Mara is the common Bengali mara; but dai I cannot explain.

मूश Mûsh, ashes. This word may be connected with the Sk. root mush, to steal, but the connection is not obvious, cf. dhyulmushi, the act of cleansing a house after child-birth.

बांकर Bankar, broken rice.

जमा Jama, a muzzle put on cattle.

नूंगा Nunga, a small cloth four cubits in length.

डुडूया Duḍûya, cloudy, overcast.

सांताउ Sântâo, storm with rain; also wet, damp. Can this be connected with santaran, swimming?

कांञ्जियाल Kanjiyal, the inner part of a plantain tree, cf. Sk. kanjika.

डोडान Doḍana, to enrage.

बङ, बङ Bang bang, open (of a door).

आंटा Anta, near.

डिकान Dikana, to be assembled.

फोकशालि Phoksali, wife's eldest sister.

सोरतान Soratana, to scratch.

मोकचा Mokcha, skin.

सिंञ्ज Sinja, the dried stalk of the jute plant.

गेदान Gedana, to abuse.

पेरता Perta, the handle of a plough.

घोकन Ghokana, to threaten.

सारान Sarana, to converse.

झांटका Jhantka, a kind of comb.

हाताइस Hatais, an axe.

चारिपा Charipa, a candle-stick.

कचूलु Kachulu, red powder used at the Holi festival.

भोम Bhom, a smell.

मारोइ Maroi, a cutcherry or sitting-house.

हध करा Hadh kara, to mock.

भेलगुलि Bhelguli, many.

किमकिम Kimkim, difficult.

झांप Jhamp, a kind of cloth.

टेङना Tengana, a mouse.

हिरिम Hirim, difficult.

आहोर Ahor, an outcry.

सागाइ Sagai, a relative; also a nika marriage.

हेरा Hera, flesh.

## ABHINANDA THE GAUDA.

By G. BUHLER, Ph. D.

Amongst the poets, whose works are quoted by Sarngadhara in his large collection of 'elegant extracts,' is a Gauda called *Abhinanda* or *Abhinandana*. Two works of this author, the *Ramacharitramahakavya* and the *Kadambarikathasara*, are marked in my Catalogue of MSS. [of] Gujarat, fascicle II. p. 102, no. 187, and 102, no. 6. When I lately examined these works, I found that they contain several statements regarding the family of the author, which are not without importance for the history, and especially the literary history, of India. I think, therefore, that it will not be useless to publish a separate notice of this little-known poet. The *Ramacharitra* is by far the most extensive of his two productions. The MS. inspected

which appears to be at least four hundred years old, contains portions of thirty-six Sargas, viz Sargas I.—VI. 82; Sargas XV. 20—XIX. 1; the latter portion of Sarga XXII.; Sargas XXIII.—XXIX.; a large portion of Sarga XXX., and Sargas XXXI.—XXXVI. 19. The leaves are in great confusion, and Sargas XVI. 40—XVIII. have been placed last. The first verses of the poem run thus:

Atha malyavatah prasthe kâmukasya viyoginah |
Durnivarasrusamvego jagama jaladagamah ‖ 1 ‖
Sasama vrishtir meghanam utsange tasya bhubhritah |
Virarama na ramasya dharasamtatir asrunah ‖ 2 ‖

The work, as appears from this specimen, is written in Anushtubh slokas. It treats, as its title indicates, of the history of Râma, but only of that portion of the hero's adventures which follow the rape of Sita, *i. e.* of his war against and conquest of Lanka. At the beginning and at the end of several cantos, Abhinanda praises his patron, the Yuvaraja or prince-royal Hâravarsha,* whom he calls the son of Vikramasila (Vikramaśîlanandanaḥ, III. 99), and the moon of the lotus-forest-like family of Sridharmapâla.† He tells us also that this prince made after Hala, the author of the *Saptasati* or *Gathakosha*, a collection of stanzas from various poets. The exact words of the text are—

Namah sriharavarshaya yena haladanantaram |
Svakoshah kavikoshanam avirbhavaya sambhritah ‖

'Praise to the illustrious Haravarsha, who, after Hala, collected his own Kosha in order to make known the treasures of poets.'

In several passages he also praises himself and his work. Thus we read at the end of Sarga XVIII. the following verse, which probably was intended to conclude the whole poem:

Achandrasuryam nidadhe jagatsu vyasasya yadvajjanamejayena |
Eshobhinandasya mahâprabandhah kshonibhujâ bhimaparâkramena ‖

'This great romance of Abhinanda has been established in the world, to last as long as sun and moon endure, by the prince of awe-inspiring bravery, just as Vyâsa's (Mahabharata was established) by Janamejaya.'

Abhinanda's boasting about his work is not quite groundless. His style is easy and flowing, and simpler and more intelligible than that of most of the later Sanskrit poets. Should a complete MS. of the *Râmacharitra* turn up,‡ it would be well worth printing.

Abhinanda's second poem, the *Kadambarikathasara*, has less literary value, but greater historical importance. The MS. which is mentioned in my Catalogue, and the perusal of which I owe to the courtesy of Mr. Nilkanth Ranchod, is very old and in excellent preservation. It contains an epitome of the *Kâdambarî* of Bâna and of its continuation by Bana's unnamed son. With the exception of the last stanzas, the metre is throughout Anushtubh, and the style is as simple and easy as that of the *Râmacharitra*. Its most important part is the introduction, vs. 1—12, in which the poet gives some account of his family. It runs as follows:

Sarasvatyai namah ‖
Sriyam dadhatu vaḥ saurerdvaye tulyasramâh kramah |
Ye chadau goshpadam paschat trailokyam kramatascha ye ‖ 1 ‖
Sarasah sadalamkaraḥ prasadamadhura girah |
Kantastatajayantasya jayanti jagatam guroh ‖ 2 ‖
Gunoddyotanadipanam satam na param ujjvalam |
Yâvanmalinam apyesham karmadrishteh prasadhanam ‖ 3 ‖
Gunopi krisah prathate prithurapyapachiyate |
Prapya sadhukhalau chandrah pakshaviva sitasitau ‖ 4 ‖
Saktirnamabhavadgaudo bharadvajakule sthitah |
Darvabhisaramasadya kritadaraparigrahah ‖ 5 ‖
Tasya mitrabhidhanobhudatmajastejasam nidhih |
Janena doshoparamaprabuddhenarchitodayah ‖ 6 ‖
Sa saktisvaminam putram avapa srutisalinam |
Rajnah karkotavamsasya muktapidasya mantrinam ‖ 7 ‖
Kalyanasvâminamasya yajnavalkya ivabhavat |
Tanayaḥ śuddhayogarddhinirdhutabhavakalmashah ‖ 8 ‖
Agadhahridayattasmat paramesvaramandanam |

* II. 1, 106; III. 99; XXII. end XXIII. 90; XXVIII. end.

† XXVIII. end—after the colophon: sridharmapâlakakairavakananendah.. ...vijayate yuvarajadevah ‖.

‡ Since writing the above I have heard that one of my agents has procured a copy of the poem.

Ajâyata sutaḥ kântaśchandro dugdhodadheriva ‖ 9 ‖.
Putraṁ kṛitajanânandaṁ sa jayantam ajîjanat ।
Vyaktâ kavitvavaktṛitvaphalâ yasya sarasvatî ‖ 10 ‖.
Vrittikâra iti vyaktaṁ dvitîyaṁ nâma bibhrataḥ ।
Sûnuḥ samudabhût tasmâdabhinanda iti śrutaḥ ‖ 11 ‖.
Kâvyavistarasaṁdhânakhedâlasadhiyam prati ।
Tena kâdambarîsindhoḥ kathâmâtraṁ samuddhṛitam ‖ 12 ‖.

"Praise to Sarasvatî!

1. May the steps of Śauri, accomplished with equal labour, both those which first he made when stepping over the (path of the cow), and those which he made when striding through the three worlds, give you prosperity.

2. Glory to the lovely, pleasingly sweet song of my father Jayanta, the teacher of the worlds,—(to that song) which is full of sentiment and possessed of true 'ornaments.'

3. There is nothing more resplendent than good men, who shine through their virtues (guṇa) just as lamps shine through their wicks (guṇa), since their faults even serve to adorn the aspect of their works (just as lamp-soot serves to adorn the eye).

4. Small qualities even increase, and great ones even decrease, according as they reside in good or bad men, just as the moon increases or decreases according as she reaches the white or the black half of the month.

5. There was a Gauda of the family of Bhâradvâja, called Śakti, who went to Dârvâbhisâra and married there.

6. To him was born a son, named Mitra, whose appearance was worshipped by those who had obtained the true knowledge after destroying their sinful desires (just as the rising sun [Mitra] is worshipped by men after they have been awakened at the end of the night).

7. He obtained a son, learned in the revealed texts, Śaktisvâmin by name, who was the minister of Muktâpîḍa, a king of the Karkoṭa line.

8. His son was Kalyâṇasvâmin, who, like Yâjñavalkya, destroyed the stains of (this) existence by the acquisition of pure Yoga.

9. From that deep-hearted man was born a son, called Kânta, an ornament of the creator, just as the moon was produced from the milk-ocean.

10. He begat a son, who gladdened men's hearts, named Jayanta, to whom Sarasvatî, the giver of poetry and eloquence, belonged manifestly as his own.

11. To him, who openly bore as a second name the title 'the *scholiast*,' was born a son, known as Abhinanda.

12. He has extracted from the ocean of the Kâdambarî the story only, for the sake of those who are too lazy to undergo the trouble of reading that extensive poem."

In considering the several items of information contained in the extracts given above, it will be most convenient to begin with those furnished by the *Kâdambarîkathâsâra*. From this work it appears that Abhinanda—for this, and not Abhinanandana, is the form of the poet's name which occurs in my MSS.—belonged to a family of Gauḍa or Bengal Brahmans, who claimed descent from the sage Bharadvâja. The sixth ancestor of the poet Śakti, emigrated to and settled in Dârvâbhisâra. Abhisâra, the country of King Abissares, is, according to Lassen,* a province to the south of Kashmir, whilst Dârva lies to the north-west of the same kingdom General Cunningham† places Abhisâra also to the north-west of Kashmir, and the fact that Abhinanda as well as Kalhaṇa (*e. g. Râj.* IV 711) form a compound of the two names, indicates that both regions lay close together and probably formed a political unit. Without entering further into the question of their exact geographical position, it will suffice for our purpose to state that Dârvâbhisâra lay on the frontiers of Kashmir, and formed part of that kingdom down to the reign of Utpalâpîḍa, the last of the Karkoṭa kings.

Śakti's family must soon have risen to influence in its new country, as his grandson is stated to have been minister to king Muktâpîḍa of the *Karkoṭa* dynasty. The *Nâga* or *Karkoṭa* family occupied the throne of Kashmir from the beginning of the seventh to the end of the ninth century. The first Karkoṭa king was Durlabhavardhana, who reigned thirty-six years. His son and successor was Durlabhaka or Pratâpâditya, who ruled for

* *Ind. Alt.* III. 1017.

† *Anc. Geog.*, Maps V. and VI.

fifty years. Three sons of this king, Chandrapıda, Tarapıḍa, and Lalitaditya, successively occupied the throne. Chandrapıda, the eldest of them, is stated to have reigned eight years and eight months. He was murdered by his brother Tarapıḍa, who enjoyed the fruits of his crime during four years, one month, and six days. The latter was succeeded by Lalitaditya, one of the most powerful kings of Kashmir, whose reign extended over more than thirty-six years. It was under this latter prince that Saktisvâmin held office. For Muktapıda is only another name of Lalitaditya.

Since the truth of this latter fact has not, as far as I know, been recognized, and Lassen, on the contrary, declares Muktâpıda and Lalitaditya to be two different persons,* I may briefly state the grounds on which my statement is based. Firstly, Kalhaṇa, who in the beginning of the fourth book of the Rajataranginı gives the series of kings as exhibited above, viz. Durlabhavardhana, Durlabhaka—Pratâpâditya, Chandrapıda, Tarapıḍa, Lalitaditya, in his *resume* of the history of Kashmir, VIII. 2525*b* *seqq*, uses the following words:

Baladityasya jamata tato durlabhavardhanah ‖ 2525 ‖
Sunurdurlabhakas tasya chandrapıdobhavat tataḥ
Târâpîḍonujanmasya muktapîdosya chanujah ‖ 2526 ‖
Bhupavastam kuvalayapıḍo dvaimaturosya cha ‖
Vajradityah sutan† rajno muktapîḍasya tatsutaa ‖ 2527 ‖.

"The son-in-law of Baladitya, Durlabhavardhana, followed next. His son was Durlabhaka; then followed Chandrapîda, (then) his younger brother Tarapîḍa, and (next) his (the latter's) junior, Muktapîda. Kings were next Kuvalayapîda and his half-brother Vajraditya, the sons of King Muktapıḍa. The sons of him (*i.e.* Vajraditya) were," &c.

In this passage the name Lalitaditya does not occur at all, but in its stead Muktapîḍa.

Secondly, a passage of the fourth Taranga, in which the sons of Durlabhaka-Pratapaditya are enumerated, shows likewise, if rightly interpreted, that the two names designate the same person. We read *Raj.* IV. 39—43:

Kramena cha prajapunyais chandrapıdabhidhaṁ sutam ‖
Prâsoshta parthivavadhur nidhanamiva medinı ‖ 39 ‖
Tasyabhijanamâlinyaṁ svachchhair achchedi tadgunaiḥ ‖
Sanasmakakanaiḥ kârshnyam âkarottham maneriva ‖ 40 ‖
Dhumad gadhamalîmasâchchhuchi payah sute *ghanasyodgamo*
Lohasyatisitasya jâtir achalât kunthasmamalam ayat ‖
Kiṁchatyantajaḍajjalad dyutimato jvaladhvajasyodbhavo
Janmavadhyanukarino na mahatam satyam svabhavaḥ kvachit ‖ 41 ‖
Tarapıdopi tanayaḥ kramât tasyâm ajayata ‖
Avimuktapıdanama muktapîḍopi bhupateh ‖ 42 ‖
Vajradityodayaditya lalitadityasamjnakaḥ ‖
Pratapadityajah khyataschandrapıḍadayopi te ‖ 43 ‖

"And, in course of time, the wife of the king‡ bore, in consequence of the subjects' merit, a son called Chandrâpıḍa, just as the earth (brings forth) a treasure.

40. The uncleanness of his descent was destroyed by his pure qualities, just as the blackness attaching to the diamond when it comes out of the mine (is destroyed) by the particles of the polishing-stone.

41. The rainy season produces clear water from deep-black smoke-like mist; very bright metals come as dull ore from the mountain. (?) Besides, the resplendent fire is produced from the exceedingly dull water. Forsooth, the nature of great (persons or things) does not depend on their origin.

42. From that (queen) were born, successively, a (second) son of the king, called Tarapıda, and (a third) Muktapıda§, whose name (ought to have been) Avimuktapıda, *i.e.*, he whose diadem is never taken off.

43. These sons of Pratapaditya are

* Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* III. 993 *seqq.* † *Suto*—Calc. edition

‡ This '*wife*' was *Narendraprabha, who, originally mar*ried to a Vâniâ called Nona, had been ceded by her husband to King Pratapaditya. Her position seems to have been rather that of a favourite concubine than that of a legitimate wife; see verse 40.

§ Muktapıda might be interpreted to mean, 'he *whose diadem is taken off.' Hence Kalhana, bearing in* mind the greatness of this ruler, says 'his name ought to have been Avimuktapıda. The proper translation of Muktapıda is, however, 'he whose diadem contains pearls.'

*also* known by the appellations 'Vajraditya, Udayaditya, and Lalitaditya.'

Lassen* understands the last two verses, quoted and translated above, to indicate that Pratapaditya had *seven* sons, whose names were *Chandrapída*, *Tarapída*, *Avimuktapída*, *Muktapída*, *Vajrâditya*, *Udayâditya*, and *Lalitaditya*. But that interpretation is inadmissible on philological grounds, and is refuted by the summary of the Kashmirian history in the eighth Taranga, as well as by an independent Chinese account of some of the Karkoṭa kings. For a Chinese writer, first brought to light by Klaproth,† states that Chentolopili of Kashmir sent several embassies to the Chinese Court in order to ask for help against the Thibetans, and received the title 'king' from the emperor. The same authority asserts that *Chentolopili's successor Mutopi*‡ likewise sent an embassy. Lassen has pointed out the identity of the names Chentolopili—Chandrapída, and Mutopi—Muktápída. *He has also shown that the embassy* said to have been sent by Mutopi did fall in the times of Lalitaditya. Though, after what has been said above, it is impossible to agree with him in assuming that Muktapíḍa might have been the foreign-secretary of Lalitaditya, and for this reason might have been considered by the Chinese the sender of the embassy,|| his *arguments that the embassy of Mutopi was sent* in Lalitaditya's times, go towards confirming my view, viz. that the two names belong to the same person.

If, then, Śaktisvâmin lived under Lalitâditya, his tenure of office must have fallen in the second quarter of the 8th century A.D. According to Troyer's, Lassen's, and Cunningham's calculations, the beginning of Lalitaditya's reign is placed in the last decade of the seventh century, in 695 or 693, while H. H. Wilson fixed it in 713.§ None of these dates is, however, tenable,—as the Chinese historian states that Chandrapída's first embassy arrived at Pekin in 713, and that the same king received the grant of his title in 720. It must be considered a settled principle for Indian historians that dates given by Chinese writers are to be relied on in preference to any calculations based on the statements of Hindu chroniclers. Hence General Cunningham has lately¶ corrected his former adjustment of the chronology of the Karkoṭas. He now admits that if a title was granted to Chandrapíḍa in 720, that prince—even if due allowance is made for the time which the transmission of the intelligence of his death from Kashmir to Pekin would require—must have been alive in 719. Consequently Târâpîḍa's death and Lalitâditya's accession cannot have taken place before 724.

But to return to Abhinanda's family, his father Jayanta also seems to have been a person of some note. He was a poet and a commentator, probably, of the Sutras of the Asvalâyanasakha of the Rigveda. For a Jayanta is quoted in an Asvalâyanagrihyakarika,* and some years ago, in a list of MSS. from Nasik, I came across a Jayantavritti on the Asvalâyanasutras. Unfortunately I did not secure the book. But it would be worth while to look out for it, as Jayanta is certainly older than any other known commentator of Asvalayana.

As regards Abhinanda himself, he cannot be placed later than 830–850 A.D. The duration of a generation in India is little more than 26 years. If, therefore, Abhinanda's fourth ancestor, Śaktisvâmin, lived under Muktapîḍa about 725, we shall have to add, say, 110 years to that date in order to obtain our poet's age. Abhinanda seems to have lived not in Kashmir, but in Gauḍa, the country of his forefathers. This is indicated by his surname, 'the Gauḍa,' and by the fact that the name of the ancestor of his patron, Dharmapala, is not to be found among the Kashmirian kings, but belongs to a powerful monarch of the Pala dynasty of Gauda. Lassen places this Dharmapala about 815. I am unable to trace the Yuvaraja Haravarsha the compiler of a Kosa of poetical extracts, as well as his father, Vikramasila.

Lastly, I may mention that Abhinanda was apparently a Vaishnava, as he invokes Sauri in the *Mangalacharana* of the *Kadambarikathasara*.

* *Ind. Alt.* III. 992. † Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* III. 993, note 1.
‡ Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* III. 996. || *Ind. Alt.* III. 996.

§ See Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 245.
¶ *Anc. Geog.* p. 91. * Aufrecht, *Oxf. Cat.* 405a.

# THE SEVEN PAGODAS.

BY THE REV. MAURICE PHILLIPS, L.M.S.

The celebrated rock-cut temples at Mavaliveram, commonly known to Europeans as the "seven pagodas," have from time to time attracted many visitors, and called forth many notices in the journals of scientific societies as to their origin and antiquity.

Mavaliveram is the name of a now small village situated close to the sea between Covelong and Sadras, in the vicinity of which are great masses of hill-like rocks abounding in excavations of curious temples of various shapes and sizes, with figures in high relief representing Hindu mythology. The most celebrated of these are the *Rathas*, a cluster of fine monolithic temples of a pyramidal shape, differing in size, and covered with ornamental sculptures.

All the sculptures are representations of Brahmanical mythology, chiefly taken from the Mahabharata, such as the Vâmana and Varaha incarnations of Vishnu; Krishna supporting the mountain of Govardhana in order to shelter his followers from the wrath of Indra; the penance of Arjuna; Dronachari and the five Pandavas; Dharmaraja's lion-throne, and the bath of Draupadi; Vishnu recumbent on the thousand-headed Sesha; and Durga's conflict with Mahishasura. There are also figures of Brahma, Siva, and Ganesa.

If the inscriptions, both in Tamil and Sanskrit, found on some of the rocks, and which have been translated, contained dates or gave any account of the commencement of the sculptures, it would be easy to ascertain their age. But unfortunately those inscriptions only mention the names of the Rajas or Governors in whose reign grants of land were made to the temples; and as those names cannot be identified with any line of Rajas, or with any contemporary event to which a date can be attached, they afford no clue to the probable age of the sculptures. There are a few scattered facts, however, in the Mackenzie MSS. which, when collected and compared, enable us, with some degree of certainty, to ascertain their age.

It is stated that before the time of Kulattungachola and his illegitimate son Adondai, the whole district bounded on the north by the Penar, on the south by the Palar, on the east by the sea, and on the west by the Ghats, was occupied by half-civilized Kurambars, who had embraced the Jaina religion, brought to them from the north. It is further stated that both Kulattungachola and his son, after much fighting, conquered the Kurumbars, and, by way of fixing a stigma on the conquered country, changed its name from Kurumbabhûmi to Tondamandalam, "the land of slaves;" and having cleared the forest founded the celebrated Kanchipuram (Kanjeveram) as the capital of his new kingdom. Kulattungachola was a great warrior who besides conquered the Telingana country. And fortunately there are two local records in Telugu among the Mackenzie MSS. which enable us to fix the date of his reign. One states that he conquered the country in Saṁ. Sake 1093 (A. D. 1171), and the other records the gift of some charities in S. S. 1065 (A.D. 1143).

It is evident then that Kulattungachola lived in the twelfth century of the Christian era, and as he must have conquered the Kurambabhûmi, in which Mavaliveram is situated, either before or after the Telingana country, we cannot be far wrong in placing his conquest of the former in the second half of the twelfth century A.D. At that time the inhabitants of Mavaliveram were Jainas, and as the sculptures show no traces of Jainaism, it may be concluded that they were not then commenced.

Again, it is stated that Adondai (A. D. 1160-80) brought Brahmaṇs from the north to be accountants in his new kingdom, the T o n d a m a n d a l a m, from which it would appear that there were no Brahmaṇs there before. Now the present temples at Mavaliveram are Brahmanical. Allowing then a period of 100 years for the Brahmaṇs to suppress Jainaism and establish their own authority, as a monument of which we may suppose they caused the temples to be cut, the date of their commencement cannot be placed earlier than the 13th century A.D.

In the reign of Sundara Pandya, which appears to synchronize with Marco Polo's visit to India, the Jainas were finally expelled from the Pandya country, *i. e.* about A. D. 1300. Now, considering the proximity of the Tondamandalam to the Pandya kingdom, and the influence which the one necessarily exerted on the other,

it is reasonable to conclude that the reaction against the Jainas in the Pândya kingdom would be either preceded or followed by a reaction against it in the Tondamandalam, and *vice versa;* and that the expulsion of the Jainas from the one would pretty nearly synchronize with their expulsion from the other.

I find also that Mr. Fergusson, judging from different data altogether, has arrived at the same conclusion; for he says *(History of Architecture,* Vol. II. p. 502) that the Rathas were "carved by the Hindus, probably about 1300 A.D."

That Mavaliveram in ancient times was a large city, the capital of a kingdom, and the seat of the ruling sovereign, is, I think, very probable. The name in the Sthalapurâṇa is simply Mallapuri; but in the inscription near the Varâsvâmi temple, given by Sir Walter Elliot, it is enlarged into Mâmallapuram by prefixing the Sanskṛit adjective *Mahâ.* Mallapuri means 'the city of *Malla,*' and Mâmallapuram 'the city of the great Malla.' According to the Mackenzie MSS. Malla is the patronymic title of a northern tribe of mountain chiefs, who sprang from the aboriginal inhabitants, and who were non-Aryan. Probably their descendants are the low-caste Mallas of the present day, who dwell largely in the Kadapa, Belari, and Karnul Districts. That in ancient time they were a conquering and a ruling race is very evident from the many villages which bear their name, as well as the many Rajas whose honourable distinction was "Malla Rayer." Probably then the Mallas were the founders of Mamallapuram, and called it after their own name. That they ruled there before the Kurumbars is evident from the fact that the town was called Mamallapuram about the time of its conquest by Kulattungachola, as appears from an inscription dated S. 1157 at the neighbouring village of Pavarakkârana's Choultry, where the name occurs, and also from the no less obvious fact that the adjective *Maha* prefixed to it indicates the predominant influence of Brahmaṇs. The Mallas were either subdued by the Kurumbars, and amalgamated with their conquerors, or they were one and the same people bearing different names in different periods. That both were aboriginal non-Aryan inhabitants there can little doubt. Now contrasting the present state of the Mallas, Kurumbars, Khonds, and other aboriginal tribes, with their former power and enterprise, we cannot fail to conclude that the time when they ruled and conquered must be very remote.

The appearance of such extraordinary and costly rock-cut temples in a sequestered spot like Mâmallapuram is itself strong presumptive evidence of the former existence of a large city. It is *prima facie* incredible that any man, or body of men, would select an isolated uninhabited spot for the execution of some of the best works of art in India. The present village would scarcely accommodate the workmen and their families who were engaged on the works. The idea of Dr. Babington, that the place was first procured by the Brahmaṇs as an Agrâhara, and that they employed stone-masons at their own cost from time to time to ornament the rocks with the excavations and sculptures which we now find, is an idle conjecture. Who ever heard of Brâhmaṇs doing any great public works at their own cost? The most rational supposition is that when the King embraced Hinduism, the Brahmaṇs prevailed upon him to adorn the old capital by excavating these temples.

The application by Brâhmaṇs of the legend of Mahabali to Malla the king of Mallapuram, and their endeavour to identify the one with the other, is to my mind no mean proof of the former existence of a large city, the capital of a kingdom. Mahâbali was a Raja, living in the *Tretayuga,* who, by penance and austerity, had obtained possession of the whole universe, including heaven, earth, and hell, so that he was a universal monarch. He became so elated by his greatness that he omitted to perform the customary religious ceremonies to the gods. Vishṇu, in order to check the influence of so bad an example, became incarnate in the person of a wretched Brâhmaṇ dwarf, and in this form appearing before Mahabali asked as a boon as much of his wide possessions as he could compass in three steps. This the king readily granted, upon which the dwarf grew larger, and continued to expand till he filled the whole universe, thus depriving the insolent monarch of all his possessions except hell, which he was allowed to keep Where this legend originated I do not know. It probably represents the victory of Hindus of the Vaishṇava sect over some powerful non-Aryan king. But the ap-

plication of it to the king of Mâmallapuram naturally leads us to conclude that there must have been some similarity between him and the Asura Mahabali. Now had Mamallapuram not been a noted city, and its sovereign a powerful râja, the shrewd Brâhmans would not have ventured to pass off a fraud so palpable that it could not fail to be detected.

The shore temple, so close to the sea that the surf in the calmest weather dashes against the doorway, with the usual stone pillar in front of such temples lying in the sea, as well as fragments of images, large quantities of stone, and broken bricks lying about, some partially buried in the sea, plainly show that at one time buildings existed to the eastward which have been destroyed and overwhelmed by the sea. Had the sea held the same relative position to the shore temple at first as it does now, it is impossible to believe that the temple would have been formed so near to it. The situation of this temple, therefore, and the remains of ruins towards the sea, plainly indicate an encroachment of the sea, and the overthrow of a city. Such traces of a large city destroyed by the sea are confirmed by tradition. Besides the Brahmanical tradition mentioned by Mr. Chambers, it is stated in the catalogue of the Mackenzie MSS. that the whole coast from Mailapur or St. Thome, down to Mâmallapuram, was overflowed by the sea, and that many towns were destroyed. This tradition is confirmed by the appearance of a ruined city about two miles north of Mâmallapuram, as mentioned by Sir W. Elliot.

There is nothing impossible in the supposition and tradition that the sea has encroached on the land. That there has been a great convulsion of nature is proved by the unfinished state of the temples, and the great rent in one of the largest *rathas*. Not one of the temples is finished. How is this to be accounted for better than on the supposition that a great earthquake lowered the coast and extended the bed of the sea? What else could have rent the massive *ratha*, probably very far below the surface of the ground, and lowered all the rest? To imagine that the rock was cracked when the workmen were engaged in cutting it is not admissible. Neither is it reasonable to think that such work would have been commenced upon a rock that was already rent in two, for the "marks of the mason's tools are perfectly visible in the excavated parts on both sides of the rent in such a manner as to show plainly that they have been divided by it." It is no objection to this theory to say that the rock-cut temples at Elora are also unfinished, though there are no indications that their completion was prevented by an inundation of the sea. It is considered, I believe, that the date of these rock-cut temples synchronizes with those of Mamallapuram. Is it not reasonable therefore to suppose (knowing the superstitious feelings of the Hindus) that those who were engaged on the temples at Elora, having heard of the submersion of Mâmallapuram, took fright and left the work for ever?

Mr. Gubbins has pointed out (*Jour. As. Soc. Ben.*, vol. xxii.) that in classical days the extremity of the peninsula was the entrepôt of commerce between the East and the West. Gibbon says, "Every year about the time of the summer solstice, a fleet of an hundred and twenty vessels sailed from Myos-Hormos, a port of Egypt on the Red Sea. By the periodical assistance of the monsoons, they traversed the ocean in about forty days. The coast of Malabar, or the island of Ceylon, was the usual term of their navigation, and it was in those markets that the merchants from the more remote parts of Asia expected their arrival."* There is nothing in the Malabar coast to exclude the idea that these fleets carried on merchandise with Mamallapuram, for Malabar is a vague term, applied till lately to the Tamil-speaking inhabitants of the peninsula. The theory that it might have been the Maliarpha† of Ptolemy is not improbable.

## ON THE RULES WHICH GOVERN KANARESE POETRY.

BY CAPTAIN J. S. F. MACKENZIE, MAISUR COMMISSION.

Kanarese poetry is divided into two great divisions, "Akshara Vritta" and "Mâtra Vritta," which in their turn have many sub divisions.

* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, (Dr. W. Smith's ed.), vol. I. p. 183; and conf. Carr, *The Seven Pagodas*, pp. 162, 163. Ed.

† Manarpha emporium, v. I.—Ed.

"Akshara (from the word for a letter) Vṛitta" is determined by the number of letters in each line (pada) of the verse, and may consist of any number of letters from 1 to 26.

Each different number of letters in the line is known by its own particular name or "chhandassu." Thus we have in all 26 chhandassus.

Each chhandassu again may be subdivided into any number of vrittas, increasing in number as the letters do. The number of vrittas of which any given chhandassu can consist is found by beginning with one and doubling successively for as many times as there happen to be letters in the line. Twice this result gives the number.

For example, if the first line consists of three letters, then we can have in that chhandassu 8 vṛittas, *i.e.* 1 doubled is 2; twice 2 are 4; twice the result 8. That line which is called Mahasragdhara has twenty-two letters. By the foregoing rule, this chhandassu can be subdivided into 40,94,304 vrittas; only two however are in common use This will give some idea of the enormous number of vrittas which could be formed. The total number is said to be some millions.

Before examining any chandassu, however the "gana" must be explained.

Every three letters form a gana, so that in a line of 9 letters we have 3 gaṇas; in a line of 10 letters we have 3 gaṇas and one letter; in a line of 12 letters we have four ganas, and so on. The surplus letters are always at the end of the line, and if it happens to be long it is technically called "Śiva," if short "Vishṇu."

Those letters are long which have the long vowels, such as *a*, *e*, *u*, which are followed by (:) *aha* or (ं) *sonne*, and letters though short themselves which precede a double letter; *for instance* ನಿಟ್ಟ—there the ನಿ is short in itself, but from its preceding the double *t* it becomes lengthened. It will thus be seen that the three letters which form the gaṇa may be all three long, all three short, or a combination of long and short.

Each of these combinations—8 in all—has its own particular name and is sacred to its own particular god.

1. (Ma) gaṇa, sacred to the earth, is three long,— — —
2. (Ya) gana—(water) is one short, two long, — —
3. (Ra) gana—(fire) is — ⏑ —
4. Lagana—(wind) is ⏑ ⏑ —
5. Tagana—(sky) is — — ⏑
6. Jagana—(sun) is ⏑ — ⏑
7. Bagaṇa—(moon) is — ⏑ ⏑
8. Nagaṇa (heaven) ⏑ ⏑ ⏑

The order in which these ganas find a place in the line determines the vritta to which that piece of poetry belongs. In each vritta the ganas follow one another in their own proper order. Each verse consists of four lines. As is the first line, so must all the remaining three lines be. No difference can be allowed. Take an example from the Mahasragdara Vritta":—

| | I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. | VI. | VII. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ⏑ ⏑ — | — — ⏑ | — — ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ — | — ⏑ — | — ⏑ — | — |
| *1st* | ಉರಗಾ | ರ್ವ್ಯಾಖಂಡ | ದೊಳ್ಸ್ಯೋಟಿ | ಪಜಿನ | ವರರಂ | ಪೂಜಿಯು | ಮಾರಿಬೆ | ಗಂ |
| | 4 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 3 | |
| | ⏑ ⏑ — | — — ⏑ | — — ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ — | — ⏑ — | — | — |
| *2nd* | ಬರುತಿ | ರ್ಪೋನಲ್ವ | ಷೂನಂನ | ದಯುರಿ | ರವಿದೇ | ನೆಂದುಕಾಂ | ನೊಂಡಿಯಾ | ಷೇ |
| | 4 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 3 | |
| | ⏑ ⏑ — | — — ⏑ | — — ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ — | — ⏑ — | — ⏑ — | — |
| *3rd* | ಚರವಾ | ಜಂಚೋಲ್ದ್ಯ | ಪೊಗಲ್ಯ | ಸಮಕ | ರಣಾನಂ | ಕಂಡುಮ | ಲ್ಲಿಂದಾಬಿಂ | ದಾ |
| | 4 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 3 | |
| | ⏑ ⏑ — | — — ⏑ | — — ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ — | — ⏑ — | — ⏑ — | — |
| *4th* | ದರದಿಂ | ದಂಟಿತ್ರಿಂ | ಯುಂದೊಂದಿ | ಸುತಪ | ಶರೆಯಿಂ | ಗೊಂಡುಕು | ಳ್ವದರ್ಮ | ತ್ರಂ |
| | 4 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 3 | |

Here we have 22 consonants in all, divided into 7 ganas and one letter which being long is "Śiva." The figures above the lines refer to the position in the line of each gana; those below the line to the kinds of gana. In each line it will be seen that I. and V. consist of and one long letter. This is the Lagana or (4). The II. and III. are two long and one short letter. This is the Tagana or (5). The IV. is three short letters. This is the Nagana (8). The VI. and VII. are a long, a short, and a long letter. This is the Ragana (3). The last letter being long is Siva.

In order to belong to any particular vritta

it is not sufficient that the line have the same number of ganas; it is absolutely necessary that the kinds of ganas should follow one another in the order special to that vritta. For instance, in the Mahasragdara Vritta the order must be, 4, 5, 5, 8, 4, 3, 3, Siva.

In the "Manene Vritta" we have the same number of consonants and ganas, but since the kinds of ganas come in the following order:—

| I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. | VI. | VII. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | 7. | 7. | 7. | 7. | 7. | 7. | Siva, |

the vritta goes by another name.

And so on through all the thousand and one vrittas. Each has its own name and special rule.

One point requires special notice. It is common to both the great divisions "Akshara Vritta" and "Matra Vritta," and is the one essential in all Kanarese poetry. Without this, lines, however well written and correct in every other respect, would not be considered poetry by the Kanarese critic. If the four lines of the Kanarese verse given be examined, it will be seen that the second consonant in each is the same. It is in this verse *r*. This is technically known as "Ade Prasu."

Whatever the second consonant of the first line is, the second consonant of the succeeding lines constituting a verse must be the same. This is a *sine quâ non* in Kanarese poetry.

The difficulty of always finding a suitable word with the second consonant the same has given rise to a poetical licence by which certain consonants are allowed to stand for one another. This is called "Mitra Prasu," and the following consonants are held to be interchangeable:—

ka kha ga gha with one another.
cha chha ja jha with one another.
ta tha da dha with one another.
ta tha da dha with one another.
pa pha ba bha with one another.
śa sha sa with one another.
ra la la with one another.

Again in some verses we find the last consonant is the same in every line of the verse. This is in Kanarese poetry called "Antya Prasu." It is not essential, but those verses which have the Antya Prasu are, *cæteris paribus*, considered finer and more finished.

The Matra Vritta is the second great division. In it the number of accents, *not* consonants, in each line are looked to, the different subdivisions being determined by the number of accents in the line.

The same rules which determine the length of the accent in the gana of the Akshara Vritta apply to the consonants in the Matra Vritta, viz., consonants with long vowels, as *a*, *e*, *i*; those preceding a double letter; and those followed by *sonne* or *aka*, are long. All others are short.

The Mâtra Vritta is subdivided into three—"Kanda," "Satpade," and "Areya."

The Kanda consists of verses of four lines. The first and third lines have 12 accents, the second and fourth 20 accents. As long as the total number of accents in a line is correct, it is immaterial what the number of consonants are.

For example, take a verse of the Kanda:—

⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑
ತನಗುಳ್ಳ ವಗುಣ ಮಂಗುಣಂ.
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ –
ನಿನು ಶಿವರ ಸ್ವರಗುಣಂಗಳಂ ದುಗುಣಂ
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑
ನಿನು ಶಿವ ಪಾಪ ರಕ್ಷಿತ್ತೆ.
⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – – –
ವನಾವಂ ಶಿಳಪಳಾವನಾಥನೇದೇವಂ

Kanda Padya, 12, 20, 12, 20.

In the first line we have eight short accents and two long (four short): total 12. In the third line we have six short and three long: total 12. In the second line we have eight short and six long: total 20. In the fourth line six short, seven long: total 20.

A long accent, called "guru," is equal to two short accents, called "lugu." The proper number of accents in the lines is always expressed by the number of short accents such line may contain. It will be observed that the second consonant in each line of the above verse is the same, and happens to be *n*. But the vowels attached to this letter are not the same in all four lines.

In the first line it is *na*, short; in the fourth *na*, long; in the second and third *nu*. The vowel only determines the length of the consonant, and has nothing to do with the great rule that the second consonant in each line must be the same.

The second subdivision of the Matra Vritta is the Satpade or verse of six lines. The Satpade consists of six classes. The number of accents in each class varies.

1. The Sara Satpade must contain the following number of accents in each line:—

*1st*—8, *2nd*—8, *3rd*—14, *4th*—8, *5th*—8, *6th*—14.

2. Kusuma has 10-10-17-10-10-17.
3. Boga—12-12-20-12-12-20.
4. Bamene—14-14-23-14-14-23.
5. Parevardeene—16-16-26-16-16-26.
6. Vardika—20-20-32-20-20-32.

The third line, it will be seen, is in every case one and a half the first *plus* two.

Take an example:—

– ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑ – ⏑–⏑⏑
ಕನ್ನಡದ್ಧ ನುಡಿ ಯಿಂದುಸೇಕ್ಷಿಸ. 14
– ⏑ ⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑–⏑⏑
ಲಿನ್ನು ಹಿರಿಯರಿಗು ಚಿತ್ತವಲ್ಲದು. 14
–⏑⏑⏑ –⏑ ⏑⏑–⏑⏑ – ⏑– ⏑⏑–
ಕನ್ನಡಿ ಯಿದರ್ಸಣಾವದಲ್ಲದೆ ಭೇದನೀ ನಿದಕೇ. 23
– ⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑ –⏑ ⏑⏑ –
ಮುನ್ನಲು ಪನಿಶ ದರ್ಥವನು ಸಂ 14
–⏑ ⏑⏑⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ ⏑–
ಪನ್ನ ವುತಿಗಳು ವೀಳ್ದುರ ದನಾ. 14
–⏑ ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑–⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑–⏑ ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑ –
ನಿರ್ಣಯಿಸಿದೆನು ಕೊರತೆ ಯಿದ್ದರೆಮನ್ನಿಸುವದೊ ಅದೂ 23.

The number of lines in which the second consonant is the same is six. This tells us the verse belongs to the Śatpade. Now by counting the number of accents in each line we find that the 1st, 2nd, 4th, and 5th lines have 14 accents; the 3rd and 6th lines have each 23.

The verse then is of the Bamene subdivision of the Satpade. The last subdivision of the Mâtra Vritta is the Areya. Like the Kanda the Areya is a verse of four lines. The 1st and 3rd lines of the Areya verse must have 12 accents each. The number of accents in the 2nd and 4th lines determines the minor subdivision of the Areya to which the verse belongs.

The subdivisions are—

(i.) Geta, where the 1st and 3rd lines have 12 accents, 2nd and 4th have 18.

(ii.) *Uppa Geta:* 1st and 3rd lines—12 accents, 2nd and 4th lines—15.

(iii.) Sun Geta: 1st and 3rd lines have 12 accents. The 2nd and 4th do not agree in the number of accents.

When the line is long enough to require it there is a rest or cæsura in the middle. This is called Yete. In the more perfect verse where a rest does occur, the initial consonant of the word following such rest is the same as the initial consonant of the line. This is not an essential, but, like the use of the Antya Prasu, the verse in which it is found is considered more finished and perfect.

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## THE CALENDAR OF TIPU SULTAN

*By* P. N. PURNAIYA, B.A., YELUNDURU.

It may be a matter of surprise to many that Tipu Sultan of Maisur, generally known as an illiterate person, invented a Calendar, differing from the ordinary Muhammadan one, and which he always used in officially addressing the various functionaries that served under him It is not known at what time precisely he introduced his calendar, but it is believed by Colonel William Kirkpatrick* that he did so, some time between January and June 1784 A.D.

Tipu allowed the week to have the usual number of seven days, but the month was changed, for though the number of them in the year was twelve, yet it differs from both the European and Hindu month in the number of days that each contains. The principle according to which the number of days in the month is determined is peculiar. A partial explanation is afforded in the following extract from the preface to Richardson's Dictionary English, Persian, and Arabic:—

"The Muhammadan year is *lunar*. The months consist alternately of twenty-nine and thirty days. To the last an intercalary day is added eleven times in a period of thirty years, and these are *abounding years*. Thirty-two years of the Christian are nearly equal to thirty-three Muhammadan years."

The difference will be obvious from the following table, which shows the Hindu names corresponding to the months of Tipû's Calendar, and also the signs of the Zodiac.

* Vide *Select Letters of Tippû Sultan*, by Colonel William Kirkpatrick. London, 1811.

TABLE A.

| Months. | Names. | Days in each | Corresponding Hindû months. | Signs of the Zodiac. | Names of the months according to "the subsequent revision." |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | احمدي Ahmedy ... | 29 | Chaitra......... | Mesha...... | احمدي Ahmedy. |
| 2 | بهاري Behary ... | 30 | Vaisâkh ...... | Vrishabha. | بهاري Behary. |
| 3 | جعفري Ja'fury ... | 30 | Jaishtha ...... | Mithûna... | تقي Tûqy. |
| 4 | داراي Darây...... | 29 | Ashâdha ...... | Kataka ... | ثمري Sumry. |
| 5 | هاشمي Hashemy . | 29 | Srâvana ...... | Simhâ...... | جعفري Ja'fury. |
| 6 | واسعي Wasa'y ... | 30 | Bhâdrapada... | Kanyâ ... | حيدري Hydery. |
| 7 | زبرجدي Dzaburjudy | 29 | Aswuyûja ... | Tûlâ ...... | خسروي Khúsrowy. |
| 8 | حيدري Hydery ... | 30 | Kartika ...... | Vrishika... | ديني Deeny. |
| 9 | طلوعي Túluy ...... | 29 | Mârgasirsha. . | Dhanûssû . | ذاكري Dzakiry. |
| 10 | يوسفي Yusúfy ... | 30 | Pûshya ...... | Makara ... | رحماني Réhmany |
| 11 | ايزدي Izedy ...... | 29 | Mâgha......... | Kûmbha ... | راذي Radzy. |
| 12 | بياضي Byaszy...... | 30 | Phâlgûn ...... | Mîna ...... | رباني Rubany. |

Colonel Kirkpatrick says:—"Though the foregoing names are not absolutely unmeaning, yet they would not appear to have had any appropriate signification attached to them, with the exception of the first, called by one of the names of Muhammad, and of the eighth or *Hydery*, which might possibly have been so denominated in honour of the Sultan's father, as *Túluy* might likewise have been in allusion to its being the month in which the Sultan himself was born."

With respect to the last column in the table, Colonel Kirkpatrick says that the first arrangement was after some time superseded by another; the Sultan having, as there is reason to believe, made a second reform of the calendar in A.D. 1787-88. The latter alteration would not appear to have extended further than to the substitution of new names for the months and years in the place of those first assigned to them.

I have said that the principle according to which the number of days is determined is *peculiar*. If the table be examined, it will be seen that while the last seven months consist of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately, according to the Muhammadan system, in the first five months that rule is not observed. It differs also from the Hindû year, because the months of that always consist of thirty days, or rather *tithis* (तिथि) as they call them.

The point of interest in the names of the months is that the initial letter of each denotes its place in the calendar, according to the well-known notation called ابجد *Ubjud*, which assigns a certain numerical power to every letter in the alphabet. There being no single letter to express either eleven or twelve, the first two letters of ايزدي *Izedy* and بياضي *Byâszy* added together denote the place of each respectively in the order of months. Thus

$(Alif)$ ا + ي $(yé) = 1 + 10 = 11$, and

$(Bé)$ ب + ي $(yé) = 2 + 10 = 12$.

The verse after the first word of which the notation is named, as well as the numerical power assigned severally to the letters composing it, is thus given in Richardson's Dictionary under the word ابجد *Ubjud*.

| ن | م | ل | ك | ي | ط | ح | ز | و | ه | د | ج | ب | ا |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 50 | 40 | 30 | 20 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

| غ | ظ | ض | ذ | خ | ث | ت | ش | ر | ق | ص | ف | ع | س |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1,000 | 900 | 800 | 700 | 600 | 500 | 400 | 300 | 200 | 100 | 90 | 80 | 70 | 60 |

Richardson's explanation of the word Ubjud is as follows:—"The name of an arithmetical verse the letters of which have different powers from one to a thousand. This was probably the ancient order of the alphabet."

The verse itself is formed by just writing together the letters, in order of the Arabic alphabet, in groups of three or four or more, as in the first instance pleased the whim of the contriver. Each letter has a numerical signification attached to it, as is the case in the Roman system of notation. This Ubjud notation applies only to the series of names fi... given by Tipu Sultan to the months. Th...

new names given in the subsequent revision possessed the same property as the old, namely, that of severally indicating the number of the year and the order of the month by virtue of their numerical power. The notation, however, subsequently used was, as I learn from Colonel Kirkpatrick, different from the Ubjud It has been called* ابتث Ubtus, an unmeaning word formed by a combination of the first four letters of the Persian alphabet. By the Sultan himself, however, it was called زر (Zur) The notation is this—

ا ب ت ث   ج ح خ د   ذ ر ز س   ش ص ض ط

70 60 50 40   30 20 10 9   8 7 6 5   4 3 2 1

ظ ع غ ف   ق ك ل م   ن و هي

1,000 900 800 700   600 500 400 300   200 100 90 80

The difference between the two schemes consists in this; in the *Ubjud* the numerical powers *of the letters depend on their order in the arbitrary* verse referred to; whereas in the Ubtus or Zur they depend on the order of the letters in the alphabet. The eleventh and twelfth months are indicated here again, as in the former scheme, by the first two letters of their respective names, *ra* being *ré* + *alif* = 10 + 1 = 11, and *rub* *ré* + *bé* = 10 + 2 = 12.

There were also intercalary or supplementary months, called by the Sultan (زايد) *zâyad*, adhika in Sanskrit. As I have not met with any clue to the principle on which this was arranged, I satisfy myself with the bare proof of its existence. A letter to Kûmrûddin Khân is dated 28th Extra-Ahmedy, corresponding with the 14th of April 1785 A. D., and another *letter addressed to* Bûrhanûddin on the 23rd April of the same year is dated 8th Regular-Ahmedy. This instance serves as a proof of the existence of the intercalary month, and warrants the inference that this month always preceded the regular month—for what reason does not appear.

I come next to the year. The mode of calculating years is by cycles of 60, as it is with Hindûs and with all the peoples of Southern India except the Muhammadans. The number of days is 354. Colonel Kirkpatrick says—

"It is a known rule that to make the solar and lunar years accord, *seven* returns of the intercalary or supplementary month are required in the course of nineteen years. Now from the 36th to the 53rd of the cycle (both inclusive) is a period of nineteen years, in the course of which *seven* leap-years occur, viz. five which are clearly ascertained, and two which have been assumed. But, notwithstanding this apparent conformity, the two reckonings do not coincide when, according to this rule, they might be expected to do so. The reason of this discrepancy no doubt is that though the months established by Tipû were ordinarily called *lunar*, they were not strictly so; six of the twelve months of the year consisted of thirty and the other of twenty-nine days each. And therefore the common year of 354 was neither *lunar* nor *solar*."

I am sorry I am not able to give the entire list of the years composing the cycle. The following list however contains the names of the seventeen years over which Tipû's administration extended; and these are all that I am able to collect from the work referred to.

| Year of the Cycle | Name in the *first* scheme. | Name in the *second* scheme. | Corresponding year of Hindu cycle. | Corresponding with A. D. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 36 | Jebâl ... | Rubtiz . | Śûbhakritû... | 1782-83 |
| 37 | Zûky ... | Sukh ... | Śôbhakritû... | 1783-84 |
| 38 | Uzl ...... | Sukhâ... | Krôdhi ..... | 1784-85 |
| 39 | Julo ... | Darâz ... | Viśvâvasu ... | 1785-86 |
| 40 | Dullo ... | Busd ... | Parabhava ... | 1786-87 |
| 41 | Má ..... | Shî ...... | Plavanga ... | 1787-88 |
| 42 | Kubk ... | Sarâ ... | Kilaka ........ | 1788-89 |
| 43 | Jum.... | Surâb ... | Saumya ...... | 1789-90 |
| 44 | Jâm ... | Sheta ... | Sâdhârana ... | 1790-91 |
| 45 | A'dam.. | Zuburjud | Virôdhakkritû | 1791-92 |
| 46 | Wuly'... | Sehr ... | Paridhâvi ... | 1792-93 |
| 47 | Wâly .. | Sâhir ... | Pramâdîcha . | 1793-94 |
| 48 | Kaukub. | Râsikh. . | Ananda ...... | 1794-95 |
| 49 | Kuwákib | Shâd ... | Râkshasa ... | 1795-96 |
| 50 | Yum ... | Hiraset . | Nala ........ | 1796-97 |
| 51 | Duwâm. | Sâz ...... | Pingala ...... | 1797-98 |
| 52 | Humd... | Shâdâb . | Kâlayûkti ... | 1798-99 |
| 53 | Hâmid. | Bârish.. | Siddhârti ... | 1799 |

The remarks regarding the meaning of the names of the months apply also to those of the years. They have, as before, the property of indicating the order by their initial letters. For, taking any name at random, say آدم (Adam) the order of it would be according to the Ubjud

* The Persian letter پ being excluded from this scheme as well as from the Ubjud, the Persian letters چ گ and like manner omitted in both.

notation, 45th. Thus ا + د + م = 1 + 4 + 40 = 45. The corresponding name of the second scheme زبرجد (Dzuburjud) will number the same, according to the Ubtus or Zur notation thus—ز + ب + ر + ج + د = 20 + 2 + 10 + 5 + 8 = 45.

Now taking the two different notations we have merely to substitute letters of those notations to the number we want to indicate. For example, take numbers 57 and 28, which are not in the table given above, or in Col. Kirkpatrick's work. I suppose their names would be according to the first scheme نز (*nuz*) and كزا (*kaza*) respectively; and according to the second scheme or the Ubtus notation صخ (*sukh*) and زخا (*zukha*) respectively. For

نز = ن + ز = 50 + 7 = 57, and } 1st scheme.
كزا = ك + ز + ا = 20 + 7 + 1 = 28 }

صخ = ص + خ = 50 + 7 = 57 } 2nd scheme.
زخا = ا + خ = 20 + 7 + 1 = 28 }

These are not the only names that may be given them, for there may be as many others as there are component parts to 57 and 28—a pleasant algebraical problem! Therefore any names I give may not be those given to them by the Sultan.

There is a resemblance between this calendar and that in use in Southern India, commonly named "the Malabar" cycle. To the years composing this cycle the Sultan appears to have given new names, as he did to the months of the year. Among several of the Brahmanical sects of Southern India it is still in vogue to have an adhika mâsa, or extra month, once in the course of thirty months.

The numerical order of the years was the same as in the era of the Hejira; and the Sultan was satisfied with the mere change of the appellation. He gave to it the name of "the era of Muhammad," and he sometimes called the same the "Mauludi era." The latter does not seem very applicable, for Mauludi means birth, and the difference between the Prophet's birth and his flight to Medina from Mecca is nearly thirteen years.

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## SERVICE TENURES IN CEYLON.

*(From the Reports of the Commissioner for 1870 and 1871.)*

THE Service Tenure Ordinance, No. 4 of 1870, having for its object the abolition of predial serfdom in the Kandyan Provinces, and the payment, in lieu of services, of an annual money-rent, was brought into operation on the 1st of February 1870, by Proclamation dated 21st January 1870.

The Ordinance requires the Commissioners to determine the following points:—

(1.) The tenure of every service panguwa, whether it be Pravêni or Māruwena. (2.) The names, so far as can be ascertained, of the proprietors and holders of each pravêni panguwa. (3.) The nature and the extent of services due for each pravêni panguwa. (4.) The annual amount of money-payment for which such services may be fairly commuted.

Here, as generally in oriental countries, the king was the lord paramount of the soil, which was possessed by hereditary holders, on the condition of doing service according to their caste. The liability to perform service was not a personal obligation, but attached to the land, and the maximum service due for a holding large enough to support an entire family was generally the labour of one male for six months in a year.

Besides the land thus held by the ordinary peasant proprietors, there were the estates of the crown, of the church, and of the chiefs. These are known as Gabadâgam, royal villages,—Vihâragam and Dewâlagam, villages belonging to Buddhist monasteries and temples (dewâla),—and Nindagam, villages of large proprietors. These last either were the ancestral property of the chiefs (pravenigam), or were originally royal villages bestowed from time to time on favourites of the court. In these estates, certain portions, known as Muttettu or Bandâra lands, were retained for the use of the palace, monastery, or manor-house, while the rest was given out in parcels to cultivators, followers, and dependents, on condition of cultivating the reserved lands, or performing various services from the most menial to mere homage, or paying certain dues, &c. Those followers or dependents had at first no hereditary title to the parcels of land thus allotted to them. These allotments, however, generally, passed from father to son, and in course of time hereditary title was in fact acquired.

There were thus two distinct sources whence the claim to service was derived. The right

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* A panguwa is a farm, allotment, or holding; a pravêni panguwa is an hereditary holding; maruwena is defined by the ordinance to be an allotment "held by one or more tenants-at-will."

of the king as lord paramount of the soil, whence originated a strictly feudal system; and the right of the crown, the church, and the chiefs, as landlords, to services in lieu of rent—in other words, to a service-rent instead of a money-rent—a system closely resembling emphyteusis.*. . The public burdens fell on those who held on the feudal tenure. They guarded the barriers and passes into the hills; they served as soldiers, cut timber for public purposes, and executed public works. To ensure the due performance of these services, a careful register was kept of every separate holding, and the holdings were placed under the several public departments, the heads of which were responsible to the king for the proper distribution of the labour available for carrying on the public service of the country.

The non-feudal tenant, or emphyteuta, if he may be so called, cultivated the land whence the palace, monastery, or manor-house was supplied with corn; he provided domestic officers and servants of every grade, from the seneschal of the palace to the cook-boy of the kitchen at the manor-house, and rendered personal service of every kind, for which he was paid wages in land. . .

It is with these two classes of tenants—the tenants of the temples, and the tenants of private proprietors—that the present Ordinance has to deal; and the claim of the temples and proprietors to receive a fair equivalent in the shape of a money-rent in lieu of the services is fully recognized.

These services are of every imaginable kind—some simply honorary, some of the most menial and laborious description, the lightest being usually paid most highly, while the heaviest are generally rewarded by enough land to afford only a bare subsistence, and precisely the same services are often paid in the same village at different rates: for instance, for sixty days' service in the kitchen one man will hold an acre of land, another two acres, and a third only a few perches. In fact the services have become attached to the land in the course of many generations, according to the pleasure of many landlords, and to the varying necessities of many tenants. Large farms have been bestowed on younger branches of a house, on the condition of a mere nominal recognition of allegiance. A family of faithful servants has been liberally provided for by a grant of part of an estate, in full belief in the continued faithful performance of the customary service. In times of famine or scarcity, starving supplicants have with difficulty obtained from a landlord a small plot of land barely sufficient to maintain life, and, in return for it, have agreed to perform heavy and laborious services. Again, the tenant having originally no right in the soil, some landlords have in times past arbitrarily divided the original allotments into two or, sometimes, four portions, requiring for each sub-division the whole service originally required for the entire allotment, thus raising the rents sometimes twofold, sometimes fourfold. The result is that there is no system whatever. The extent of the services has no necessary relation to the extent and value of the holding: in some cases the landowners have been careless and negligent of their interests, and receive less than a fair equivalent for the *dominium utile* of their land; in others the services rendered exceed a fair rent for the land. It follows that to assess the money-value of the existing services would be to continue an arrangement which is unsystematic and opposed to the true interests of the people, being in some cases, as regards the interests of the landowner, wasteful and unprofitable, in others unduly heavy on the tenants; and it is to be remembered that if a money-rent were fixed, based absolutely on the present money-value of the services (if that could be ascertained), it would bring out with such distinctness and prominence the inequalities, irregularities, and unprofitableness of the system which has grown up in the course of many generations, that in a short time it would be impossible to resist the inevitable demand for a revision of the money-rent assessed in this unequal and unsystematic method. . .

On the estates of the chiefs and large landowners (Nindagam) the services, as already indicated, are of the greatest possible variety. Chiefs and Mudiyansela perform various honorary services. Welâlla tenants cultivate the home farm, accompany their lord on journeys, take their turn on duty at the manor-house. Duray tenants carry baggage and the lord's palanquin, while the Wahumpuray carry the palanquins of the ladies of the family, and also provide for the service of the kitchen; and though there is a complete absence of equality and system in the remuneration given for domestic services, all such services are provided for with the utmost care. A chief with several villages will draw his cook or his bath-boy for two or three months a year from one village from another for four months, from a third for one month, &c., carefully arranging to have one on duty throughout the year. There are the potter to make tiles and supply earthenware; the smith to clean the brass vessels, and repair and make agricultural implements; the chunam-burner to

† See Brackenbury's *Report on the Land Tenure in Portugal*, Pt. I, pp. 176-179.

supply lime; the dobi or washerman; the mat-weaver (Kinnaraya); and the outcast Rodiya who buries the carcases of animals that die on the estate, and supplies ropes, &c., made of hide and fibres. Others supply pack-bullocks for the transport of the produce of the fields, and for bringing supplies of salt and cured fish from the towns on the coast.

The relations between the proprietor and tenants are generally of a friendly character, and when the connection has remained unbroken for many generations a strong feeling of attachment exists, and it is to this that may be attributed the readiness with which the proprietors have assented to the adoption of the view propounded by the District Judge of Kandy (Mr. Berwick), that the mere fact of the present holder being a son or heir of the tenant who preceded him, and died in possession, raises a presumption of praveni, *i. e.*, hereditary title, which presumption is directly opposed to Kandyan tradition. Nevertheless the chiefs and priests have been generally willing to waive all dispute as to the hereditary title, on being assured of the continuance of the customary services, or the payment, in lieu, of a fair rent. . .

The tenants on estates belonging to the Buddhist monasteries keep the buildings in repair, cultivate the reserved fields, prepare the daily offerings of rice, attend the priests on journeys, &c. A remarkable case of religious toleration which has become known in the course of the Service Tenures inquiry is perhaps deserving of mention. The tenants in the village Rambukandana, belonging to the ancient monastery of Ridi Wiharé, are all Muhammadans. The service which they render to that establishment is confined to the payment of dues and the transport of produce, &c., and has no connection with the services of the Buddhist Wiharé, and their own lebbe or priest is supported by a farm set apart by the Buddhist landlords for that purpose. There are thus Muhammadan tenants performing without reluctance service to a Buddhist monastery, and that monastery freely supporting a priest for its Muhammadan tenants. The head of this monastery has from its foundation been a member of the Tibbotuwâwe family. This is the most important of the numerous private livings in Ceylon: When one of these becomes vacant, before one of the family to which it belongs has been ordained, here, as in England, a temporary incumbent is put in, who generally serves as tutor to the young heir.

On the Dewale lands the service is most complicated and peculiar, the part which each tenant has to take in the annual processions being minutely defined; and it is to this that the popularity of the Dewâle service is owing. These processions afford the ordinary villagers the only opportunities for a general gathering, and for taking part in a pageant and a show, and above all it is on these occasions that the social distinctions, to which the Kandyans attach great importance, are publicly recognized.* . . .

There is one question connected with the Wihare and Dewale estates which must before long force itself on the consideration of Government. There is no means of ensuring the due application of the rents from those estates to their legitimate purposes. The labour which should be employed on the repair of the ecclesiastical buildings is frequently taken for the erection of private buildings of the priests and lay incumbents, and the dues are often not accounted for. The complaints of misappropriation of the temple property are frequent. Even the land is sometimes sold to ignorant purchasers, and when the services are commuted, this misappropriation, if not checked, will increase, to the serious demoralization of the priests and Basnayakas. If the revenues are not devoted to their original purpose, they should be employed in education or otherwise, for the benefit of the people, and not be appropriated to the personal use of Buddhist priests and Basnayakas. In a village near Badulla, nearly the whole of the land is in the hands of one family, which holds the office of Basnayaka of the Dewâle to which the village is said to belong. But the Dewale is in ruins, the processions are not conducted, and the Government gives up its tithe only to enrich a private family.†

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It is necessary to again call attention to this question, as the evil is daily growing greater, and, with its growth, demoralizing the people, and diminishing the value of the public lands set apart for ecclesiastical purposes. In the course of the past year a very serious case came to the knowledge of the Commissioners. The Dambulu wihara is, as is well known, a shrine held in great reverence

* The most celebrated of these processions is the Perahera, which takes place at Kandy in Esala (July—August), commencing with the new moon in that month, and continuing till the full moon. It is a Hindu festival in honour of the four deities, Natha, Vishnu, Kataragama (Kandaswami), and Pattini, who are held in reverence by the Buddhists of Ceylon as dewiyo who worshipped Gautama, and are seeking to attain Nirvana. In the reign King Kirtisri (A. D. 1747—1780), a body of priests who came over from Siam, for the purpose of restoring the Upasampadâ ordination, objected to the observance of this Hindu ceremony in a Buddhist country. To remove their scruples, the king ordered the Dalada relic of Buddha to be carried thenceforth in procession with the insignia of the four deities; nevertheless, the Perahera is not regarded as a Buddhist ceremony.

† *Report for 1870.*

by the Buddhists, and it is a place of great interest, worthy of being maintained as a historical monument, being the only rock-temple of any importance in Ceylon, and possessing a painted roof which * is the best example of Buddhist art in the island. To this wihâra belong large and valuable forests, which should be preserved for supplying the necessary timber for the maintenance of the buildings belonging to the wihâra, and also for the benefit of the wihâra tenants—to whom the wild honey, jungle ropes, and pasture for cattle, to be found in these forests, are of considerable value. The incumbent of the wihâra, without regard to the interests of which he was the guardian, sold to a low-country carpenter all the valuable timber in one of the large forests and omitted to pay the money into the wihâra chest. Complaint was made to the Commissioners, but they had no power to act. They however called the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities to the matter, and the incumbent has been called upon to pay in to the credit of the wihâra upwards of £170, probably less than a third of the amount he has received. It is doubtful whether he will pay even this. Certainly he will go unpunished. The people know that their priest has committed the greatest crime a Buddhist can commit, for, in their language, "he has robbed Buddha." They know also that he has committed a great offence against our laws, having appropriated to himself the property of which he was the trustee. The Buddhist authorities will not seek to remove him, because they cannot act without the aid of our Courts. The tenants will not act, because they are afraid to take steps against a man of influence with money at command. Others will not act, because the expenses would come out of their own pockets. This is only one example out of many; and nothing can be more injurious, nothing more demoralizing, than for the people to see frauds of this kind committed by trustees of temple property go unpunished. It is not easy to suggest a remedy for fear of the outcry, "The Government is supporting Buddhism, &c. &c." .. It would be well if this question could be dealt with merely as a matter of good government, untrammelled by the *odium theologicum*. It is simply the question of preserving for the public those public lands at present set apart for religious purposes, which, unless closely looked after, will gradually become lost to the public altogether. In the course of the past year there have been two important judgments delivered by the Supreme Court, which it may be useful here to notice. The first is known as the Adam's Peak Case. In 1853 the Crown relinquished the right to appoint to Buddhist offices, but the power of removal was retained. . .

If these judgments were publicly known and understood, and if the powers which they declare to exist were systematically exercised, much might be done to check peculation and embezzlement; but it is doubtful whether any real good can be effected unless some such supervision is exercised over the temple property here as is found necessary in the case of Friendly Societies in England. There can be no security against fraud until the temple lands are placed in charge of a Government officer, at any rate to the extent of no lease or agreement being valid unless it be entered in his office, and until all trustees of temple property are required to send in annually, to a Government officer, accounts showing the revenues, whether in kind or in money, and details of the expenditure.†

* See *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. I. p. 139 ffg.

† From the *Report for* 1871.

## ARCHÆOLOGY OF MAISUR.

*From the Report of the Administration of Mysore for* 1871-72.

The Province abounds with inscriptions on stone or copper, recording royal benefactions and other public gifts; the historical data derivable from which are perhaps the most authentic extant, while at the same time they throw much light on the earlier forms of the language, and furnish other collateral information of considerable interest. But in the case of inscriptions of prior date to the year 1000 of the era of Sâlivâhana, or 800 years ago, a difficulty presents itself in the strange and obsolete characters of the writing. These are found in many cases to resemble the letters of the Western Cave and old Gujarât inscriptions, of which the Begûru stone, in the Government Muséum at Bengalur, may serve as a specimen. In others of Jain origin, as in the rock inscriptions of Śrâvana Belagola, they are more like the Lât and old Pâli forms. Towards the east the Grantha character, with some admixture, is frequently met with, as in the Kolâr Amma temple.

A number of these *śasanas* have been deciphered and translated from photographs. A catalogue is further being prepared of all inscriptions to be found in the country, with the view of selecting for translation such as appear to be of

most importance, or in greatest danger of defacement by the hand of time. A similar register is stated to have been made in the reign of Chikka Deva Râja (1672—1704); but the collection was unfortunately either lost or destroyed when the Province came under Muhammadan rule.

At Śrâvana Bellagola, famous for its colossal statue of the Jain god Gômateśvara, there are several inscriptions cut in the rock, on the top of the smaller of the two hills. The character is a very ancient form of Kanarese, fac-similes of which have been submitted to Pandits through the Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*. The following stones, with inscriptions of a similar character, have recently been discovered in the Nandidurg Division,—two stones at Betmangala, which have been converted into village deities; two large slabs on the site of the ancient city of Aralkôtu, near Śrinivâspura, probably intermediate between the Śrâvana Bellagola and Begûru inscriptions; and a large slab of a more recent date on the site of old Bidalûru, near Gôribidanûru.

Some barrows of considerable dimensions have also been discovered in the Hassan District, but none have yet been opened.

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## REVIEW.

The Prosody of the Persians according to Saifi, Jámi, and other writers. By H. Blochmann, M.A.—*Calcutta*, 1872.

Professor Blochmann has given a new proof of his accurate scholarship, not merely by editing Saifi's Prosody and Jámi's Qáfiyah, but by correctly translating and enriching them with his own notes. "The Prosody of the Persians" is no doubt intended for a school book, to be explained by competent teachers. The *Hints and Exercises* (pp. 94-101) are most excellent, but it is to be feared insufficient for any, except very bright students, if read without a master. The solutions are merely references to the various metres according to which the examples given are to be scanned, but if each example of these metres had itself been fully explained, the scansion of the exercises from the Gulistán would have been easy to the dullest.

A metre, if it is to serve as a model, ought to be treated nearly in this way:—The feet of which it consists are to be written as usual, and also the line or lines to be scanned. Beneath this the feet are to be written with their constituent parts *sabab, watad, fáçilah*, properly marked as moved or quiescent, and the line to be written under them expressly for the purpose of scansion; dislocating the words to suit the feet, omitting the letters elided, and writing those which must be pronounced and scanned. Something of this kind is done only in one instance (on p. 6). This manner will perhaps not be considered too pedantic if it be remembered how intricate scanning appears to beginners, and that writers on scansion are on some points themselves like doctors—who disagree, as Professor Blochmann has himself had occasion to observe and point out; although, after all, Persian poetry, like English, is scanned according to sound rather than orthography; hence the ear is in reality the best guide. Sir W. Jones expressly states (*Works*, Vol. VI. p. 437, ed. 1799) that the measure of the *Leila wa Majnún* of Hatefy, which enabled him to correct a number of lines in it, was embodied in the words *Lex omnibus imperare debet.*

It is not merely interesting, but proper and very necessary, that students should know accurately to what metre a piece of poetry belongs and it may be presumed that the minute way of marking out the feet with their constituent parts hinted at above would materially aid correct *scansion*, without which the whole science of prosody is *nothing*. It would not give much trouble to present some idea to Orientals of the manner of scanning by means of long and short marks, and to show them that numerous as their feet are, they have all their equivalents in Latin and Greek prosody. Perhaps it would be sufficient to give those only which correspond to the eight original feet of the Arabs, thus:—Bacchius, iambo-spondeus, iambo-anapæstus, trochæo-spondeus, amphimacrus, spondeo-iambus, anapæsto-iambus, and spondeo-trochæus.

As far as Europeans are concerned, Professor Blochmann has supplied a real want, since the few works which have been written on this subject are now mostly out of print, and he has done a very great service to all the lovers of the sweet tongue of Erán.—E. R.

## ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, November and Decembcer 1872.*

Near Humayun's tomb a short way from Dehli is that of Jehânârâ Banû Begum, which, says Mr. F. Cooper, "is deserving of respect on account of the virtues of her whose ashes it covers. She was celebrated throughout the East for her wit and beauty, and her name will ever adorn the page of history as a bright example of filial attachment and heroic self-devotion to the dictates of duty, more especially when viewed in contrast with the behaviour of her sister Roxânarâ, who, by aiding the ambitious designs of Aurangzib, enabled him to dethrone Shah Jehân. The amiable and accomplished Jehânarâ not only supported her aged father in his adversity, but voluntarily resigned her liberty and resided with him during his ten years' imprisonment in the fort of Agrâ. She did not long survive her father, and there are strong suspicions that she died by poison. Her tomb is of white marble, open at the top, and at the head is a tablet of the same, with a Persian inscription inlaid in black marble letters."* The following is from the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*:—

Princess Jahânârâ was the second daughter of Shâhjahân by Mumtâz Mahall (the 'Tâj-bibi'), and was born on Wednesday, 21st Çafar, 1023 [23rd March, 1614]. She is called in Muhammadan histories Mustaṭâb Begum, or Begum Çahib,† and died at Dihli on the 3rd Ramazân, 1092 [6th September, 1681, A. D.], in her sixty-eighth year. Like many of the imperial princesses, she was not married. She disliked her younger brother Aurangzib. Her numerous charities gained for her a good name.

Regarding her death, the *Maâsir i Alamgîrî* says —"On the 7th Ramazân, His Majesty received a report that the angelic queen of the angels of the world of good and pious deeds, Jahânârâ Banû Begum, had died at Dihlî on the 3rd. She was buried in the courtyard of the mausoleum of Shaikh Nizâmuddin Auliâ, where she had before built a tomb for herself. His Majesty [Aurangzib] was much afflicted by the death of his elder sister, and ordered that the *naubat* (music at sunrise, &c.) should not be played at Court for three days."

The inscription is—

هو الحي القيوم

بغیر سبزه نپوشد کسی مزار مرا که قبرپوش
غریبان همین گیاه بس است الفقیرة الفانیة جهان
آرا مرید خواجگان چشت بنت شاهجهان پادشاه
غازی انار الله برهانه

سنه ۱۰۹۲

*He is the Living, the Lasting!*

*Let no one cover my lonely grave*
*With gold or with silver brocade:*
*Sufficient for me is the cover of turf*
*Which God for the poor has made.*

*The poor, the perishable, Jahânârâ, the disciple of the Chisht Saints,‡ daughter of Shâhjahân Pâdishâh i Ghâzî—May God enlighten his evidence! A.H.* 1092.

The verse contains an allusion to the practice of the Muhammadans to cover the tombs of saints with costly cloths, or at least with a white sheet, as may still be seen in many *dargâhs*.

J. W. B. Martin, Esq., communicated the following:—

At the village of Barantpur, in Zila' Bhâgalpur, there is being built at present a shrine, at which immense numbers of Hindus assemble during the Durgâ pujâ, to offer up kids, &c., to Chândi, the supposed goddess of the place. At this place, a long time ago, were found a few black stones, a carving of a woman rather larger than life, a figure of a warrior on what appears to be a tiger and is called by the natives Budhai (this figure is rather damaged), and a few stones such as were let in as threshold stones in grand native buildings of ancient date. On one of the latter is an inscription. Mr. John Christian has kindly translated it for me.

The characters are what they here call Debâchâr and Mithilâchâr. On my inquiring from the villagers if they knew anything of the antecedents of the place, I managed to get a little information, which I add. In the old days, when the former shrine was in its glory, a Musalmân encampment was formed to the north of Barantpur, and the troops therein were under the command of a powerful general. This general one day, being excited by drink, determined to humble the pride of the goddess and disgrace the religion of the Hindus, and ordered his darwân to go and ask the hand of the goddess Maheswari in marriage. She, guessing that their intention was merely to disgrace her by so mean a union, and knowing that her people were unable to cope in war with the Mughuls pretended to consent to the union, but proposed certain conditions, which were that the Mughuls should in one night, before cockcrow, make a fort of certain

* *Guide to Dehli*, p. 108.

† So also Bernier in the beginning of his work. He gives a long chapter of *on-dits* and court-scandal about her.

‡ To which also the renowned Mu'inuddîn i Chishtî of Ajmîr belongs. He was looked upon as the patron of the Imperial family.

dimensions and a hundred tanks in its vicinity, and should offer a black kid at her shrine. The fort was made, ninety-nine tanks were dug, and the hundredth tank was nearly completed; the kid was being led towards that shrine, in order to be ready to be offered on the completion of the hundredth tank, when the goddess, transforming herself into a cock, crew. The conditions not having been completed, the marriage was not performed. The Mughuls, however, frightened at her power, fled* from this portion of the country. The fort alluded to I have seen, as also the tanks; the fort is situated near the village of Ûti. The tanks, although I have not counted ninety-nine, exist in great numbers, but appear to have been dug merely to obtain earth for making the earthwork of the fort, which extends over about one square mile of ground. About the centre of the oblong-shaped site is a spot very much higher than any other portion of the fort. There are no legends which explain when or why this shrine was neglected as a place of worship, but it is quite clear that for a long time such was the case; for comparatively lately the stones I have described were dug up, and a Goala built a shed over them, and from this time all castes of natives have continued to worship Maheśvari there, under the name of Chûndi. From the first Goâla family which looked after this shrine, sixteen hundred families now exist in the villages adjacent to Barantpur. These Goâlas are called Debahar, the exact meaning of which is not known, but it is only a man of this class who can attend to the duties of this shrine. This class of Goala did not exist till the stones were discovered, nor do they exist, as far as I know, in any other part of India. I should here tell you that the goddess or figure of the woman is only half visible, the natives being afraid to unearth it. To the south-west of the place where the goddess stands is an immensely deep, perfectly round tank, from which, rumour says, all the water used for the shrine was taken. The whole of the land round is high, but the natives decline to allow it to be dug.

Inscription on a granite door-frame found in Barantpur, March 1872:—

'The conquering Sarba Singha Deba, who is adorned with all good qualities, the blessed of Mahesvari, the joy-bestowing moon of the lotus lineage of Budheśa.'

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## CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

### ON PROF HOERNLE'S THEORY OF THE GENITIVE POST-POSITIONS.

Sir,—The *Journal* of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Part I. No. 2.—1872) contains four essays of Prof. Hoernle's "in aid of a Comparative Grammar of the Gauṛian languages." The greatest interest attaches to the second essay (pp. 124-144), in which Prof. Hoernle endeavours to prove that the Sanskṛit participle *kṛita* is, in one form or other, the original of the genitive post-positions in the modern Aryan languages of India. Prof. Hoernle no doubt shows a considerable amount of acumen, but it is unfortunate that his acumen is not supported by a more thorough knowledge of the Prâkṛit language. Thus (at p. 154) he instances several times a Prâkṛit word 'bhramarako', and apparently is unaware that some of his interpretations, which he believes to be new, are very old and have been refuted long ago. Every Prâkrit scholar will be struck by the assertion (at p. 141) that the Prâkṛit of the plays is founded upon the Sûtras of Vararuchi. On the contrary, it is a well known and often discussed fact that the Prâkrit of the plays is far from being the same as that taught by Vararuchi, and there is scarcely a page of any drama which does not clearly prove this. In my opinion it is not possible to weld into one all post-positions of the modern languages, as Prof. Hoernle does. As for the genitive post-positions in the Bangâli and Oṛiya languages, it is easy to prove that Prof. Hoernle is in error. He derives them from a Prâkṛit word *keraká* or *kerika*, which he asserts to be only found in the *Mṛichchhakaṭiká*, and even there only about fourteen times. This sweeping assertion, twice repeated, is at variance with fact. I have noticed thirty-eight passages where this word occurs in the *Mṛichchhakaṭiká*, viz. (ed. Stenzler) p. 4, 3, mama kerakeṇa; p. 21, 21, attaṇakelikao; 37, 13, palakelaam'; 53, 3, attakerakam; 53, 20, vessâjaṇakerako; 63, 16, ajjuakerao; 64, 19, ajjassa kerako; 65, 10, tassa kerao; 65, 11, attakeraam; 68, 11. ambakerakam; 74, 8, attaṇakeraketti; 88, 27, attaṇakerakotti; 90, 14, mama keria; 95, 6, -keriae; 96, 21, kaśśa kelake; 96, 22, -kelake; 97, 3, -kelake; 100, 18, kassa kerakam 100, 20, ajjachâludattáka kelake; 104, 9, appaṇo kerikam; 112. 10, kelake; 118, 17, attaṇakelake; 119, 5, bappakelake; 122, 14, mama kelakado; 122, 15, mama kelikâim; 130, 10, attaṇakelakehim; 132, 4, mama kelake; 132, 16, mama kelakae; 133.2.

* The name of this general is said to have been 'Alî Khân, and his speedy retreat has given rise to a proverb used in this part of the country. If a person is unsuccessful in an undertaking, people say, '*Wah. 'Ali Khan ki karni*

mama kelakaṁ: 139, 16, attaṇakelakâ; 146, 16, mama kelakaṁ; 152, 6, tavassiṇie kelakâ; 153, 9, ajjachârudattassa kerakâim, 164, 3, attaṇakelikâo; 164, 8, mama kelikâo; 167, 3, attaṇakelikâo; 167, 21, mama kelikâ; 173, 9, ajjassa kelake. Among all these thirty-eight passages I cannot find in Prof. Stenzler's edition the one alluded to by Professor Hoernle where a form *ppakelaka* is said to occur. Prof. Hoernle doubtless alludes to p.119,5, but all the MSS. have there *bappakelake*, as given in Stenzler's edition. Professor Stenzler remarks in a note that the Calcutta edition has *pyakelake* (*sic!*), which is translated by 'prâkṛita.' Now it must be remembered that from this very form *ppakelaka*, which does not really exist, Professor Hoernle derives the whole meaning of *keraka* itself, and that all his arguments as to the meaning of *keraka* are taken from this imaginary word. This alone would be sufficient to invalidate the deductions of Professor Hoernle. But besides this, *keraka*, it is true, does not occur so often in any other play as in the *Mṛichchhakaṭikâ*; but there are nevertheless several examples of it. It is found twice in the *Sakuntalam* (ed. Chézy) p. 114, 1; bhattake tava kelake sampadaṁ mama jîvide; and p. 152, 12, mama kerake udae; also *Mâlavikâ*. p. 23, 9 (ed. Tullberg), parakeraṁ tti karia; *Mâlatîmâdhava* (ed Calc. 1866), p. 104, 12, taśśa jjevva kerassa attaṇo sarirassa; *Mudrârâkshasa*, p. 9, 12 (ed. Calc. 1831), attaṇo jjevva kerassa Dhammabhâduassa gharaṁ hodi; and in *Hâla* (ed. Weber) A 17,—maha mandabhâiṇie keraṁ. There is not the slightest reason for the supposition of Professor Hoernle that the use of this word was "slang:" it is employed even by the Sûtradhâra, *Mrichchh.* 4, 3, who in all probability was a Brahman, and on the other hand, the police officers in *Sâk.* p. 110, 5, who certainly belong to the "slang-people," do not use *kelaka*, but its Sanskṛit equivalent *kiya*. Nor is there an adjective noun *kerika*: *keraka* forms a regular feminine *kerikâ*, and wherever *kerikâ* occurs it is of course in connection with a feminine: conf *Mṛichchh.* 21, 21; 90, 4; 95, 6; 104, 9; 167, 21; and in *Mṛichchh.* 132, 16; 139, 16, *kelaka* must be corrected into *kelikâ*. Professor Hoernle thinks *keraka* has its origin in the Sanskṛit participle *kṛita*. This opinion was expressed long ago by Professor Hoefer in his paper *De Prakṛita Dialecto* (Berlin, 1836, p. 35), and Professor Lassen in his *Institutiones Linguae Prâkṛiticae*, p. 118 (conf. p. 247 and Appendix, p. 58) has proved beyond all doubt that this interpretation cannot be adopted. There are but very few, and even those few most doubtful examples, in which a Sanskrit *ṛi* has changed into a Prâkṛit *e*; and even if we admit the fact, *kṛita* would never become *kera*, but only *keta*. Now Prof. Lassen has given the right interpretation in deriving it from the Sanskrit *kâryaṁ*, which accounts for all the facts, and has been adopted by Prof. Weber (*Hâla*, p. 38) as in accordance with the laws of the Prâkrit language.

In the principal Prâkṛit dialect of the plays the substantive *kâryaṁ*, which originally was a part. fut. pass., generally changes into *kajjaṁ*, and is then used here and there in the same sense as *keraṁ*. Thus for instance, *Ratnâvali* (ed. Calc. 1871, p. 20, 12): jaṁ pathiadi ṇa bhuṁjîadi tâ mama ediṇâ ṇa kajjaṁ *i.e.* "therefore I had nothing to do with it," "it does not concern me;" *Mudrârâksh.* (ed. Calc. 1831, p. 9, 2):—paṇamaha jamassa chalaṇe kiṁ kajjaṁ devehiṁ aṇṇehiṁ *i.e.* "what have you to do with other gods?" "what do other gods concern you?" In the Pâli language 'kichchaṁ is employed quite in the same way as the Prâkṛit kajjaṁ.' Several examples are given by Mr. Childers in his excellent *Pâli Dictionary* (s. v. kichcho). The same signification is found in *keraṁ*, *Mâlav.* 23, 9, where the learned and accurate Shankar P. Paṇḍit (p. 28, 2) ought to have writtten with the best MSS.: parakeraṁ tti karia. The word 'parakeraṁ' is here equivocal; the sentence means as well "because it belongs to another" as "because another ought to do so." Like *arthaṁ* and *nimittaṁ*, so we see *keraṁ* used in *Hâla*, A 17: maha mandabhâiṇie keraṁ, "for the sake of me an unfortunate girl," and also 'kajjaṁ' in *Mudrârâ.* 39, 11: aṇṇâṇaṁ kuṇai kajjaṁ, *i.e.* "it (the bee) does it for the sake of others." Thus 'kajjaṁ' and 'keraṁ' are in every respect identical. Later, 'kera' was changed into a more simple adjective noun meaning "belonging to," and then assumes the Prâkrit affix 'ka,' so that *parakeraka* and *attaṇakeraka* or *attakeraka* answer to the Sanskṛit *parakîya* and *âtmakîya*. Professor Hoernle believes that in some of his examples *keraka* has become a sort of affix. If this be true it ought not to be inflected as it really is. One instance like *Mṛichchh.* 38, 3: ajjassa attakerakaṁ edaṁ gehaṁ, might have warned him. The use of *keraka* nowhere differs, even in the slightest, from that of all other adjective nouns: all the cases of *keraka* are found except the dative and vocative, the want of which need not be explained; even the genitive occurs: *Mudrâr.* 9, 12; *Mâlatîm.* 104, 12; and the plural is found in *Mṛichchh.* 122, 15; 130, 10; 152, 6; 153, 9. Like all the other adjective nouns, *keraka* has masculine, feminine, and neuter; indeed it is often perfectly pleonastic; but there is nothing extraordinary in that, it being quite in accordance with the Prâkṛit of the plays. People of lower condition like a fuller and more individual sort of speech and to emphasise their own dear selves.

Thus we see very often "nija" used, where it might as well be omitted; for instance *Urvaśî* (ed. Bollensen) 68, 111, 126, and *Urv.* 31: ninsarîre, and *Mudrâr.* 94, 8: ahaṁ niaṁ gehaṁ gamissaṁ the word "nija" is used quite in the place of the pronoun "mama." The participle "gada" is frequently employed instead of a case, *e.g.* *Urv.* 21, 13:—uvvasigadaṁ ukkaṇṭhaṁ vinodedu bhavaṁ; or *Śâk.* 78, 15: taggadeṇa ahilâsera. Not a whit different from the use of *keraka* is that of *sandha*, e. g. *Urv.* 21, 8:—kusanamaṇisilâvaṭṭasaṇâho adimuttaladâmaṇḍavo; conf. *Śâk.* 123, 5; *Mâlav.* 5, 9; and so of many other adjective nouns. Prof. Hoernle gives an example of how he thinks the genitive in the Bangâli language has originated. He maintains that the genitive of *santâna* was originally *santâna-kerako.* We must stop here. I have shown above that all the cases of *keraka* occur, and that it is always inflected. It is utterly impossible therefore to adopt a form *santâna kerako.* Prof. Hoernle might as well say *santâna kerake* or *kerakaṁ* or *kerakassa*, &c. This only depends on the preceding or following substantive and the sense of the whole passage. We have no right whatever to insist upon any special case or a non-inflected form. For the same reason, all the other derivations as *santânakera*, *santânaera*, &c. are mere phantoms. The word *keraka* is far too modern to undergo so vast and rapid a change as to be curtailed to simple "*er*". The singular participle *kulu*, in *Mrichchh.* 31, 16, mentioned by Prof. Hoernle, is not a participle but the regular imperative. The termination *ra* is certainly peculiar to the Prâkrit language. Prof. Weber (*Hâla*, p. 68) quotes a good many real Prâkrit adjective nouns in *ira*, to which we may add "*uvvellira*" (*Urv.* 75). This might have contributed to such a curtailing as this, but Prof. Hoernle ought not to have overlooked the fact that in the more modern dialects *keraka* is always changed into *kelaka*.

As for the other languages I do not intend to go into details here. But to show that Prof. Hoernle's deductions are not more probable, I point out the Gujarâti postpositions. He derives them from a form *kunno* or *kinno*, which he supposes to have been a later or more vulgar form of the participle *krita*. Now we know from *Vararuchi*, XII. 15, that *kunai* is a poetical form, and not applicable in prose passages: it occurs often in the poems of the Saptaśati, but never in the dramas, except in verse: conf. *Ratnâvalî*, p. 19, 1; *Nagânanda*, 29, 5; *Mudrâr.* 39, 11; conf. *Pratâparudrîya* (Madras, 1868), p. 120, 11; *Piṅgala*, v. 3. Nowhere is a participle *kunno* or *kinno* found, and if it were it would not be modern and vulgar, but ancient and highly poetical. I cannot therefore indulge with Prof. Hoernle in the hope that he has succeeded in proving beyond doubt that the participle *krita* is, in one form or other, the original of the genitive postpositions; on the contrary, I believe that his theory cannot be sustained.

Dr. R. Pischel.

*London, February* 1873.

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## BHAVABHUTI'S QUOTATION FROM THE RAMAYANA.

*To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.*

Sir,—In his essay on the Râmâyaṇa, Prof. Weber gives the verses quoted by Bhavabhûti in his Uttara Râma-Charita from the last chapter of the Bâlakâṇḍa of the Râmâyaṇa, and points out the corresponding verses in Schlegel's and the Bombay and Serampore editions, which resemble Bhavabhûti's only in substance. In Gorresio he says, there is nothing corresponding to them.* But about the end of the chapter immediately previous to the one to which Prof. Weber refers us, there are these same verses in Gorresio, identical in all respects with those quoted by Bhavabhûti except apparently in two small words which are *eva* (in the last line of the first verse) and *tu* (in the last line of the second verse) in Bhavabhûti, and *abhi* and *hi* in Gorresio.† But the difference in the case of the first word at least is rather a difference between Gorresio and the Calc. edn. of the Uttara-Râma-Charita, and not between Gorresio and Bhavabhûti, for in an old MS. of the play existing in the Elphinstone College Library I find *abhi* instead of *eva*.

But while Gorresio's edition agrees almost thoroughout with Bhavabhûti in this point, there is a material difference in another. Bhavabhûti quotes the verses as from the last chapter of the Bâla-Charita, but in Gorresio they occur in the last but two, while in Schlegel and the Bombay edition the corresponding verses, though considerably differing in language, occur in the last. On comparing the several editions, one finds that Bharata's departure to the country of his maternal uncle, which is despatched in five verses in the other editions, in Gorresio is expanded into almost a chapter, of which it forms the first 44 verses. The remaining four verses of this chapter occur in the other editions after the five verses about Bharata. The last chapter, again, in Gorresio, which describes Bharata's doings in the country of his uncle, and his sending a messenger to his father, is wanting in Schlegel and the Bombay edition. And since these additional chapters contain no new incident except the sending of the

* *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I. p. 247.

† Gorresio's *Râmâyaṇa*, Vol. I. p. 233.

messenger (which has very little to do with the story), they are probably interpolations.

Ramkrishna G. Bhandarkar.

SERPENT-WORSHIP.

Sir,—In his Essay on "Vasta-yaga and its bearing upon Serpent and Tree Worship in India," published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (Part I. No. 3—1870), Babu Pratap Chandra Ghosha, B.A., asserted that no temple has ever been raised by Aryans for the sole worship of the Serpent in India, though the Hindus entertain a kind of respect for the allegorical characters *Ananta* and *Vasuki*. Now in Prayag (Allahabad) an ancient temple still stands dedicated solely to the worship of the *Nága Vasuki*. Perhaps it is the only one of its kind in the N. W. Provinces, for I have have seen none elsewhere, not even in Benares. It is called by natives *Raja Vasuk* or *Dussásumádh*. The spot is associated with several legendary traditions, one of which is that Brahma, in ages gone by, performed there the sacrifice of a thousand horses,—hence its sacredness. The temple is beautifully situated amidst a grove of trees, overlooking the Ganges, which flows just under it. The scenery is charming. It is a massive building on an elevated terrace, and looks quite new, for we learn that a hundred years ago it was all repaired, and the *pakka* stone ghaṭ under it constructed by the millionaire of Daraganj, a detached village of Allahabad lying on the bank of the river. The image of the Naga Vasuki is carved out of a black stone set in the front wall of the temple, and is about a foot and a half high It is neatly sculptured as a hooded snake standing erect when enraged. There are other idols of less note.

A large fair is held here on *Nagapanchami*, to which many of the Hindus from Allahabad and neighbouring villages come, to secure the double merit of bathing in the sacred stream and worshipping the serpent-god on the auspicious occasion. The temple is resorted to by every pilgrim to *Prayág*, with whom it is a belief that the merit of bathing in the sacred confluence of Ganga and Jamaná is not complete until he visits the temple of the king of Serpents. Pilgrims to other sacred places in India take Ganges water from this place only, as it is considered purer than elsewhere in *Prayág*.

Kasinath.

*Sirsa, Allahabad, 2nd December* 1872.

NOTE ON DRAVIDIAN NUMERALS.

I have read with much interest the remark on the note concerning ancient Dravidian numerals (*Ind. Ant.* II. 97). It corroborates the view that the Dravidian numerals, at least up to 10, are original and not taken from the Sanskṛit, a view which, regarding 5 and 10, had been called in question by a well-known scholar. How clearly the Dravidians are marked out by their numerals! That the Pengu Porjas, Tagara Porjas, and Durwa Gonds use Uriya words for some of the lower numbers is curious indeed, and the cause of their doing so deserves thorough inquiry. Is there any unsurmountable objection to the supposition that the Dravidian numbers known to be used by them are the remnant of a complete set? or that by a more intimate intercourse with the tribes the original series may still be found to exist among them? It may have been necessary for the tribes to adopt some numbers from their neighbours, who by way of intercourse learned to know and use a few of theirs, but did not care to acquire and use all. Concerning the Köis and Selliya Porjas, I should like to know whether their having *borrowed* some Telugu words is a fully established fact? The so-called Telugu words may be as original with them as with the Telugus, and prove that the two tribes once lived in a more favourable position in union with their kinsmen, the Telugus, and also with the other large Dravidian tribes. It is interesting to observe that the expression for "one" in Köi is *orrote*, in Togara Porja—*vakat*, in Telugu—*okati*, the Koi being next to the root. The *tom* (another form of *om*, the first part of "nine" in Koi and Telugu) does not appear in other dialects before 19.

With reference to Dravidian derivations, I take the liberty to state the Dravidian rule that a noun may be formed by simply lengthening the verbal root; the inverse process would be against the spirit of the language. On this rule rests the derivation of *nálu*, *nálku* (Koi *nálúr*, Durwa Gond *nálu*, Togara Porja—*nálu*, Telugu—*nálugu*, *nálgu*). The root *nal*, to be lovely, is very common with the Southern Dravidians; a root akin to it is *nan*, to be fragrant. Both roots have been adopted by the Aryas, as a study of the words beginning with their letters in a Sanskrit Dictionary will show (Some of those words are to be referred to the Dravidian root *nad*, to be erect, to be planted; d = l = l.)

F. Kittel.

*Merkara, 25th March* 1873.

THE GUJARAT LION.

It is erroneous to suppose that the Kathiawad (Gujarat) Lion is maneless, although in the specimens I have seen the mane has been considerably shorter and of lighter colour than that of the African species. One that I shot, supposed to have been eight years old from its containing that

number of lobes in its liver, had the hair covering the back of the head and neck not more than a few inches long. The dimensions of this animal taken as it lay dead on the ground were as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Length from nose to tip of tail...... | 8′ 10″ |
| „ of head and body alone...... | 5′ 11″ |
| „ of tail ...................... | 2′ 11″ |
| Height at shoulder .................. | 3′ 4″ |
| Girth of neck ......................... | 2′ 6″ |
| „ chest ......................... | 4′ 1″ |
| „ fore-arm .......................... | 1′ 9″ |
| Length of hair on mane .............. | 5″ |

In appearance its colour is very much like that of a camel or a female nilgae, and I have on one occasion, when at a distance, actually mistaken a lion for the latter animal. From its colour it derives the name by which it is known in most parts of Gujarât, "Untia-Bag" or "Camel-coloured tiger." In the Gir however it is always called "Sâwaj," a name that I do not think is known out of Kâthiâwâd. The male is rather darker than the female and is a little heavier about the head and shoulders, the female being very much the same shape as the common tiger. Their habits are somewhat similar to those of the tiger. They always travel at night, leaving their daily resting-place about sunset. Their first visit is generally to the water, after which they wander about in search of food, often going many miles over hill and dale in their nightly peregrinations. In passing from one favourite resting-place to another they generally make use of the best roads the country affords, and I have often met their footmarks going for miles along the road I have been myself traversing; and if one did happen to travel in that country on a fine moonlight night, I can imagine nothing more likely to occur than a chance rencontre with one of these forest-kings. They feed chiefly on nilgae, sâmbar, and wild hog, a single blow of their paw generally sufficing to break the back of the largest animal. They sometimes commit considerable depredations on the herds of buffaloes that are taken into the Gir for grazing. Owing to the great heat, the cattle are generally allowed to wallow in the mud and lie under trees during the hottest part of the day; and at night they are driven out to graze. As a rule they keep together, in which case they are never disturbed by the lion; but if by chance a sick one should lag behind, or should any wander away to a distance from the rest of the herd, the lion, if there be one near, is sure to bag it, however big and powerful it may be. As long as the herd keeps together, however, there is no fear, as the lion dare not attack. If the kill be made early in the evening and the lion be hungry, he will at once commence eating it, but will always leave it about daylight and go and rest for the day at some secluded spot in the neighbourhood, either down near the water in the shade of karanda and other trees, or, what is perhaps more common, he will go on the top of some neighbouring hill where he may get a cool breeze, and where he lies out in the open under the shade of a big stone or, when procurable, of a large banyan tree. When disturbed he does not slink away like a tiger or panther, but walks or runs upright without any attempt at concealment. Being very nearly the same colour as the ground and of the scorched leafless trees with which these hills are covered in the hot weather, it is very difficult to see him before being seen oneself; and this generally happens, owing to the frequent absence of undergrowth in these jungles before the sportsman gets within range.

I have never heard an authentic instance of an unwounded lion attacking a man, but when wounded I should say that their ferocity would fully equal that of the tiger. It is a curious fact that not a tiger or a bear exists in a wild state in the whole of Kaṭhiâwâḍ. Panthers however are very numerous in the Gir as well as in other parts of the country.

As far as I know from my own experience and from inquiries I have made, I am of opinion that there are not more than fifty lions in the whole country. The female generally has two cubs, but probably, as is the case with other animals of the kind, there are three born—it being supposed that the firstborn is always devoured by the mother.—*Capt. H. Trotter, R.E., in the Report of the G. T. Survey*, 1871-72.

## A HUMAN SACRIFICE.

It is the belief of all Orientals that hidden treasures are under the special guardianship of supernatural beings. The Singhalese however divide the charge between demons and cobra capellas. Various charms are resorted by those who wish to gain the treasures. A *pujá* is to sufficient with the cobras, but the demons require a *sacrifice*. Blood of a human being is the most important, but, as far as it is known, the Kappowas have hitherto confined themselves to a sacrifice of a white cock, combining its blood with their own, drawn by a slight puncture in the hand or foot. A Tamil has however improved on this, as our readers will see by the following case, now in the hands of the Justice of the Peace.

Some *Lulis* of Agravatte were led to believe that a vast treasure of gems was secreted somewhere in the neighbourhood, and consulted their *Kodangi* on the subject; he heartily joined in the

project of searching for the gems, and undertook to invoke the demon in charge, and point out the exact locality where the gems were lying. For this purpose he made an 'Anganam' composed of ingredients supposed to produce a magic varnish, which when rubbed on a betel-leaf would show the locality of the treasure, and allow of the *Kodangi* having a personal interview with his Satanic Highness. In these invocations it is always customary for the priests to go into fits, which, from being feigned, often become (unintentionally) real. In this case the *Kodangi* appears to have been unusually favoured by the Devil, who revealed to him all secrets, including the fact that the sacrifice of the firstborn male of a human being was the only means of attaining the coveted treasure. This revelation was so explained by the *Kodangi* to his three partners, 'one of whom having a firstborn son,' at once objected (blood was here stronger than avarice), and withdrew from the co-partnership. The other three were determined on making their fortunes (!) and again consulted the oracle, when the *Kodangi* insisted on a human sacrifice as the only mode of obtaining the riches. The same evening the firstborn of the objecting party was missing. He at once informed the Superintendent of the estate, and search was made for the boy. The police were informed, and Inspector Davids and two constables proceeded to the spot and apprehended the *Kodangi* and another on suspicion. Next day the poor boy was found in a bush with his throat cut, and every appearance of the blood having been taken to ensure 'Old Nick's' grace. One of the partners has disappeared, and he is supposed to have been the cut-throat. The case is adjourned till the apprehension of the absconding party. This shows a depravity amongst the Tamils not hitherto known to the planters.—*Ceylon Times.*

## HASSAN ABDAL

Hassan Abdal is a small town of less than 5,000 inhabitants, exactly halfway between Rawal Pindi and Atak (28 miles from each).

Prettily situated near the base of a range of hills, on the crest of which stands the white shrine of the Kandahari Saint, Hassan Abdula—or "Baba Wali," as he was generally called, it looks down upon a small fertile valley, through which meander several small rivulets shaded by the weeping willow, oleander, mulberry, and shisham trees. the source of these streams, which is within a few hundred yards of the town, is the sacred tank, full of "sacred fish," where the founder of the Sikh religion, Baba Nânak, is said to have rested during one of his long pilgrimages 300 years ago, and struck with the palm of his hand a rock whence immediately burst forth a capital stream which has never ceased to flow. Visitors are shown the impress on the north wall of the tank of his five fingers, and this gives rise to the name by which it is commonly known, *Punja Sahib.*

Sportmen must beware of fishing within a certain distance of this tank, or they will find themselves in difficulties, the fish in and around it being religiously dedicated to the memory of the pious Guru!

They will not however be disappointed by the prohibition, for within half a mile of the town runs a stream where excellent fishing can be obtained. By the side of this and other brooks water-cresses grow in great abundance. A few ferns are also to be found near the numerous flour-mills which are turned by the smaller channel or "kuttas" falling into the larger stream at the bottom of the valley. Following its course for three or four miles till it joins the river Haru, the sportsman will not fail to bring home a capital dish of young Marsir.

The ruins of some old Muhammadan buildings as well as the tomb of one of the Queens of the Emperor Jehângir, are to be seen at the north side close beneath the hill on which the shrine stands; for this little valley with its neighbouring garden of Wah was always a favourite resting-place of the Mughul Emperors during their annual migrations to Kashmir. So recently as A. D. 1809, the hills to the south formed the boundary of the Kabul dominions in this quarter of Hindustan. Wah derives its name from an exclamation said to have been uttered by the Emperor Akbar on first seeing its beauty, "Wah! Wah!"

From the Trunk Line a good broad road turns off near the town to Haripur and Abbottabad, distant 24 and 41 miles respectively. Travellers from the south would however find it preferable and shorter to turn off for Hazarah at Kala Serai, 8 miles south, near to which is the site of the ancient Taxila occupied by Alexander's army upwards of 2000 years ago.

Coins, pieces of sculpture, heads, and other relics have been occasionally disinterred from many feet beneath the surface, and the Lahor Museum now contains several figures in plaster of decided Greek origin, which were obtained from this site by the Civil authorities.—*Indian Public Opinion.*

# ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE RATNAVALI.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH. D.

DR. FITZ EDWARD HALL, in his introduction to the *Vásavadattá*,* has brought forward various arguments to show that the king named in the Ratnavalî as its author is not, as Professor H. H. Wilson supposed, King Śrîharshadeva of Kashmir, but Srîharsha of Kânoj, otherwise called Harshavardhana, and that, consequently, the play dates, not from the 12th, but from the 7th century A. D. The substance of his argumentation is this.

While several commentators on the *Kávyaprakása*, viz. Vaidyanatha, Nagesa, and Jayarâma,† state, with reference to Mammaṭa's words, "Dhâvaka and others received wealth from Śrîharsha and others," that Srîharsha or King Śrîharsha paid Dhâvaka highly for composing and selling to him the *Ratnávalí*, another scholiast, Śitikaṇṭha, substitutes Bâṇa's name for Dhâvaka's. There are strong reasons for supposing that Bâṇa rather than Dhâvaka is the correct reading in the passage from Mammaṭa, and the real name of the poet who wrote the *Ratnávalí* for Śrîharsha. For, firstly, no poet called Dhâvaka is mentioned in any of the 'collections of elegant extracts' accessible (to Dr. Hall), while Baṇa is well known. Secondly, a stanza from the *Ratnávalí* is found, word for word, in Baṇa's *Harshacharita*. It is certain that the verse is not an interpolation in either of the two works, and "downright plagiarism of one respectable author from another is unknown." Thirdly, we know for certain that Bâṇa was patronised by, and even an intimate friend of, a king called Śrîharsha, whose history he wrote in the *Harshacharita*. This Śrîharsha is the same as Harshavardhana, the cotemporary of Hiwen Thsang, who lived in the beginning of the 7th century.'

Though the force of Dr. Hall's arguments is undeniable, and I, for one, have always been inclined to accept his conclusion, still many 'conservatives'‡ will object to it, because tradition *seems* at least to be strong on the side of Dhâvaka, and weak on that of Baṇa. I say advisedly that it *seems* to be strong on Dhavaka's side, as I think it highly probable that the three Pandits adduced by Dr. Hall are not independent witnesses. They belong apparently to one and the same, viz. the Benares-Marâtha school. Besides, Dr. Hall has very justly pointed out how reckless modern Pandits are in repeating, without verification, statements or passages which they have read. It might further be urged that *dh* (ध) for (व) *v*, and वक (*vaka*) for ṇ (ण) are not uncommon clerical mistakes.

But I am now enabled to bring forward further direct traditional evidence tending to weaken the story about Dhâvaka. I have lately obtained a copy of a commentary on the *Mayúraśataka*, which states in plain terms that the *Ratnávalí* belongs to that Śrîharsha who was the patron and friend of Bâṇa. This work is the *Bhavabodhiní* of Madhusudana of the *Panchanada* family, son of Madhavabhaṭṭa and pupil of Balakṛishṇa, who wrote in Vikrama *saṁvat* 1711, or 1654 A.D. at Surat.§

The beginning of his account of the origin of the *Súryaśataka* runs thus:—

Atha vidvadvṛindavinodaya srîmadvṛiddhavadanâd viditaḥ śrîsûryaśatakaprâdurbhavaprasangastâvat prochyate | sa yathâ | mâlavarâjasyojjayinîrâjadhânîkasya kavijanamûrdhanyasya ratnâvalyâkhyanâṭikâkarturmahârâja-Śrîharshasya sabhyau mahâkavi paurastyau bâṇamayûrâv âstâm | tayormadhye mayûrabhaṭṭaḥ svasuro bâṇabhaṭṭaḥ kâdambarîgranthakartâ tasya jâmatâ | tayoḥ kavitva prasange parasparaṁ spardhâsît | bâṇastu pûrvam eva kadâchid râjasampa samâgato râjñâ mahatyâ sambhâvanayâ svanikaṭe sthâpitaḥ kuṭumbena sahojjayinyâṁ sthitaḥ | kiyatsvapi divaseshvatîteshu kavitvaprasange tatpadyâni śrutvâ mayûrabhaṭṭo râjñâ svadesâd âkâritaḥ | ityâdi.

* P. 15 *seq.*

† To these may be added Nrisiṁha Ṭhakkura, who says:—Dhâvakanâma kaviḥ svakṛitâṁ ratnâvalîṁ nâma nâṭikâṁ vikrîya śrîharshanâmno râjñaḥ sakâśâd bahutaraṁ dhanamavâpeti purâṇa vida udâharanti.

Nrisiṁha quotes Nâgeśa and can hardly be called an independent witness.

‡ This has actually been done by Maheśchandra, the Calcutta editor of the *Kávyaprakása*; see Weber, *Ind. Streifen*, I. 357.

§ The MS. in my hands is a copy of that mentioned in my catalogue of MSS. from Gujarât No. II. p. 64, no. 140

"Now, for the amusement of the learned, the account of the composition of the illustrious '*Century addressed to the Sun*,' is narrated, as it has been learnt from the mouth of the illustrious ancients. It is as follows. Two eastern poets, called Bana and Mayûra, lived at the court of Maharaja Sriharsha, the chief of poets, the composer of the Natikâ called *Ratnâvali*, who was lord of Malava and whose capital was Ujjain. Amongst them Mayurabhatta was the father-in-law, and Banabhatta, the author of the *Kâdambari*, was his son-in-law. They were rivals in poetry. But Banabhatta had before, at some time or other, approached the king, had been honourably settled near him, and dwelt with his family in Ujjain. After the lapse of some time the king heard, on the occasion of a poetical recital, some verses of Mayurabhatta and called him from his country," etc.

The remainder of the story agrees with the extract from an anonymous commentary on the *Bhaktâmarastotra*, adduced by Dr. Hall, *Vâsavadatta* p. 8, and narrates how, in punishment of a licentious description of his daughter's charms, Mayura became a leper and was cured by the Sun after composing a century of stanzas addressed to that deity. No mention, however, is made of the Jaina Sûri Manatunga, who plays so great a part in the account of the commentary on the *Bhaktâmara*.

Madhusudana's account, 'learnt from the mouth of the illustrious ancients,' and written down a thousand years after Harshavardhana's and Bâṇa's times, of course cannot claim any higher authority than any other of the thousand and one literary anecdotes which delight the Pandits of our days. It contains undoubtedly some grains of truth, as it associates Sriharsha with Bana and Mayura. It is probably inaccurate in making Ujjain Sriharsha's capital. For though, according to the *Harshacharita*, Rajyavardhana, Śrîharsha's elder brother, conquered Mâlava, neither that work nor Hiwen Thsang's account of his stay with Harsha shows that that monarch actually resided there. The importance of Madhusûdana's story lies in this, that it possesses an authority equal to that of the statement of Mammata's three commentators about Dhavaka and consequently tends to discredit the latter. The various reading given by Siti'kantha gains in importance, and Dr. Hall's independent arguments are strengthened

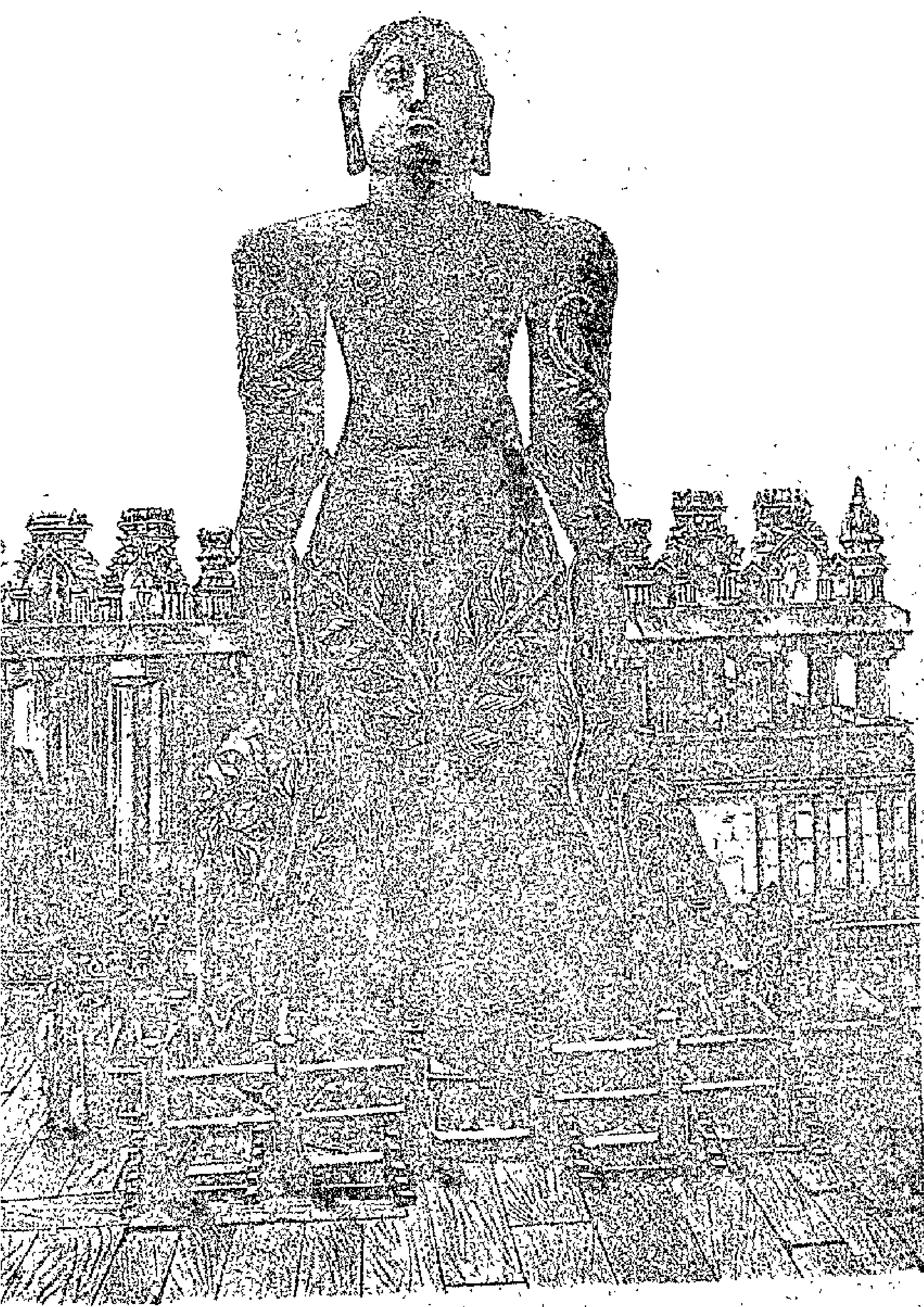
## NOTE ON A BUDDHIST CAVE AT BHAMER, KHANDESH

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C. S., KHANDESH.

The fort of Bhamer, in the Nizampur Peta of Khândesh, lies about 30 miles W. by N. of Dhulia as the crow flies, and consists of two steep rocks lying nearly at right angles to each other, and rising from the centre of a plateau which separates the valleys of the Kân and Burai rivers.

The hollow between them, facing south, is enclosed by two semicircular and concentric ramparts, within the lesser or innermost of which lies the *mâchî* or cantonment, while the outer protects the town or *kasba*. Each of these has but one gate, and there is no other approach but by a steep and narrow footpath between the two hills, called the Kasai Bari. The space thus enclosed is of about 100 acres, and seems to have formerly contained about a thousand houses besides several fine wells and cisterns; but ... are now about a dozen resident families, of them Bhills and Mhars. There are three tanks, one of which is sacred to Mahadeva, who has here a temple of considerable size and unknown antiquity. This tank and another are dry; the only one retaining any water is a little lake called the Raj Talao, which local tradition holds to be bottomless, and to have an underground communication with a spring called the Gokur Pani, about three miles away on the further or northern side of the fort.

There are several caves visible in the eastern and larger hill, and one in the western. This latter is a small plain vihâra, resembling some of those at Junnar; the first two in the eastern or castle hill are apparently mere cellars and reservoirs of the same class as those at Lalling near Dhulia, and probably of no great antiquity; but on entering the third, above the doors of which I noticed some carving, I was surprised and delighted to find myself in a vihara much resembling, but for its small size, some of those at Ajaṇṭâ. I had, unfortunately, no means of measurement with me; and the



STATUE OF COMATEŚVARA AT ŚRAVANA BELGOLA.

caves are too full of water and debris to admit of pacing, but I estimate the length of the veranda at about fifty feet, and it is five deep. This veranda terminates at each end in a cell, and communicates by three doors ornamented with scrollwork, with as many square caves. These have no inner communication. The roofs are supported by pillars about eight feet high, hewn in the living rock, of a pattern very like what I have seen at Ajantâ. About one-third of the pillar is square (the corners terminating in a sort of leaf), surmounted by an octagonal band, as this in its turn is by a circular one; and then the same arrangement is repeated: from the base of the last circle a triangle rises into the capital. The ceiling is crossed by broad joists intersecting at right angles at, and between, the pillars. I failed to detect any image or inscription, or any sign of plaster or painting, but I had no light and my inspection was necessarily brief. The westernmost cave opens by a hole 6 inches square into a large pit or cistern, which the villagers say was a dungeon; and this hole was used to feed the prisoners through. The pit is about fifty feet long by thirty wide, deep, and open at the top along the whole of one side, but there are no steps down into it. I should think it was originally made to hold water, which is bad and scarce on the rock; but it may afterwards have been used as related. There is another cave on this southern side of the hill, and three or four on the northern; but they are all of the same class as those first entered. I know of no other Buddhist cave within sixty miles.

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# ŚRÂVANA BELLIGOLA.

BY CAPT. J. S. F. MACKENZIE, MAISUR COMMISSION.

Five miles from Chenraipatam, in the Hassan District, Maisur, is the small town of Śrâvana Belligola, famous for its colossal statue of the Jaina god Gomateśvara. The town lies between two rocky hills, and is but a mean collection of houses whose inhabitants gain a precarious living by working in brass and copper. The larger of the two hills is crowned by the statue, 56½ feet high, and cut out of one solid block of gneiss. It is a striking object and can be seen for miles. The nude figure of the god differs in no way, except in size, from the other statues of the same god which are to be found, now no longer revered, here and there throughout the district. High square shoulders, curly hair, flat nose, thick lips, and small waist, are here faithfully, but on a large scale, represented.

Once in twenty years the great ceremony of washing the god is performed. The last occasion was in the early part of June 1871. To perform the ceremony a platform is erected. Mr. Scandon, who happened to be on the spot, took advantage of this to measure the different parts. Unfortunately before he could complete the work some of the priests interfered. This is, I believe, the first and only time such measurements were taken. Those now given may be relied on as correct.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Total height to the bottom of the ear ... | 50 | 0 |
| From the bottom of the ear to the crown of the head (not measured), about ... | 6 | 6 |
| Length of the foot .......................... | 9 | 0 |
| Breadth across the front of the foot ...... | 4 | 6 |
| Length of the great toe ..................... | 2 | 9 |
| Half girth at the instep ..................... | 6 | 4 |
| ,, of the thigh ..................... | 10 | 0 |
| From the hip to the ear ...................... | 24 | 6 |
| ,, coccyx to the ear ............... | 20 | 0 |
| Breadth across the pelvis .................. | 13 | 0 |
| ,, at the waist ......................... | 10 | 0 |
| From the waist and elbow to the ear ... | 17 | 0 |
| ,, armpit to the ear ................ | 7 | 0 |
| Breadth across the shoulders.............. | 26 | 0 |
| From the base of the neck to the ear ... | 2 | 6 |
| Length of the forefinger...................... | 3 | 6 |
| ,, middle finger ................ | 5 | 3 |
| ,, 3rd finger..................... | 4 | 7 |
| ,, 4th finger .................... | 2 | 8 |

The statue is surrounded with buildings, which prevent the full figure being seen until one is close up to it. This of course destroys the general effect, but the head and shoulders as viewed from the opposite hill impresses one with a strange feeling of awe. Calmly gazing away into space, the statue fully realises the idea of perfect repose which the sculptor aimed at. One of the local legends has it that Ma-

ya, the carpenter of the giants, at Râvana's request, was the sculptor.

In the name Śrâvana Belligola is crystallized a story of bygone days. "Châmundarâya, after having established the worship of this image, became proud and elated at placing this god, by his own authority, at so vast an expense of money and labour. Soon after this, when he performed, in honour of the god, the ceremony of Panchâmrita Snâna (or washing the image with five liquids—milk, curds, butter, honey, and sugar), vast quantities of these things were expended in many hundred pots, but, through the wonderful power of the god, the liquor descended no lower than the navel, to check the pride and vanity of the worshipper. Châmundarâya, not knowing the cause, was filled with grief that his intention was frustrated of washing the image completely with this ablution. While he was in this situation, the celestial nymph Padmâvatî, by order of the god, having transformed herself into the likeness of an aged poor woman, appeared, holding in her hand the five *amritas* in a *Belliyagola* (or small silver pot) for washing the statue, and signified her intention to Châmundarâya, who laughed at the absurdity of this proposal for accomplishing what it had not been in his power to effect Out of curiosity, however, he permitted her to attempt it: when, to the great surprise of the beholders, she washed the image with the liquor brought in the little silver vase. Châmundarâya, repenting of his sinful arrogance, performed a second time, with profound respect, his ablution, on which they had formerly wasted so much valuable liquids, and washed completely the body of the image.

"From that time this place is named after the silver vase (or *Belliyagola*) which was held in *Padmâvatî's* hand. *Śrâvana* (śrâmana) is the title of a Jain Sannyasî, and as this place is the principal residence of these Sannyasis the people call it *Śrâvana Belligola*."*

It is difficult to fix the date of the statue. If the inscription exists which is referred to in the following extract from H. H. Wilson's Works (Vol I. p. 332), then would the date be B.C. 50 at least, for that is the year when the king granted the land:—

"The conclusions founded on traditionary or historical records are fully supported by the testimony of monuments and inscriptions, the latter of which are exceedingly numerous in the South and West of India. Most of these are very modern—none are earlier than the ninth century. An exception is said to exist in an inscription on a rock at Belligola, recording a grant of land by Châmunda Râya to the shrine of Gomatîśvara, in the year 600 of the Kali age, meaning the Kali of the Jains, which began three years after the death of Varddhamâna. This inscription, therefore, if it exists, was written about fifty or sixty years before the Christian era. But it is not clear that any such record is in existence, the fact resting on the oral testimony of the head Pontiff at Belligola: even if it be legible on the face of the rock it is of questionable authenticity, as it is perfectly solitary, and no other document of like antiquity has been met with."

The following account of the history of this place is taken from the local "Sthala Purâṇa":—

"Châmunda Râja, king of Dakshina Madurâ, and the descendant of Jaina Kshettri Pâṇḍu, set out with his family, escorted by an army of infantry, cavalry, elephants, and chariots, with a view of visiting the god Gomateśvara (500 *bilu* high) at Pâdanâ-purâ, and the 1254 other gods in the smaller temples scattered throughout the surrounding country. *En route* he came to Śrâvana Belligolâ Kshettra, having heard a good deal about the god Gomateśvara (18 *bilu* high). He repaired the ruined temples, and among other ceremonies had that of sprinkling the god performed. He appointed Siddhântâchârya as Guru of the *math*, to conduct the daily, monthly, annual, and other processions. He established in the *math* a *chattram* where food, medicine, and education were provided for pilgrims. He appointed men of his caste to receive with due respect the devotees and pilgrims of all three castes who should resort to the place from Dehli, Kanakadri Svitapura Sudhâpura, Pâpâpuri, Champâpuri Sammidagiri Ujjayantagiri, Jayanagara, &c. For this purpose certain villages giving an annual revenue of 196,000 pagodas, were made over to the temple. He fixed *śilâ śâsanas* in the four directions in the Chaitra month of the year Vibhava—605 of Kaliyuga, or the 1215th year after the death of Vardhamânasvâmi. This endowment was maintained by his descendants for 109 years.

* *As. Res.*, vol. IX. p. 260; and conf. Buchanan, *Mysore, &c.* vol. III. p. 410.—ED.

"Afterwards from the Śaka year 444, Prajotpatti Pându Râya and his descendants appointed Kundâchârya to manage the affairs of the temple, and continued the charitable endowments for 90 years.

"Again from Śaka year 564, one Vîrapândya Râya and his son appointed Siddhântâchârya to the temple for 80 years. They also gave *inâm* lands to the temple.

"Then followed Kuna Pându Râya, who appointed Amâlakîrti Âchârya to the temple. This king however changed his religion and destroyed the charities established by his predecessors. He and his family were ruined.

"At this time certain princes belonging to the family of Châmunda Râya who governed the provinces of Halebidu, Bilikere, Kâdanahalli, Ankanahalli, &c., built small temples at Gômatapura Bilukere, Bilihalli. Halebidu, and set up an image Gômatesvara, the height of two men, on the hill of Gômatapura, and gave for the maintenance of worship the villages called Śrâvanahalli, Jinnahalli, Gômatapura, and Pâdenahalli. They also, in order that the discontinued worship at Śrâvana Belligola might be renewed and continued, gave eight other villages, and appointed Amâlakîrti Âchârya to manage the affairs. This they continued for 67 years.

"From the Śaka year 777, Bhâva, this country fell into the hands of the Hayasâla Belâlâ kings who were Jaina Kshatriyâs ruling over the country of Hayasâla. Adityâ, a descendant of this house, having heard of the excellence of the place and the beauty of the idol, paid a visit to it, and had the ceremony of sprinkling the god performed. He gave villages (out of those that had been given by Châmunda Râya) yielding a revenue of 96,000 pagodas, and appointed Sômânandyâcharyâ to carry out the worship properly.

"Afterwards, Amâlakirti Belâla made over to the temple lands yielding 5,000 pagodas, and appointed Tridâmavîbudhânandyâchârya as head of the math. This continued for 49 years.

"Another of the Belâla kings, named Ange Râja, continued the same for 56 years, and appointed Prabhâchandrasiddhântâchârya to manage the affairs. After this Pratâpa Belâla nominated Gunâchandrâchârya to manage the affairs. This continued for 64 years.

"Udyâditya Belâla, Vîra Belâla, and Gangârâya Belâla each continued the worship by granting lands yielding 5,000 pagodas. Bettavardhana Belâla gave an *inâm* of land yielding 50,000, and continued the worship for 31 years under the management of Shubhâchandrâchârya.

"In the Śaka year 1039, Durmukhi, Bettavardhana, under the taunts of his favourite concubine and the arguments of Râmânujâchârya, received 'Taptamudra' (mark of the religion) and thus became a convert to the Vaishnava religion. He then changed his name to Vishnuvardhana, and, with a bitter hatred against this (Jaina) religion, discontinued or abolished all the *inâms*, destroyed 790 Basti temples and set up Pancha Nârâyanas, viz.—Chenniga Nârâyana at Belûra, Kirti Nârâyana at Talakâdu, Vijaya Nârâyana at Vijayapura, Vîranârâyana at Gadugu, and Lakshmi Nârâyana at Haradanahalli, transferring to these all the 'svâstyâs' or *inâms* that had been formerly given to the Basti temples. He built the tank at Tondamirû from the stones of the destroyed Basti temples, and called it Tirumala Sâgara. Having abolished different kinds of Jaina inâms, viz:—'Agraharas,' 'Punarvarga svâstyâs,' 'Mannias,' &c., he established below this tank Tirumalasâgara *Chatter* for the feeding of Râmânujakûta (assembly of Râmânuja sects). He gave the name of Melukôta and Tirunârâyanapura to the village of Dodda Garuganahalli, constructed several temples and places, and caused steps to be erected to the hill of Melukôta. After he had continued in this course for some time, when unable to bear the 'devadrôha,' or sin against the gods, the earth opened, and all the villages and lands near Aduguru in the Belûru Tâluka were swallowed up. When the news thereof reached the king Vishnuvardhana, he called together his wise men and inquired of them why this thing had come to pass. The learned men told him it was because of the number of Jaina temples he had destroyed. He then called together all castes of people and offered Sânti (sacrifice) and worship to the gods, but all in vain. The people of the other sects said that a remedy should be sought for from the Jainas alone. But the king, having changed his religion, would not ask the Jainas for the remedy. He tried again to remove the evil by going to great expense, but it was of no use. He failed again. Thinking that further delay would cause the ruin of their country, all the people went to the king, who, with

his *guru*, Râmânujyâchârya, proceeded to Belligola and earnestly requested the Jaina priest Shubhâchandrâchârya to try and find a remedy. The priest replied, 'Why are you come unto me? Are there not men of other religions? Go unto them.' Then the people of other religions and the king said, 'We have tried but are unable to effect a remedy.' They promised if he would do this thing for them, then would they give all their Birudu (insignia) to him, restore the province of 12,000 (pagodas), and continue the Dharma (worship) undisturbedly. They also said they would cause 'Silâ Sâsanas' to be erected to this effect. Upon this the priest consented and caused certain kinds of worship and penances to be performed. He then sent for 108 white pumpkins, filled them with *mantrams* or sacred words, and threw one every day into the gap, which gradually filled up until only half a pumpkin remained. Then the people of other religions gave over their insignia to the priest and got Silâ Sâsanas made, giving the priest the title of 'Chârukirtipanditâchârya.' The particulars of these circumstances are to be found in the Adagûrû temple. The land still bears the mark. Traditions of the place handed down from father to son corroborate the above. Sâsanas were then erected, one at Belligola and one at Melukota, to the effect that both the Râmânujya and Jaina sects should henceforward act friendly with each other, that in case of worship, &c. at Belligola being interrupted, the Vaishnavas should maintain it by a subscription of one fanam per house, and *vice versa*. Inâms of 12,000 pagodas in land were given, and Chârukirtipanditâchârya was entrusted with the management of the affairs of the temple.

"After some time when the people of Dehli invaded Southern India and took possession of it, Maisur also fell into their hands, and the Dharma or Inâms were discontinued in the year Dhâtû, 1259 of the era. This province then became subject to the kingdom of Anegundi. Its king, Bukkurâya, set out to inspect his newly acquired province, and on arriving at Belligola saw the statue and granted an inâm of 3,000 pagodas for the worship, &c. His son Sangama Râya and grandson Harihara Râya followed his example and appointed Chârukirtipanditâchârya to the management of the affairs. Twelve of the descendants of Harihara Râya, : Pratâpa Râmadêva Râya, his son Pratâpa Deva Râya, his son Mallikâyima Râya, and others who ruled the country as tributary to Dehli, also continued, as their ancestor Harihara Râya, giving an inâm of 3,000 pagodas. After these, Krishna Râya, a natural son of one of the above kings, and his son Sîranga Râya and others, eleven descendants, who ruled at Sîrangapatam *up to the year Saumya, 1531 of the Saka era*, contributed an inâm of 1,000 pagodas.

"In the year Sâdhârana or 1532, Râja Vadiyar, sovereign of Maisur, took possession of Sîrangapatam. He ruled for eight years, during which he contributed an inâm of 1,000 pagodas as Sîranga Râya. His son and successor was Narasarâja. His son *Châmarâja* Vadiyar ascended the throne in the year of the Kaliyug 1540 and ruled for twelve years. In Sukla, or 1550, Châmarâja Vadiyar succeeded and ruled the country for eight years. Then Imâdirâja Vadiyar came to the throne, and governed the country for only two years. In Pramâdi or 1562, Kanthirava Narasarâja Vadiyar succeeded and ruled for twelve years. All these five sovereigns continued for 51 years to allow the temple an inâm land of 1,000 pagodas. In the year Sârvari 1582, Doda Devarâja Vadiyar succeeded to the Maisur throne, and during his administration of fourteen years, having heard of the excellence of Gômatesvara, he paid a visit to Belligola on the 10th of the moon's increase in the Pushya month of the year Paridhâvi 1595, gave away large sums of money, granted the village of Madane to the *math* of Chârukirtipanditâchârya, besides continuing the inâm land of 1,000 pagodas granted by his predecessors. In the year Ananda 1597, Chikkadevarâja Vadiyar succeeded. He subdued the countries of Kôrala, &c. and ruled with vigour for thirty-one years. He also visited Belligola, had the ceremony 'Mastakâbhishikâ' performed, constructed a pond called Kalyâni, with a pyramidal tower and a prakâra or wall round it, and repaired several 'Chaityalayas' or Jaina temples, besides continuing the inâms of 1,000 pagodas and the village of Madane to the *math*. In Pârthiva, 1627, Kanthirâva Râja, son of Chikka Deva Râja, ruled the country for eight years, during which time both the village of Madane and the 1,000 pagodas inâm land were still continued to the *math*, whose affairs were presided over by the priest Chârukirtipanditâchârya. Doddakrishna Râja Vadiyar ascended the throne in

Vijaya or 1636 and reigned for thirteen years. He also visited Belligola, and after causing 'Mastakâbhishika' and worship to be performed to the deity, and effecting repairs, granted the village of Kabbal in addition to Madane, and that of 1,000 pagodas, and appointed Chârukirtipanditâchârya to the management of the temple affairs. On the accession of Chamarâja of Chikkanahalli in the year Virôdhikrit or 1651, he ruled only for three years. After him Imâdikrishna Râja Vadiyar succeeded in the year Ananda or 1658, and during the 30 years of his reign he continued the charity granted by his predecessors, viz. land of 1,000 pagodas and the two villages Madane and Kabbal; he died in the year Vijaya or 1688. His successor was Bettada Châmarâja Vadiyar, during whose reign Haidar acquired influence, and the charity was continued as before, viz. 1,000 pagodas land and the two villages to the *math*. In the year Visvâvasu, 1708, Tipu attached all '*Devâdâyâs*' and '*Brahmadâyâs*,' *i. e.* inâms granted to temples and Brahmans, which included the lands and villages granted to this temple: then the English under General Wellesley and Kâlis captured Śrîrangapatam on the 30th or new-moon day of Chaitrâ Bahulâ of the year Siddhârti 1721, and restored Maisur to His Highness the Mahârâja Krishna Vadiyar* on Sunday the 13th of Jeshta Bahulâ of the year Siddhârti, and appointed Purnia as Divân, and they remained in Śrîrangapatam."

## LEGEND OF THE MENHIRS OF MAISUR.

BY V. N. NARASIMMIYENGAR, BANGALUR.

Under this head Captain J. S. F. Mackenzie mentions the Vyâsana Tolu stones (Vyâsa's arm) at page 49 of the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. II. I have met with several of these stones standing isolated near the town of Anantapûr in the Nagar Division. Indeed the locality bristles with interesting archæological remains. In the daily round of Vaishnavâ religious rites, a śloka is repeated commemorating the incident to the truth of which these imperishable stone monuments bear testimony. It runs as follows:—

Satyam Śatyam Punas Satyam,
Udhdhritya bhujamuchyatê.
Vêdâ chchâstram param nâsti,
Nadaivam kêśavât param.

"It is declared (by Vyâsa) with arm aloft that there is no other śastra but the *Veda*, and no god but *Keśava* (Vishṇu). This is the truth over and over again."

The legend concerning Vyâsa losing his arm for his stedfast belief, and his alleged recantation, seems to have been engrafted upon the original story, by the Lingâyats, who are known as uncompromising foes of the Vaishṇavas. It is exactly like the legend in which one of the *Chôla* or *Paṇḍya* kings, noted for his bigotry, is said to have coerced a Vaishṇava sage into signing a declaration admitting Śiva's supremacy in the world of the gods. The declaration was in this form:—

Sivât parataram nâsti:
There is none above Śiva.

The equally stubborn Vaishnavâ, notwithstanding the horrible penalty which hung over him like the sword of Damocles, viz. deprivation of sight, ventured to add to the declaration the line—

Drôna masti tatah param,
The measure Drôna is larger than that called Siva,

The allusion being a play upon the word Sivam, which means a small measure.

These legends may be accepted for what they are worth as indicating the bitter hostility between the rival sects of Saivâs and Vaishnavâs.

* With the chronology here given, compare the list in Prinsep, *Useful Tables* (Thomas's ed.) pp. 281-2; see also Buchanan, *Mysore*, vol. III. p. 408, et passim.—ED.

# PAPERS ON SATRUNJAYA AND THE JAINS.

BY THE EDITOR.

## II.—*The Tîrthankaras or Jinas*

*Continued from page 17.*

The Jaina Tîrthankaras or Arhantas —images of one or more of whom figure in every temple—are twenty-four in number, each having his separate *chinha* or cognizance, usually placed under the image, and many of them distinguished by the colour of their complexion, —sixteen being yellow, two red, two white, two blue, and two black. In the temples, however, the images are generally of white marble, with eyes made of silver and overlaid with pieces of glass. The following is a list of these saints, with the principal particulars related of each:—

1. RISHABHANÂTHA or ÂDINÂTHA, called also Nâbheya, Yugâdîśa, Yugâdijina, Ṛishabha Deva, Kauśalika, Adîśvâra, and Vṛishabha Sena, of the race of Ikshwâku, was the son of Nâbhi by Maru-devî. In the *Adi Purâṇa*, a Jaina compilation ascribed to Jinasena Âchârya, who is said to have lived in the reign of Vikramâditya, but who was probably much later,—Gautama the disciple of Mahâvîra relates to Srenika the king, the birth and actions of Vṛishabha.

According to this authority, "Vṛishabha was first born as Mahâbala Chakravartti; being instructed in the Jaina doctrines, he was next born in the second heaven as Lalitânga Deva. He was next born as Vajrajangha, son of Vajrabâhu, king of Utpala Kata, a city on the Sitodâ, one of the rivers of Mahâmeru. Having in this existence given food to a Jaina mendicant, he was born as a teacher of that faith named Arya. From thence he returned to the second heaven as Swayamprabha deva, and was again born a prince, the son of the Râja of Sasinimahânagara, by the name of Suvedî. He again became a divinity as Achyutendra, presiding over the 16th Swarga or heaven. He was then born as Vajranâbhi, son of Vajrasena, king of Pundarikininagara; having obtained great purity, he was born as Sarvârthasiddhi Deva, in a part of the upper world above the 16th heaven, and only twelve yôjanas from the site of Moksha or final liberation. His next birth was as Vṛishabha the Tirthankara, the son of Nâbhi by Maru Devî, king and queen of Saketanagar. His incarnation was announced by the fall, morning and evening for six months, of three hundred and fifty millions of precious stones. The goddesses Śrî, Krî, Dhriti, Kirttî, Budhi, and Lakshmi, were sent by Devendra to wait on Maru devi, during her pregnancy, and feed her with the food of the *Kalpa*, or all-bestowing tree of heaven, and at his birth. Devendra and all the inhabitants of every division of the universe came to render homage. *Devendra bathed the child with the contents* of the tree of milk, and gave him the name of Vṛishabha."*

He is represented as of yellow or golden complexion; has the bull (*Vrisha*) for his *chinha* or cognizance, Chakreśvarî for his *śâsanadevî*. According to the commentator of the Kalpa Sûtra, he was born at Kôśala or Ayôdhyâ, towards the end of the third age. He was the first king (*Prathama Râjâ*), first anchoret (*Prathama Bhikshâkara*), and first saint (*Prathama Jina* and *Prathama Tîrthankara*). His stature, it is pretended, was 500 poles (*dhanush*); and when he was inaugurated king his age was 2,000,000 great years (*purva varsha*). He reigned 6,300,000 years; and then resigning the empire to his sons he withdrew to a state of abstract purity: and having spent 100,000 years more in passing through the various stages of austerity and sanctity, he attained *nirvâna* on a mountain named Ashṭâpada, according to Hemachandra the same as Kailâsa, others say on Śatruñjaya, 3 years 8½ months before the end of the third age. Besides his children by other wives, Ṛishabha had twins by each of his wives Sumangalâ and Sunandâ,—by the former a son Bharata the first *Chakravartti*†—and a daughter Brâhmî; by the latter a second son Bâhubali, and Sundarî a daughter. The saint had altogether a hundred children, for whose instruction he invented all

* Wilson, *Mackenzie Coll.* Vol. I pp 144, 145.

† *Satruñjaya Mâhâtmya*, I 60. The twelve Chakravarttis are: Bharata Ârshabhi; Maghavan, son of Vijaya; Sanatkumâra, son of Aśvasena; Śânti, Kunthu, and Ara, —the 16th, 17th, and 18th Jinas; Sagara, the son of Sumitra; Subhûma called Kârtavirya; Padma, son of Padmôttara; Harishena of Hari; Jaya of Vijaya; and Brahmadatta of Brahme;—all of the race of Ikshwâku —Colebrooke, *Essays*, Vol. II. 217; *Asiat. Res.*, Vol. IX. p 315

the arts and sciences. Thus he taught dramatic poetry to Bharata, grammar to Brahmî, and arithmetic to Sundarî. It may be noticed that Rishabha and his father and son occur in the Purâṇic lists, where Nâbhi is the son of Agnîdra king of Jambudvîpa son of Priyavrata, king of Antarveda. The kings of various other nations also derived their descent from him.* The Mâhâtmya says Vimalavâhana was the first of the ancestral fathers. His son was Chakshushmâṅa, father of Abhichandra, whose son Prasenajita was the father of Marudeva, also called Nâbhi; and at the end of the third spoke of the *Avasarpinî* age, the Lord of the World, through his omnipotence, took birth in the womb of Nâbhi's wife Marudevî, under the name of Rishabha, or Vrishabhasena. It is Rishabha's image erected by Bâhubali that imparts its peculiar sanctity to Śatruñjaya.†

2. AJITANATHA was son of Jitaśâtru by Vijayâ; of the same race and complexion as the first; he was also a native of Ayôdhyâ, and has an elephant (*gaja*) for his cognizance, and Ajitabalâ as his Sâsana devî. His stature was 450 poles, and he lived 7,200,000 great years. His *nirvâṇa* took place on on Samet Śikhar or Mount Pârśvanâtha in Western Bengal, in the fourth age, when fifty *lâkhs* of *krôrs* of oceans of years ‡ had elapsed out of the tenth *krôr* of *krôrs*.

3. ŚAMBHAVA was son of Jitâri by Senâ: of the same race and complexion as Rishabha; his cognizance a horse (*aśva*); his Śâsana—Duritârî; his height 400 poles: he lived 6,000,000 years; he was born at Sâwanta, and attained *moksha* on Pârśvanâtha hill, thirty *lâkhs* of *krôrs* of *sâgaras* after Ajita.

4. ABHINANDANA, the son of Sambara by Siddhârthâ, is also of yellow complexion: he has an ape (*plavaga*) for his characteristic symbol; and Kâlikâ is the goddess who serves him. His stature was 300 poles, and his age 5,000,000 years; he was born at Ayodhyâ, and his *nirvâṇa* took place on Samêt Śikhar, ten *lâkhs* of *krôrs* of *sâgaras* of years after the preceding.

5. SUMATI, son§ of Megha and Mañgalâ, also of yellow complexion, has a curlew (*krauñcha*) for his cognizance and Mahâkâlî for his Devî. He was born at Ayodhyâ, lived 4,000,000 years, and his *moksha* occurred also at Samet Śikhar, nine *lâkhs* of *krôrs* of *sâgaras* after the fourth Jina.

6. PADMAPRABHÂ was son of Śrîdhara by Susîmâ; born at Kausambhî, of the same race as the preceding, but of red complexion. His mark is the lotos (*abja*), and his Devî is Śyâmâ. His height was 200 poles, and his age 3,000,000 years. His death took place also on Samet Śikhar 90,000 *krôrs* of *sâgaras* after the fifth Jina.

7. SUPARŚVA was the son of Pratishṭha by Prithvî, born at Benares, of the same line as the preceding and of golden colour; his cognizance is the figure called *Swastika*¶ in Sanskrit, and *Sâtya* in Gujarâti. His Devî was Śântâ, and he lived 2,000,000 years, his *nirvâṇa* on Samet Śikhar being dated 9,000 *krôrs* of *sâgaras* after the preceding.



8. CHANDRAPRABHÂ was son of Mahâsena by Lakshmaṇâ, and was born at Chandripur; of the race of Ikshwâku, but of fair or white complexion: his sign is the moon (*śaśi*), and his devî, Bhṛikuti: his height was 150 poles; and he lived 1,000,000 years: and his entrance

* Prinsep, *Usef. Tab.*, p. 232 n., p. 233; also Wilson, *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, pp. 162, 163, and note on p. 164.

† Weber, *über das Çatruñjaya Mâhâtmyam*, pp. 26, 27.

‡ "In the second chapter, [of Hemâchandra's Vocabulary,] which relates to the heavens and the gods, &c., the author, speaking of time, observes that it is distinguished into Avasarpinî and Utsarpinî, adding that the whole period is completed by twenty *kôtis* of *kôtis* of *sâgaras*, or 2,000,000,000,000,000 oceans of years. I do not find that he anywhere explains the space of time denominated *sâgara* or ocean. But I understand it to be an extravagant estimate of time, which would elapse before a vast cavity filled with chopped hairs could be emptied, at the rate of one piece of hair in a century: the time requisite to empty such a cavity, measured by a *yôjana* every way, is a *palya*; and that repeated ten *kôtis* of *kôtis* [or 1,000,000,000,000,000] of times is a *sâgara*."—Colebrooke, *Essays* (1837), Vol. II. p. 216; *Asiat. Researches*, Vol. IX. pp. 313, 314.

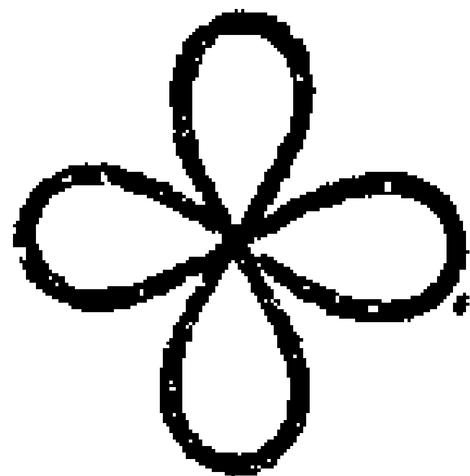
§ Conf. Stevenson, *Kalpa Sûtra*, p. i.; Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*. pp. 337, 339; Hodgson's *Illustrations*, p. 48, No. 82.

¶ The sectaries of the mystic cross or *Swastika*, or 'doctors of reason,' were the followers of the Pon religion, which prevailed in Tibet till the general introduction of Budhism in the ninth century. Their doctrine, named *Bon gnitsius*, has still professors in *Kham yul* or Lower Tibet. Their founder was *Chenrabs*. Some believe the doctrine to have been introduced from China, and consider it identical with the discipline of Lao-tse. Its followers are called *Tao sse* in Chinese, and in the time of Fa Hian appear to have existed also in India. The *Tao sse* named *Ai* is in Sanskrit *Tapasvi*, and is stated to have visited the infant Buddha and drawn his horoscope. Conf. Remusat *Foe Kuoe Ki*, pp. 208, 230, 231; Laidlay, *Pilgrimage of Fa Hian*, pp. 200, 218; *Asiat. Res.* vol. ii. p. 383; Csoma de Körös, *Dictionary of the Tibetan Language*, pp. 36, 94; Sykes, *Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* pp. 310, 331; or *Notes on the State of Ancient India*, pp. 64 and 88.

into *moksha* or beatitude, took place 900 *krôrs* of *sâgaras* later than the seventh Tirthaṅkara.

9. PUSHPADANTA, also named Suvida, was the son of Supriya* by Râmâ: he was born at Kakendrapurî, of the same race and complexion with the last; his *mark is a makara* or crocodile, and his Devî is Sutârakâ. His stature was 100 poles, and his life lasted 200,000 years. He was deified on Samet Śikhar ninety *krôrs* of *sâgaras* after Chandraprabhâ.

10. ŚÎTALA, the son of Dridharatha by Nandâ, was born at Bhadalpur; of the same race, and with a golden complexion; his sign is the mark called *Śrîvatsa*, and his Śâsanadevî—Aśokâ. His stature was ninety poles, and his life 100,000 great years; his deification on Samet Śikhar dates nine *krôrs* of *sâgaras* later than the preceding.



11. ŚREYANŚA, or ŚRI ANŚANÂTHA, was the son of Vishṇu by Vishṇâ; of the same race and complexion, born in Sindh, with a rhinoceros (*khaḍgî*) for his cognizance. His devî was Mânavi. He was eighty poles in stature, and lived 8,400,000 common years, dying at Samet Śikhar more than a hundred *sâgaras* of years before the end of the fourth age.

12. VÂSÛPUJYA or VASUPÂDYA, or VASUPÛJYA SVÂMI was son of Vasupûjya by Jayâ; born at Champapuri, of the same race, with a red complexion, having a buffalo (*mahisha*) for his mark, and Chaṇḍâ for his devî. He was seventy poles high, lived 7,200,000 years, and attained *nirvâṇa* at Champapuri fifty-four *sâgaras* after the eleventh Jina.

13. VIMALA was son of Kritavarman by Syâmâ, was born at Kumpalapurî; of the same race and of yellow complexion. He has a boar (*śûkara*) for his characteristic, and Viditâ was his devî; he was sixty poles high, lived 6,000,000 years, and was deified on Samet Śikhar thirty *sâgaras* later than the twelfth Jina.

14. ANANTA, or ANANTAJITA, was son of Siṅhasena by Suyaśâ or Jayasyâmâ, and born at Ayodhyâ. His sign is a falcon (*śyena*); his Śâsana Devî was Aṅkuśâ; his height was fifty poles, the length of his life 3,000,000 years, and his death nine *sâgaras* after the preceding. The following translation from the *Châmunda Râya Purâṇa* respecting him may be given as a specimen of the legendary lives of these hierarchs:—

"Padmaratha the Arusu of Arishtapura, of Airâvata Kshetra, in the Mudana Mandira (or Eastern Meru) in the Dhata Kishanda Dvîpa, receiving religious instructions from Svayamprabhâ Jina, he became disgusted with the world, and transferring the kingdom to his son Ghanaratha, he adopted a penitential life, read through the eleven *Angas*, and contemplated the sixteen *Bhâvanas* or meditations, he acquired the quality fitting him for becoming a *Tirthaṅkar*: pursuing his religious penance, he quitted his body, and was born in the *Achyuta Kalpa* in the *Pushpottara Vimâna* as Achyutendra, with a life of twenty-two *sagaras*, of the stature of thirty cubits, of subdued appetites, perfectly contented with his fate, with a knowledge penetrating as far as to the seventh lower world, he was enjoying the happiness of that world.

Afterwards Jayasyâma Devî, the consort of Siṁhasena Mahârâja, of the Kaśyapa Gotra, of the lineage of Ikshvâku, the ruler of Ayodhyâpura, in the Bharat Kshetra of Jambudvipa, on the 1st day of the month Kârtika, under the star Revati, about break of day, saw the sixteen dreams, and also that of the elephant, entering in at her mouth, which she mentioned to her consort, who was in Avadijnyâni, and getting the interpretations of them from him, she was happy, and Saudhermendra performing the happy ceremony of descending from heaven on earth, Achyutendra became impregnated in the womb of the Queen. At that time on the last *palla* of ten *sâgaras* of the term of Vimala Kirttakar, when virtue had faded one-third, he was born on the 12th of the dark half of the month Jyeshta, under the star Revati, in the Pushpa Yuga, and saw Dhermendra performing the happy worship of being born in the world, and as the new-born infant was born with Ananta Dnyâna, or illimitable wisdom, he called him Ananta Tirthaṅkar, and returned to his residence: his life was to continue for three millions of years, his stature 100 cubits, and his colour golden: his childhood comprised a period of seven hundred and fifty thousand years: his reign continued for fifteen hundred thousand, after which on a certain day seeing a meteor fall, and considering that this life would be dissolved in the same manner, he be-

* So Colebrooke,—Hemachandra has Sugriva,—*Abhidhana Chintâmaṇi*, 37 (ed. Boehtlingk and Rieu), p. 7.

came disgusted with the world, and Lokântika Deva gave him religious instruction, on which he transferred his kingdom to his son Arinjaya; getting into the conveyance called *Sâgaradatta*, he went to the Sayetthuka Vana, performing six fastings, in company with 1000 Princes, he adopted a penitential life on the 12th of the dark half of the month Jyeshta, in the evening under the star Revati, on which he acquired the fourth degree of knowledge, and on the next day went to Ayodhyapuri to beg, and Visshoka Nripa, of the colour of gold, granted alms, on which the five wonders were exhibited, and after 12 years had expired, in dumb contemplation, he obtained to the *Kevaladnyâna* under an Aswattha tree in the abovementioned garden, on the last day of the dark half of the month Chaitra, in the evening under the star Revati; Saudherma Indra performed the happy ceremony of becoming a Kevaladnyâni, and giving him the 1008 virtuous names, he returned.

He had 52 *Ganadharas* from Jayadhâma downwards.

1,000 Purvadharas.
39,000 Sikshakaras.
4,032 Avadijnyanis.
5,000 Kevalis.
8,000 Vicriurdis.
5,000 Manapariyagnyâni.
2,00,000 Vadis.
1,08,000 Aryakaras from Survasi downwards.
2,00,000 Sravanas.
4,00,000 Śrâvakas,
Devas and Devis, without number.
*Quadrupeds* and *birds* without number.

With all these, inculcating religious morals in the world for 12 years less than seven hundred and fifty thousand years, in Arya Kshetra, after which coming to Sumeru Parvat, and leaving his *Samopasaranam*, and in company with 500 *Munis* remaining in the *Prathama Yuga* for one month, on the first quarter of the night, of the last day of the dark half of month Chaitra, under the star Revati, Ananta Bhattâraka obtained beatitude and Saudherma Indra performed the *Pari Nirvâṇa Kalyâna Pujâ*, and dancing with happiness, he returned to his dwelling.

The Story of Suprabha the Baladeva and Purushottama the Vâsudeva, the descendants of Srimad Anantâ Tirthankar:—

Sushena, the king of Padmapura, in the Bharata Kshetra, in Jambudvipa, had 500 consorts: the state queen was called Priyânanda Devi, with whom he enjoyed every felicity. One day Chandrabhûshana, the Adhipati of Malaya deśa, coming to this city from motives of friendship, saw the queen and fell deeply in love with her, and made use of every stratagem and carried her away with him. The king (*Sushena*) became very much grieved at this misfortune, and said, I am really unfortunate, and have not performed any virtuous action: he then forsook the world, and after remaining some time thus, he went one day to Sreyâmsa Ganadhar, and obtained from him the state of an ascetic, and performed the penance of *Simhavikririta*, and wishing as the accomplishment of his penance, that he might be reborn in his next birth, with so much beauty that he might be admired by all who saw him, and that there should be none to oppose his authority: remaining for one month in this state and with this wish, he quitted his body, and was born in the *Sahasrâra Kalpa* as a god (*Deva*) and enjoyed every felicity there for 18 *sâgaras* of years.

Afterwards Mahâ Bala, the Arasu of Anandapura in the eastern hemisphere of Jambudvipa, becoming disgusted with the world went to Prajâpâlana Jaina, and obtained the rules of asceticism from him, and performed the penance of *Simhavikririta*, and in the perfect state of a *Sanyasi* quitting his earthly frame: he was born in the *Sahasrâra Kalpa*, the pleasures and happiness of which world he enjoyed for 18 *sâgaras* of years.

Soma Prabha Raja, having descended from the Mahendra Kalpa, ruled over Dvaravtipaṭaṇa, situated in the Bharata Kshetra in Jambudvipa, with a life of 42,000 years: his size was 90 yards in length, his State Queen was called Jayavati, who on a certain night dreamt an auspicious dream: on the Bhâdrapada Nakshatra, Mahâ Bala Cherra was born to her by the name of Suprabha, and to another of his consorts named Sitâ, Susena Cherra was born by the name of Parushottama, they were both surnamed Baladeva and Vâsudeva, the former was of a white colour, and the latter of a blue colour; they were each of the height of 50 yards, their lives were to last for five hundred thousand years, and they were ruling over the kingdom of their father.

In course of time Mâdhu Kaitabha, the king of Varânasi Patana in the Kâsi Deśa, sent word to them to become tributary to him, but they being unwilling to pay tribute, drove away the ambassadors, whose sovereign on hearing of the indignity they had suffered, assembled his army and came to give them battle: on meeting he flung his *chakra* at Purushottama,

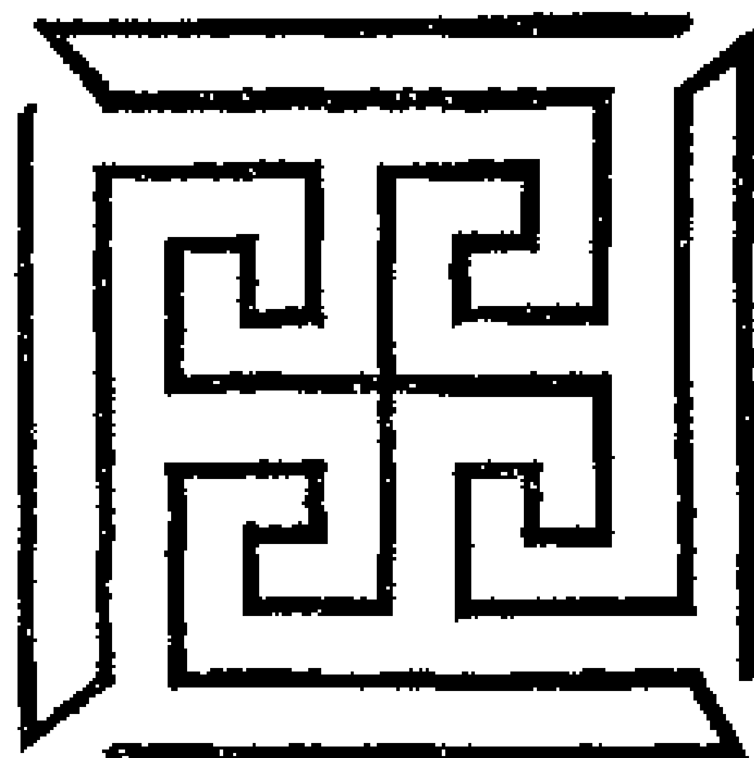
which so far from hitting him, came and stood near him: Purushottama then picking up the *chakra* in his turn, flung it at Mâdhu Kaitabha who was slain by it; after which he became Adhipati of three Khandas, and ruling over the kingdom for some time, Purushottama on his dissolution, leaving his body, his soul went to hell, but Suprabha after the death of his brother being much grieved, went to Somaprabha Kevali, and received initiation from him, and acquiring the state of a *Kevali*, he obtained beatitude. Mâdhu Kaitabha also after his death went to hell.*

15. Dharma was son of Bhânu by Suvratâ, and was born at Ratnapuri: characterized by the *vajra* or thunderbolt: his devî was Kandarpâ; he was forty-five poles in stature, and lived 1,000,000 years: he was deified four *sâgaras* after the fourteenth Jina.

16. Śanti was the son of Viśvasena by Achirâ, born at Hastinâpur; he has the antelope (*mṛiga*) for his cognizance. His Śâsana was Nirvâṇî; he was forty poles in stature, lived 100,000 years, and died two *sâgaras* later than the preceding.†

17. Kunthu was the son of Sûra by Śrî, of the same race and complexion as the last, was also born at Hastinâpur. His Śâsana was Balâ; his cognizance is a goat (*chhâga*); his height was thirty-five poles, and his life 95,000 years. His *nirvâṇa* is dated in the last *palya* of the fourth age.

18. Ara was the son of Sudarśana by Devî; his mark is the figure called *Nandyâvarta*; he was of the same race and complexion, and born at the same place as the preceding; his Śâsana was Dhâriṇî: his stature was thirty poles, his life lasted 84,000 years, and his *nirvâṇa* was 1,000 *krôrs* of years before the next Jina.



19. Malli was son of Kumbha by Prabhâvatî; of the same race with the preceding, but of blue complexion; his mark being a water-jar (*ghaṭa*); he was born at Mithilâ, and his Śâsana Devî was Dharaṇapriyâ; he was twenty-five poles high, lived 55,000 years, and was deified 6,584,000 years before the close of the fourth age.

20. Munisuvrata, Suvrata, or Muni, was son of Sumitra by Padmâ, of the Harivaṅśa race, and of black complexion; he was born at Râjagṛiha; has a tortoise (*kûrma*) for his cognizance, and Naradattâ for his devî; his height was twenty poles, and his age 30,000 years. He died 1,184,000 years before the end of the fourth age.

21. Nimi was son of Vijaya by Viprâ; born at Mithilâ, of the race of Ikshvâku; figured with a golden complexion; having for his mark a blue water-lily (*nîlôtpala*), and for his Śâsana, Gândhârî Devî. His stature was fifteen poles; his life 10,000 years; and his apotheosis took place, like the preceding eight Jinas, on Samet Sikhar or Mount Pârśvanâtha, 584,000 years before the expiration of the fourth age.

22. Nemi, or Arishtanemi, was the son of King Samudravijaya by his queen Śivâ; of the Harivaṅśa race, of black complexion, with the conch (*śaṅkha*) for his symbol, and Ambikâ for his Śâsana Devî. The Kalpa Sûtra says he was born in Śrâvan, the first month of the rainy season, under the constellation Chaitra, at Sûriyapuri, which Stevenson supposes to be Agra, but which is generally believed to have been a town in Kâthiâwâḍ. It is said that he excelled in all kinds of athletic exercises and was of invincible strength. His cousin Kṛishṇa was also of superhuman strength, and was able to blow a large conch from which it was believed no other person could produce a blast. One day Neminâtha saw it lying on the ground, and asking why that toy was lying there, he took it up and blew such a blast upon it as quite alarmed Kṛishṇa who began to enquire who it was that could blow upon his *śaṅkha*? On finding it was his cousin, he became jealous of him as a rival, and accordingly directed his hundred *gopîs* to excite amorous thoughts in Neminâtha and shame him into marriage, thinking intercourse with women the only way to put down his strength. The *gopîs* began to tease him and tell him as he was grown up to manhood

* Wilson, *Mackenzie Coll.*, vol I., pp 148-152.

† The life of this Jina is the object of a separate work entitled *Sânti Purâṇa*—Colebrooke, *Essays*, ut sup p. 211 n., *Asiat. Res.* IX. p. 308.

he ought to marry. At first he refused, but after a deal of reviling and reproaching he consented, and Krishṇa selected for him Râjîmatî the daughter of Ugrasena of Girnâr,—whose palace is still shewn, being a ruin near the Junâgaḍh fort beside the Bhumriyo kuo. When the wedding day came and Neminâtha approached Junâgaḍh, he saw a flock of sheep and herds of cattle collected to be sacrificed for the people that had assembled to celebrate the wedding; the sheep were bleating piteously, and, struck with pity for them and the vanity of human happiness, and to save the lives of so many animals, he resolved to become an ascetic, gave up the world, and retired into the Girnâr hills, followed by his intended bride, and there they both led a platonic life. The place on the Ujjinta peak where he is said to have died is considered sacred, and has a *chattri* erected over it where his *paglâ* or footprints are shown. Râjîmatî resided in a *gupha* or cave to the south-west of the Neminâtha Chattri.*

"He became an ascetic at the age of three hundred, at Dvârakâ (Magadhî Baravavâe). He lived seven hundred years as an ascetic,—in all a thousand years. He was only fifty-five days an imperfect ascetic."† The date of his death was 84,000 years before the close of the fourth age. To him the mango-tree is sacred.

23. PÂRŚVA or PÂRŚVANÂTHA‡ was son of King Aśvasena by Vâmâ or Bâmâ Devî; of the race of Ikshwâku; figured with a blue complexion, having a hooded snake (*śesha-phaṇi*) for his cognizance, and is often represented as sitting under the expanded hoods of a snake with many heads, much like the so-called Nâga figures at Ajanta and elsewhere.

The *Pârśvanâtha Charitra* states that whilst Pârśvanâtha was engaged in his devotions his enemy Kamaṭha caused a great rain to fall upon him; but the serpent Dharaṇîdhara came, and, as Seva nâgari, overshadowed his head as with a *chhatra*. In the Śatruñjaya, Mâhâtmya Dharaṇa the Nâga king is represented as approaching to worship Pârśva while engaged in his second *kâyotsarga* or profound meditation, at Śivapurî in the Kauśâmbaka forest, and holding his outspread hood (*phaṇa*) over him as an umbrella. From this the town obtained the name of *Ahichhatrâ*.§ His Śâsanadevî was Padmâvatî. He was born at Bhelûpurâ in the suburbs of Varânasi (Benares); married Prabhâvatî the daughter of King Prasenajita; and, according to the Kalpa Sûtra, "adopted an ascetic life, with three hundred others, when he was thirty years of age, and for eighty days he practised austerities before arriving at perfect wisdom. He lived after this seventy years less eighty days, his whole term of life being one hundred years, after which he obtained liberation from passion and freedom from pain. He wore one garment, and had under his direction a large number of male and female ascetics." His death took place two hundred and fifty years before that of the last Tîrthaṅkara (*i. e.*, B. C. 777). He died while, with thirty others, performing a fast on the top of Mount Sammeya or Samet Śikhar.||

24. VARDHAMÂNA, also called VÎRA, MAHÂVÎRA, VARDHAMÂNAPRABHU, &c., and surnamed *Charama tîrthakṛit*, or last of the *Jinas*, and emphatically *Sramaṇa* or the saint. He was the son of Siddhârtha by Triśalâ,¶ of the race of Ikshvâku and family of Kâśyapa; born at Chitrakot or Kundagrâma, and described as of a golden complexion, having the lion (*siṅha*) as his cognizance. His Śâsana was Siddhayikâ devî. His life is the subject of the *Kalpa Sûtra*, which professes to have been composed by Bhadrabâhu Svâmi of Anandapura, now Baḍnagar, in the reign of Dhruvasena, 980 years after the death of Mahâvîra,—*i. e.* A. D. 454.

Mahâvîra's paternal uncle was Supârśva, his elder brother Nandivardhana, his sister (mother of Jamâli) Sudarśanâ. His wife was Yaśôdâ, by whom he had a daughter named Anôjja and Priyadarśanâ, who became

* This account, by a Jaina priest, agrees with that given in the *Satruñjaya Mâhât.* Sarg XIII.

† Stevenson, *Kalpa Sûtra*, p. 93: In the *Uttara Purâṇa* of the Southern Jainas, Krishṇa is styled Trikhaṇḍâdhipati, or lord of three portions of the world, and he is the disciple of the Tîrthaṅkara Neminâtha.—Wilson, *Mack. Coll.* vol. I p. 146.

‡ "The life of this celebrated Jina, who was perhaps the real founder of the sect, is the subject of a poem entitled *Pârśvanâtha Charitra*."—Colebrooke, *Essays*, ut sup. II. 212; *Asiat. Res.*, vol. IX. p. 309. It was written by *Briddha Tapa Gachha* in Saṁvat 1654, and occasionally calls this Jina by the name of *Jagannâtha*.—Delamaine, *Asiat. Trans.* vol. I. pp. 428-436.

§ *Mah.* XIV. 31—35 Compare Bigandet, *Legend of Gaudama*, 2nd ed. p. 99 (1st ed. p. 69); Hardy's *Buddhism*, p. 182.

|| Stevenson's *Kalpa Sûtra*, Chap. VII. pp. 97, 98.

¶ See the story of his birth in Max Müller's *Hist. Sansk. Liter.* p. 261, quoted from the *Kalpa Sûtra*, pp. 35, 36; also an account of his life in H. H. Wilson's *Works*, vol. I. pp. 291-304.

the wife of Jamâli. His father and mother died when he was 28 years of age; and he continued for two years afterwards with Nandivardhana: he then departed to practise austerities, which he continued twelve and a half years as a sage only in outward disguise: as a *Digambara* "he went robeless, and had no vessel but his hand." Finally he became an *Arhat*, or *Jina*, being worthy of universal adoration, omniscient, and all-seeing; and at the age of seventy-two years he became exempt from all pain for ever. This is said to have occurred at Pâwâpurî or Pâpâpuri near Râjagriha at the court of Hastipâla, three and a half months before the close of the fourth age or *Dukhamá Sukhamá* in the great period named *avasarpiṇî*. "On the night on which the adorable ascetic here was delivered from pain, Gotama Indrabhûti, the chief of his perfectly initiated disciples, had the bonds of affection by which he was tied to his preceptor cut asunder, and attained infinite, certain, and supreme intelligence, and perception." This event the Gujarât Jainas date 470 before the Saṁvat of Vikrama, *i. e.* B. C. 526*; others apparently 512 years before Vikrama, or B. C. 569†; the Jainas of Bengal 580, and those of Maisur 607 before Vikrama,‡ but probably by mistake for the Śaka era, which would bring these latter dates to B. C. 502 and 539 respectively.§

Adiśwara, Śânti, Nemi, Pârśwa, and Vîra, the first, sixteenth, and last three Tîrthaṅkaras are regarded as the principal *jinas*: they are more frequently mentioned than the others, and their statues are more numerous.

Besides the Tîrthaṅkaras of the present (*Avasarpiṇî*) cycle of the world's duration, they reckon also twenty-four each of the past and future (*Utsarpiṇî*) renovations or cycles. Hemachandra gives the names of the whole forty-eight in the following lines:—

Utsarpiṇy imatît ly im chaturviṁśatirarhatâm
[1]Kevalaḍnyâni[2]Nirvâṇî[3]Sâgaro-tha[4]Mahâyaśâḥ;
[5]Vimalaḥ[6]Sarvânubhûtiḥ[7]Śrîdharo[8]Datta tîrthakṛit |
[9]Dâmodara[10]Sutejâśch[11]Svâmyatho[12]Munisuvrataḥ ||
[13]Sumatiḥ[14]Śivagati śchaiv[15]Astâgo tha[16]Nimîśvaraḥ |
[17]Anilo[18]Yaśodharâ khyaḥ[19]Kṛitârgho tha[20]Jineśvaraḥ ||
[21]Śuddhamatiḥ[22]Śivakaraḥ[23]Syandana śchâtha[24]Saṁpratiḥ |
Bhâviṇyân tu Padmanâbhaḥ[2]Sûradevaḥ[3]Supârśvakaḥ ||
[4]Svayaṁprabha ścha[5]Sarvânubhûtir[6]Deva[7]Śrutodayau |
[8]Peḍhâlaḥ[9]Poṭṭilaśchâpi[10]Śatakîrti ścha[11]Suvrataḥ ||
[12]Amamo niṣh[13]Kashâyaścha niṣh[14]Pulako tha nir[15]Mamaḥ |
[16] Chitraguptaḥ[17]Samâdhi ścha[18]Saṁvara ścha[19]Yaśodharaḥ ||
[20]Vijayo[21]Malla Devau[22]châ Anantavîrya ścha[24]Bhadrakṛit |
Evaṁ sarvâvasarpiṇyutsarpiṇishu jinottamaḥ ||*

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## THE LEGEND OF ṚISHYA SṚIṄGA.

BY V. N. NARASIMM[illegible]ENGAR, BENGALOR.

In one of the deepest and most romantic glens of the Maisûr Malnâḍ, formed by the buttresses of the Western Ghâṭs, is nestled the shrine of Sriṅgeśvara of Kigga. The locality is extremely picturesque, and the habits and customs of the inhabitants are very primitive. The soil is rich, and, though thinly scattered, the peasants are by no means over-industrious. The productions are among the most valuable, consisting of supâri, cardamoms, rice, &c. Territorially, the village of Kigga is in the Koppa Tâluka of the Nagar Division. There is a tradition attaching to this shrine to the effect that no drought will ever approach within 12 gâvadâs¶ of the god. In seeking the origin of this tradition, the following legend has been gathered.

* Conf. Stevenson, *Kalpa Sûtra*, pp. 86, 90, 91, 92, 96.

† Prinsep's *Useful Tables* (1858), p. 166.

‡ *Kalpa Sûtra*, pref. p. iii.

§ Weber would bring down this date to 348 or 349 B. C. [illegible] *Catr. Mâhât.* p. 12

* *Abhidhâna Chintâmaṇi*, 58–70. In other lists, the [illegible] 11th, and 15th of the Past Age are styled Śrîdatta, Śrisvâmi, and Śrînstaga, and the affix *ji* is usually added to each. To most of the names of the Future Jinas the affix is *nâthayanama*, and the 6th, 7th, 15th, 21st and 22nd are respectively called Śrîjivadeva, Śrutodanâtha, Mamamunâtha, Śrî Mallinâtha, and Śrîjinadeva. See Briggs, *Cities of Gujarashtra*, p. 349.

¶ A gâvadâ is popularly known to be about 12 English miles

It is scarcely necessary to remark that the people of the country accept its truth. But a simpler explanation may easily be arrived at. The temple is built close to the eastern base of the Western Ghâts, and as their gigantic peaks intercept and appropriate the precious burden of the clouds during the S. W. monsoon, the locality happens by a simple natural law to be highly favoured with rain. The local priesthood, with a view to enhance their own importance and gains, have turned the natural phenomenon to their own advantage, clothing it with a religious and supernatural garb.

'Vibhâṇḍaka Muni, son of Kâśyapa, son of Kaśyapa, who was the son of Marîchi Brahma, consulted his father as to the choice of the best place for *tapas*, and was directed to the spot in which the river Tuṅgabhadrâ runs in three different directions. Vibhâṇḍaka thereupon went in search of such a place, commencing from the source of the river, and after passing various tîrthas and holy spots, arrived at Sriṅgapura (modern Sriṅgêri), and identified it with the locality ordained by his holy father, from the Tuṅgabhadrâ there making three different sweeps in its course. The Ṛishi here performed the rite of *tapas* rigorously for three thousand years, and its severity (lit. *jvâla*, flame) penetrated Indra's heaven and seriously disturbed its denizens. They in a body complained of it to their ruler, Indra, who directed one Chitrasêna to interrupt the fiery *tapas* of Vibhâṇḍaka. Chitrasêna thereupon conveyed Indra's behests to Urvaśî (the head of celestial frail beauties), who then went to the Ṛishi's Âśrama or hermitage. The ascetic was then absorbed in *dhyâna* or contemplation. Towards evening (*pradôsha*) Vibhâṇḍaka went to bathe in the river, and was deeply smitten with the celestial nymph whom he encountered on the road. He afterwards proceeded to the river, and performed his ablutions. About the same time a doe came to drink in the river and unconsciously imbibed the washings of the ascetic. The animal immediately became great with young, and in time was delivered of a human male child, with the unusual addition of two horns like those of the deer. The mother ran away directly after, and Vibhâṇḍaka, who arrived at the river-side about that time, heard the wailing of the infant. By second sight (*divya jñânam*) he perceived that the child was his own flesh and blood, and conveyed it to his Âśrama, where he brought the child up, feeding him with his own fare of roots, leaves, &c., and performing over him the prescribed rites, such as *Nâmakaraṇa*, *Jâtakarma*, *Upanayana*, &c. When the boy was about twelve years old, Paramêśvara and Pârvatî were one day taking an airing in the celestial regions, attended by their retinue of evil spirits, ghosts, and devils, and were much surprised to find a child in such company. They alighted on the spot, and blessed the boy, investing him with the *varam*, or power of destroying famine and drought within twelve yôjanas of his abode.

'Once upon a time, when Rômapâda* Mahârâja was ruling the kingdom of Anga, it was overtaken by an unusual drought of twelve years' duration, and the people were in great suffering, no food or drink being procurable for men or cattle. At this juncture the divine Ṛishi Sanatkumâra, who has the privilege of visiting the earth whenever the fancy seizes him, went to see the afflicted country and its unfortunate ruler. He was duly received by the Râja, and informed him that if the young Ṛishya Sriṅga, son of Vibhâṇḍaka Muni,† could be induced to visit the country of Anga, it would get rain in abundance, and regain its usual prosperity. Rômapâda (hare-footed) could make nothing of this information, and consulted all the wise men in his dominions on the subject. They referred to their sacred books, and told him that the Âśrama of Vibhâṇḍaka was situated on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrâ river, which was in the southern direction. The advisers moreover expressed their own inability to bring Ṛishya Sriṅga to Anga, but suggested that the Râja should employ dancing-girls of surpassing beauty to allure the young Ṛishi to the desired place. Acting upon this practical suggestion, Rômapâda sent several lovely women of equivocal character, with large supplies of scents, cloths, jewels and wealth, and directed them to conduct Ṛishya Sriṅga to his capital, by every means in their power, whether fair or foul. They at first established a depôt at a place called Nârvê, and, taking advantage of Vibhâṇḍaka's absence from the hermitage, gradually initiated the unsophisticated young Ṛishi in the pleasures of the world, escaping from the certain malediction of

* The Râmâyaṇa has Lomapâda.—Ed.

† Conf. Max Müller, *Hist. Sansk. Lit.* p. 444.—Ed.

the father to their own retreat at Nârvê.* The enchanted young man one day asked his enchanters the object which prompted their unusual attentions. They gave him highly beguiling pictures of the wealth and beauty of their own country, and invited him to go with them to enjoy the same. The young Rishi was completely overcome by the artifices of these deluders, and consented. Taking advantage of the father's absence at the river-side, the dancing-girls took Rishya Śriñga with them and started for Augadêśa. In the mean time the long-withheld rains descended upon that country, and there was soon joy, plenty, and prosperity in it. Rômapâda took a large retinue about halfway and met Rishya Śriñga, and conducted him to his capital, where every honour and worship was paid to him. Some time after, the Mahârâja praising the Rishi very much, offered to give him his daughter, Śântâdêvî, in marriage, and the offer was accepted. The wedding came off with due pomp and *éclat*, and the happy bridegroom dwelt for some time in the country of his adoption.

'About this period, Daśaratha, king of Ayodhya, was in deep distress from the absence of an heir to his throne. Nârada paid him a visit, and, divining the cause of his host's dejection, advised him to invite to his court the Muni Rishya Śriñga, who would bring about the realization of his wishes. Daśaratha did accordingly, and Rishya Śriñga conducted a *yajna* (sacrifice) called *Putra Kâmeshti* in which the god Agni came out of the sacrificial fire, and handing a cup of *Paramânna* (*Pâyasa*), told the Râja to distribute its contents among his wives, whereby he would get four sons, named Râma, Lakshmana, Bharata, and Śatrughna.† The god thereupon vanished out of sight. Daśaratha followed the directions of Agni, whose prophecy was duly fulfilled. Rishya Śriñga soon after returned to his father's old Âśrama, but did not find him there. His father's disappearance afflicted him very much; whereupon Vibhândaka emerged from the Linga of Malahânîsvara. The son was overjoyed, paid him due reverence, and asked him where he could best conduct *tapas*. Vibhândaka referred him, however, to Mahâ Vishnu, who was living in the Sahyadri hills. Rishya Śriñga was accordingly proceeding in that direction, when he was benighted on the bank of a stream near Nirmalipura (modern Nemmâr.) He stopped there to perform his evening religious rites, when a Râkshasa named Vyâghra (tiger) rushed upon him with the object of swallowing him up. The holy man thereupon threw a drop of water upon the Râkshasa from the nail of his little finger, and instantly the demon quitted the body of the tiger, and begged the Rishi to tell him what he should do. Rishya Sriñga directed him to go to Sarveśvara (a Lingam so called), and by doing so the quondam tiger attained *môksha* (salvation).

'Next day Rishya Śriñga proceeded to the Sahyâdri, and performed *tapas* there for seven years in honour of Mahâ Vishnu. That god told him to go to an incarnation of Śiva, called Chandra Śêkhara, at the foot of the Sahyâdri mountain. The Rishi went to the spot indicated, and peered at it through the darkness with half-closed eyes. Hence the place is called Kigga, from Kiggannu, the half-open eye. The Rishi again performed *tapas*, and Chandra Śêkhara appeared before him and asked what he wanted. Rishya Śriñga begged that Paramêśvara would absorb himself within his (Rishya Śriñga's) soul. Accordingly Paramesvara became one with Rishya Śriñga, whose name also became celebrated in the world.'

Although this spot is not exactly on the bank of the Tuñgabhadrâ, still the Purânas say so, as the rivers Nandinî and Nalinî flow respectively from the left and right of it, and join the Tuñgabhadrâ at Nemmâr.

It will be perceived from the foregoing that the interested Brâhmans have woven a marvellous story, however preposterous, round a plain natural fact. This legend has been extracted from the *Skânda Purâna*. A portion of the same is related, in somewhat different language, in the *Mahâbhârata Aranyaparva*, (Adhyâyâs 110 to 113.) Also in the *Râmâyana Bâlakânda* (chapters 9 to 17).

On the back part of many temples of note there are at present well cut representations in relief of the manner in which the privileged Rishya Śriñga was conveyed from the quiet of his father's hermitage by the creatures who were sent on the mission by Rômapâda The accompanying cut is a copy of the one in the temple

* The Râmâyana says—beneath wide-spreading creepers and climbing plants, and in their boats. See Wheeler, *Hist. of India*, Vol. II. pp 12, 13.—Ed.

† Conf. Wheeler, *Hist. Ind.* Vol II. pp. 21. 22 —Ed



ṚISHYA ŚṚIÑGA CONVEYED TO ANGA.

of *Gopâlasvâmi* in Dêvandahalli, and fairly represents all similar sculptured figures. The Rishi is represented with a deer's head!

Nârvê is still a village, and goes by that name. It is about 12 miles from the shrine at Kigga, which is itself about 6 miles from Sriñgêri, the seat of the great Sankarâchârya.

It only remains to say that the Linga in the temple is a long cylinder, over three feet above ground, and some part of it must besides be buried under the Pîtham. Its surface is rough, and the credulous are asked to believe, with the aid of the light reflected from a large mirror, that the inequalities on the Linga are nothing less than the actual avatârs of Siva, his consort, and his bull!

There are some fine carvings and inscriptions in the vicinity. The shrine is largely endowed with lands, partially free from government revenue. It would be difficult to find lovelier and more enchanting scenery than that which the traveller suddenly comes upon in these regions.

The Tuñgabhadrâ above referred to is only the Tuñgâ—far above its confluence with the Bhadrâ.

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# HINDU PRONUNCIATION OF GREEK, AND GREEK PRONUNCIATION OF HINDU WORDS.

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*Translated from the German by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.*

It is well known that in consequence of Alexander's campaigns the Greeks, for a considerable time, maintained close relations with India. Greek sovereigns reigned during more than two centuries in the north-western provinces of India, and even far down in Western India; Greek ambassadors were sent to the courts of Hindu kings; Greek merchants, Greek art and science, influenced Hindu life directly, partly from the Panjâb and partly through Alexandria. This influence was undoubtedly more considerable than is usually supposed; it extended itself not merely to practical branches, *e.g.* to the coining of money,* to architecture, to dramatic representations, to astronomico-astrological notions, &c., but also to purely mental divisions of knowledge,† such as the transmission of various western narratives, fables, traditions, and other legendary or religious matters. In return for this, various Indian materials as well as intellectual products found their way through commerce from the East to the West; but although the influence of the West upon India may have dominated in pre-Christian times, it seems, on the other hand, that in post-Christian ones (exceptions of course also existing) Hindu influence upon the West had conversely a stronger current. Many possessions which had originally come to the Hindus from the West now again migrated back, but in the new shape which they had meanwhile assumed in India.

Thus it could not fail to happen that numbers of Greek words and names should find their way to India, and conversely many Indian ones came to the West. Now, the form in which they appear in both localities bears the stamp of the *pronunciation of the time*, and may therefore throw a certain light thereon; that light cannot of course be very decisive, inasmuch as in general but very scanty auxiliary means, *e. g.* legends on coins in the imperfect and difficult Aryan characters, are at our disposal; and further, because in the reception and subsequent transmission of foreign vocables their phonetic values were retained merely in a general way, while at the same time they suffered considerably both from popular etymological assimilation to words current in the vernacular, and from unintentional deterioration in the mouths of the unlearned.

I desire the following data concerning this subject to be considered merely as a first attempt waiting for, and in need of, being supplemented in many ways. It is hoped that the systematic excavations begun lately in India in the ancient Greek dominions will produce a rich harvest of coin-legends, and will be lucrative also in other analogous respects. May a propitious star guide the *archæological* expedition lately started to those localities under Cunningham's skilful direction, and may thereby the conception of a Corpus inscriptionum Indicarum, executable only in India, appear so feasible to the leading powers of the Indian Government that this *pium desiderium*, so long and painfully felt in scientific circles, at last be brought to a completion!

* Even the silver coins of the Guptas show Greek traits.

† The king of Palibothra, to whom, in the first century of our era, the shipwrecked Iambulos was br ht, "was a friend of the Hellenes and esteemed their science." (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* K. III. 254.)

I. GREEK NAMES AND WORDS AMONG HINDUS.

First of all I mention the names of the Græco-Bactrian kings contained in the above-mentioned coin-legends deciphered by Prinsep, Lassen, Raoul Rochette, Wilson, Thomas, Cunningham, Dowson, Rajendralâla Mitra and others, *in connection with* whatever else may here be available bearing on historical personages, &c., from *contemporaneous documents, i.e.* the inscriptions of Piyadasi and those from the period of the Indo-Skythian kings.* Here it is to be kept in mind that the language of the documents in question is a kind of Pâli, or rather Prâkṛit, and that therefore its words are influenced by the peculiar phonetic laws of this stage of the language, which, among other things, does not admit of *ai*, *au*, and, as a rule, of no group of consonants which does not consist of homogeneous consonants. Also the terminations of the names mostly standing in the genitive form, were obliged to conform to the Indian declension, whereby they underwent many changes and degradations.

Initial α usually remains unchanged, thus:—*Alikasunari* (? Αλεξανδρος), *Antikona* and *Antiyoka* in the inscriptions of Piyadasi, *Akhabiyasa*—Αρχεβιου, *Agathuklayasa*—Αγαθοχλεους, *Ayasa*—Αζου†, *Ayilishasa*—Αζιλισου†, *Alimakhasa*—Αντιμαχου, *Alimidârasa*—Αρτεμιδωρου, *Antialikidasa*—Αντιαλκιδου, *Apaladatasa*—Απολλοδοτου, *Amitasa*—Αμυντου, *artamisiyasa* (of the month ἀρτεμισιος), *apiraesa* (? of ἀπελλαιος).

In the same manner a medial α remains so, as, besides in the above, also in *Maga* in the inscriptions of Piyadasi, in *Epadrasa*—Επανδρου, *Eukratidasa*—Ευκρατιδου, *Hipastratasa*—'Ιπποστρατου, *Kaliyapaya*—Καλλιοπης, *Menadrasa*, *Minandasa*—Μενανδρου, *Palalavatasa*—Παντaλεοντος, *Spalirisasa*—Σπαλιρισου†, *Stratasa*—Στρατωνος, *stratega*—στρατηγος, *panemasa* (of the month πανεμος) *tsattikasa* (? of ξανθικος).

ε appears as *e* in *Hermayasa*—'Ερμαιου, *Heliyakleyasa*—Ηλιοκλεου, *Menadrasa*, *panemasa*;—as *i* in *Artimidârasa*, *apiraesa*, *Minandasa*, *Pilashinasa*—Φιλοξενου, *Teliphasa*,—Τελεφου;—as *a* in *Agathuklayasa*, *Akhabiyasa*, *artamisiyasa*.

ι is always represented by *i*, thus *Ajilishasa*, *Antikona*, *Antiyoka*, *Dianisiyasa*—Διονυσιου, *Diyamedasa*—Διομηδου, *Johilasa*—Ζωιλου, *Heliyakleyasa*, *Hipastratasa*, *Kaliyapaya*, *Nikiasa*—Νικιου, *daisisasa* (? of the month δαισιος.)

ο appears as *o* in *Antiyoka*, *Antikona*;—as *u* in *Turamaya*—Πτολεμαιος in the inscriptions of Piyadasi; *Agathuklayasa*;—in the rule above as *a*‡, thus *Apaladatasa*, *Dianisiyasa*, *Diyamedasa*, *Hipastratasa*, *Heliyakleyasa*, *Kaliyapaya*, *Pilashinasa*.

υ is rendered by *i*, as *Lisiasa*—Λυσιου, *Amitasa*, *Dianisiyasa*.

η appears throughout as *e*, as in *Heliyakleyasa*§, *Diyamedasa*, *Teliphasa*, *stratega*.

ω is transcribed by *o* in *Johilasa*,—by *â* in *Alimidârasa*.

αι appears as *ai* (?) in *daisisasa* (facsimile wanted); αιο as *aya* in *Turamaya*, *Hermayasa*, as *ae* in *apiraesa* (? facsimile wanted).

αο appears as *o* in Yonâ‖ of Piyadasi,—εο as *ava* in *Palalavatasa*.

αυ is represented by *â* or rather *o* in *Mâasa* or *Moasa* (and even as *Mogasa*)—Μαυου,—ευ by *eu* in *Eukratidasa*.

With reference to the consonants, there is to be noted the representation of—

ζ by *j* in *Johilasa*, by *y* in *Ayasa*, *Ayilisasa*,
ξ by *sh* in *Pilashinasa*, by *ts* (?) in *tsattika*,
θ by *th* in *Agathuklayasa*,
φ by *p* in *Pilishinasa*, by *ph* in *Teliphasa*,
χ by *k* in *Antiyoka*, by *kh* in *Akhabiyasa*, *Alimakhasa*,—the groups κλ, κρ, στρ, στ, σπ, are preserved in *Heliyakleyasa*, *Agathuklayasa*, *Eukratidasa*, *Stratasa*, *stratega*, *artamisiya*, *Spalirisasa*;—λκ is represented by *lik* in *Antialikidasa*;—ν is now and then omitted (probably only graphically, by omission of the hook over it) before τ, δ, as *Alimakhasa*, *Menadrasa*;—of the initial πτ only the τ remains in *Turamaya*;—δι was pronounced as *di*, thus *Dianisiyasa*, *Diyamedasa*. Hardening is perceptible in *Antikona*, *Maka* (nearly *Maga*),—substitution of *r* for *l* in *Turamaya*, *apiraesa*.

Let us now turn to the words which may be pointed out in *Hindu Literature*. Of the names adduced above, the only one that can certainly be shown in it is that of Menander, *but in the form* Milinda,—namely in the Pâli-texts of

* To these especially pertain the Macedonian names of months, for the discovery whereof upon them we are indebted to Cunningham and Dowson. In the inscription of *Takht-i-Bahi* lately discovered by Dr Leitner, the reckoning is, according to Dowson's decipherment, in Indian months. See Trubner's *Amer. and Oriental Record*, June 1871, p 163.

† As a Skythian name this strictly belongs further on, to p. 148

‡ Accordingly, in *this* portion of India at least, the Indian *a* itself had an *obscured* pronunciation nearly allied to *o*. With this circumstance it agrees that Pâṇini, who was precisely *of* this district, actually mentions a double pronunciation of *a*, one open and the other *close*, in consequence whereof he sets up *u*, and not *a*, as the standard for the (quantitative relations of the) other vowels. See *Ind. Stud.* IV. 110, V. 92. In *other parts of India* the matter probably stood differently; see below, pp 148, 149.

§ Although the Greek legend itself appears once on a coin as Ηλιο- (see Thomas, *Catalogue of Bactrian Coins*, London, 1855, p 14;) the same has no Indian legend.

‖ The name Yona, or rather Yavana, *for Iaoves*, was however known to the Hindus at any rate before the time of Alexander, *i.e.* during the earlier Persian wars, in which also Indians took part as auxiliaries against the Greeks; on the name itself see my remark in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, V. 221.

the southern Buddhists; at the same time with him also the name of his birth-place and capital Alasandâ (or -saddâ), *i. e.* Ἀλεξανδρεια is mentioned. Possibly also, as Lassen assumes, the name of the Mlechha—or rather Pârasika-king *Megha* which occurs in the drama *Mudrârâkshasa*, contains a reminiscence of the old royal title μεγας βασιλευς, because, although this drama itself is comparatively modern, the author of it may probably have drawn the materials for it from ancient sources, and the name Basili (*i.e.* doubtless βασιλευς) actually occurs, according to Schiefner,* among the northern Buddhists. As I have also already ventured further to surmise† that the royal name Jaloka, Jalaukas in the Kashmir chronicle is referable to Σελευκος, it is further possible also that their Amita, Amitâba, is connected with Αμυντας. The buildings of Asura Maya immortalized in the *Mahâbhârata* reminds us of the edifices of Πτολεμαιος, and the former moreover has perhaps inherited only from Πτολεμαιος the astronomer a portion of his later reputation as a teacher of astronomy, just as also finally the powerful *Yavana* king Kaserumant, in the *Mahâbhârata*, doubtless represents only a faded reminiscence of the καισαρ of post-Christian centuries,‡ transformed by a fanciful popular etymology.

Two of the above names are preserved to us, perhaps in a direct translation, Apollodotos namely as Bhagadatta,§ and Demetrios, as Dattâmitra,‖ the first appearing in the *Mahâbhârata*, as a Yavana king, and the second as a *Sindhu-Sauvîra* king. Of the Roman age there is, strangely enough, besides the name Romaka,¶ nothing but the word *dînâra*—denarius. Whether *thateri* in Ebn Haukal is referable to στατηρος or τετρα-, or, according to Dowson's recently expressed opinion, has nothing to do with Greek, remains undecided. In *dramma* the word δραχμη was preserved down to late times.

The words *khalîna*, bridle—χαλινος, and *surungâ* (in the *Mahâvanso* and *Mahâbhârata*) a mine-shaft—συριγξ, refer probably to bellico-political relations with the Greeks. Here I recall to mind also my surmise (*Ind. Stud.* IX. 380) concerning the remarkable statement of the *Pâṇinîyâ Śikshâ*, v. 6, on the salutation of the *Surâshṭra* women (*Saurâshṭrikâ nârî*): ara according to one and takra according to the other recension,—that the reading ought to be khera, or rather that it is to be borrowed from the second hemistich, and that therein a reference to the Greek salutation χαιρε is to be sought.*

Not so much to political as to commercial relations the words *kastîra*—κασσιτερος,† *kasturi*—καστωρειον, *kaṅgu*—κεγχρος, *melâ* ink—μελας, *samitâ samîdâ*—σεμιδαλις‡, Hind. *mulva*—μολυβδος §, are indebted for their acceptance. Esop's fables are probably responsible for the two words *lopâka*—ἀλωπηξ and *kramelaka*—καμηλος, both of them connected with Hindu words or rather roots. The most numerous appropriations belong to the astronomico-astrological domain. In the first place—as already observed, by Asura Maya—who, according to later traditions, lived in *Romakapura*—is possibly meant Πτολεμαιος the author of the Almagest; further by Manittha perhaps Μανεθων the author of the *Apotelesmata* is to be understood;‖ at all events by Pauliśa a Παυλος is meant,—probably Paulus Alexandrinus, in whose Εἰσαγωγη almost all the technical astrological terms which have passed into Sanskṛit may be identified, whence probably we ought to recognize it as the basis of the *Pauliśa-siddhânta* which unfortunately exists only in scanty and insufficient

* See my *Ind. Skizzen*, pp. 83, 84.

† See my dissertation on the *Râmâyana*, p. 33. [*Ind. Antiq.* Vol. I. p. 210.]

‡ *Ind. Skizzen*, p. 88; jalaukas, "leech," and kaserumant, "endued with a spine," are but little suitable really to have been original names of kings. Indeed, Lassen derives Jaloka from *jayaloka* (II. 273). The transformation of Turamaya into Asura Maya may perhaps be recognized as due to the political tendencies of those times.

§ According to Von Gutschmid's supposition. Comp. *Ind. Stud.* V. 152.

‖ Thus according to Lassen. On his town Demetrias = *Dâttâmitrî*, see *Ind. Skizz.*, pp. 82, 83; my translation of the *Mâlavikâgnimitram*, Pref. p. 47; and my Dissert. on the *Râmâyana*, p. 77 [*Ind. Antiquary*, vol. I. p. 179]; from it a Yonaka, son of Dhammadeva, makes his appearance as a donor of pious gifts in the inscriptions of a Buddhist temple [*Jour. Bomb. B. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. p. 54].

¶ In the inscriptions mentioned in the preceding note, mention is made also of the gifts of a Romaka, son of Veldata.—In the great *Jâtaka* collection (see Westergaard, *Catal. der Orient. MSS. der Kopenhag. Bibl.*, p. 39) also a *Romakajâtakam* is mentioned (III. 3, 7, no. 272). Perhaps *this* text may again afford desiderated information on *Roman* relations. (Comp. below the data from the *Bâverujâtaka*.)

* Surâshṭra—Συραστρα was long subject to Greek dominion. The oldest coins of those parts show Greek types and letters; the princes were satraps of the Greek kings, and reckoned, Thomas states, according to the era of the Seleucides.—Yavana girls still appear in the dramas of *Kâlidâsa* as attending to the personal wants of kings, and probably they saluted them also with the salutation of their Yavana language; comp. also Introd. to my Transl. of the *Mâlavikâ*, pp. 35, 46, 47. (It may be remarked that already *Ts.* V. 3, 7, 2 mentions a *female* body-guard.)

† From κασσιτηρος? see. *Ind. Skizzen*, pp. 75, 89.

‡ Because the assumption that these (comp. *simila*, *similago*) are old Indo-Germanic words is suspicious even from the meaning. *Wheat-flour* was scarcely known to our Indo-Germanic ancestors.

§ Comp. Pott in the *Zeitschrift für d. K. des Morg.* IV. 261;—kupya, a base metal, can hardly be said to have anything to do etymologically with *cuprum*.

‖ Kern (Introd. to *Varâha Mihira's Bṛihat Samhita*, p. 52) once thought also of Manilius.

quotations.* The following words, namely:—*anaphá*—ἀναφη, *ákokera*—αἰγοκερως, *ápoklima*—ἀποκλιμα, *âra*—'Αρης, *âsphujit*—'Αφροδιτη, *ittham* (*itthasi* Dr. Bhâu Dâji, *ithusi* Muir)—ιχθυς, *kendra*—κεντρον, *kemadruma*—χρηματισμος,† *koṇa*—Κρονος *trikoṇa*—τριγωνος, *kaurpya*—σκορπιος, *kriya*—κριος, *jámitra*—διαμετρον, *jituma*—διδυμος, *júka*—ζυγον, *jyau*—Ζευς, *tâvuri*—ταυρος, *taukshika*—τοξοτης, *drikâṇa drekâṇa*—δεκανος, *durudhará*—δορυφορια, *duśchikya*‡—τυχικον, *dyúnam dyutam*—δυτον, *panaphará*—'επαναφορα, *páthena*—παρθενος, *mesûraṇa*—μεσουρανημα, *liptá*—λεπτη, *riḥpha rishphá*—'ριφη, *leya*—λεων, *veśi*—φασις, *sunaphá*—συναφη *harija*—'οριζων,§ *hibuka*—'υπογειον, *himna* (perhaps *himra*?)—'Ερμης, *heli*—'Ηλιος, *hṛidroga*—'υδροχοος, *horá*—'ωρα. Lastly, it must at anyrate be observed that, induced by homophony, the Hindus transferred to their *Krishṇa* many legends &c. about Χριστος which reached them, or which they had themselves become acquainted with in the West.

From what has preceded, with reference to the second group of Greek words which can be pointed out in Hindu literature, the following conclusions as to phonetic relations may be drawn:—*α* appears as *a* or *á* in *Alasandá, Basili* (?), *Amita* (?), *anaphá*, *âpoklima, âra, âsphujit, kemadruma*,† *jâmitra, drikâṇa, panaphará, páthena, mesûraṇa, sunaphá, horâ, kastîra, kastûri, khalîna, thateri* (?), *dînâra, dramma, Maṇittha* (?),—as *e* in *veśi*,—as *i* in *Milinda*;

*ε* as *a* in *Alasandá*,—as *e* in *ákokera, kendra, drekâṇa, páthena, mesûraṇa, leya. Megha* (?), *mold*,—as *i in jámitra, liptá. Himna, Milinda*,—as *ṛi* in *drikâṇa*,—and is dropped in *panaphara*;

*ι* as *i* in *ápoklima, ásphujit, ittham, trikoṇa, kriya, jituma, riḥpha, veśi, harija. Básili* (?), *khalîna, kastîra*,—as *u* in *kemadruma*,† *suruñgá*.

*ο* as *o* in *ákokera, ápoklima, koṇa, hṛidroga*,— as *u in ásphujit, durudhará, hibuka*, Hind. *mulva*,—as *au* in *kaurpya, taukshika*,— as *a* in *durudhará, panaphará, harija*;—

*υ* as *i* in *hibuka, Amita* (?),—as *ṛi* in *hṛidroga*,—as *u* in *jituma, durudhará, duśchikya, sanaphá, suruñgá*,—as *ú* in *júka*,—as *yu* in *dyûna, dyuta*;—

*η* as *e* in *kramelaka, kemadruma, heli*,—as *i* in *dînâra*;—

*ω* as *o* in *trikoṇa, horá, Romaka, lopáka*,—as *u* in *kastûri*;

*αι* as *á* in *ákokerá*,—as *e* in *kherin* (?), *kaseru*-*mant* (? for *kesar*-),—as *aya* in *Asura Maya* (and *Turamaya*);

*αυ* as *áva* in *tâvuri*,—as *au* in *Pauliśa*,

*ευ* as *au* in *jyau, Jalaukas* (?);

*ου* as *ú* in *mesûraṇa*.

With reference to the consonants, it is to be observed first, as to the dentals, that *δ* before or rather with *i* appears as *j*, thus *âsphujit, jâmitra, jituma*, whilst in *dyûna, dyuta*, a *y* is inserted between *δ* and *υ*;—*ζ* is represented by *j* in *harija, júka*, by *jy* in *jyau*;—*σ* appears as *s* in *Basili* (?), *Kaserumant* (?), *suruñgá, mesûraṇa, sunaphá*, as *ś* in *veśi, Pauliśa*, as *j* in *Jalaukas* (?).—Of the aspirates *θ* appears as *th* in *páthena*,—*χθ* as *tth* in *ittha*,—*φ* as *ph* in *anaphá, panaphará, sunaphá*, as *ḥph* or *shph* ‖ in *riḥpha, rishpha*, as *sph* in *âsphujit*, as *dh* in *durudhará*,¶ as *v* in *veśi*,—*χ* as *k* in *kemadruma* (?), as *kh* in *kherin* (?) *khalîna*, as *śch* in *duśchikya*, as *g* in *hṛidroga*.

Of the liquids, *l* stands for *ν* in *Milinda*, *r* for *λ* in *Asura Maya* (?).—Hardening occurs in *ákokera, trikoṇa, jituma, júka*; on the other hand softening occurs in *kendra, kemadruma* (?), *duśchikya, hibuka, hṛidroga*. The assimilation to like or homophonous Sanskṛit words has evidently been much in operation here, as in *trikoṇa, duśchikya, kemadruma, hṛidroga, Kaserumant, Jalaukas, Asura Maya*.

A comparison of the results obtained from both groups of words—that is, of those authenticated by contemporaneous documents and those which can be pointed out in Hindu literature,—shows as a deviation in the second that the *ο* is not so often rendered by *a* as in coin-legends; and also the occasional representation of *ι* by *u*, the regular representation of *υ* by *u* (more rarely by *i*), the rendering of *αυ* by *áv*, of *αυ* by *e* (?), of *ευ* by *au*; lastly, the Zetacization of *δι* into *j*; *η* appears in both groups as *e*.

## II. INDIAN NAMES AND WORDS AMONG GREEKS.*

Here we have to deal partly with politico-geographical and other names, and partly with articles of commerce and objects of daily life. The names of wares came first to the West, in part very early—long before Alexander—and either, like the name *India* itself, through Persian, with the form transmuted according to Persian phonetic laws†

* Dr. Bhâu Dâji seeks under the name of the Yavaneśvara *Asphujidhvaja*, or rather *Sphujidhvaja* a Σπευσιππος—see *Journ. Royal As. So.* I. 409 (1865), but Kern *Introd. to Var. Mih.*, p. 48) an 'Αφροδισιος.

† Mr. Hermann Jacobi, who is now engaged on an edition of the *Laghujâtaka*, informs me that κενοδρομια would rather answer to *kemadruma*, which with its denominative κενοδρομεω occurs in Proclus, Porphyrius, and Manetho.

‡ This word, protected by the *Laghujâtaka* I. 17 (*Ind. Stud.* II. 281), appears by Muir in *J. As. S. of Beng.* XIV. 811, as *duśchikatha*, and has further been corrupted in Lassen, IV. 849, to *śichakatha*.

§ Kern, Introd. to *Var. Mih.*, p. 29.

‖ Comp. *Ind. Stud.* II. 281 n.

¶ Comp. the otherwise inverted representation of *θ* by *f*.

* Comp. herewith, before everything else, Lassen's *Ind. Alt. K.* I. 1—352, II. 530 *sqq.*, III. 1—336.

† Namely *h* (as spiritus lenis) for *s*, thus in सप्त Syr. *hendu* 'Ινδος *sindu*, *ζ* for *h*, *r* for *l* (Comp. *e. g.* also Lassen, II. 550, as to Hypobarus and Martichoras).

as ὄρυζον, βρίζα for *vrîhi*, πέπερι piper for *pippali*, νάρδος נרד for *nalada*, or through Phœnicio-Babylonian* commercial intercourse, as *agaru* אהלים אהלות—ἀγάλλοχον, *kapi*—קוף κῆπος,† *karpâsa*—כרפס καρπάσος, *kuṅkuma*—כרכם curcuma κρόκος, *maddara* (?)—μαδέλκον בדלח βδέλλιον.‡ *Marakata*—ברקת σμάραγδος we may assume was probably borrowed earlier from the Semitic: § in the case of *kalama*—κάλαμος (borrowed in Arabic قلم) 'halm,' and in *śaṇa*—κάναβος, 'hemp,' on account of the transposition of sound, perhaps a cognate origin dating from Indo-Germanic times, may be assumed.‖

In this place, however, only those words will suit our purpose the Indian origin whereof—and we shall have to take up many Prâkṛit forms of them—is either quite, or at least approximately, ascertained, whilst numerous other names and words, with which such is not the case,¶ must be excluded.

Firstly, *articles of commerce*, or rather mineral, vegetable, and animal substances, and of daily life in general, belong to the following class of words**:—

*upala*—ὀπάλλιος; *kapphûra* (? *karpûra*)—καμφορα, *kushṭha*—κόστος costus, **kaṭuaphala* (*kaṭukaphala*)—καρυόφυλλον, **kaṭubhari*—καττυβουρινη, **khinnavâri*—cinnabari; *grîha*—γρααι; *chandana*—τζανδανα σανταλον; *tamâlapattra*—μαλαβαθρον, *tâla*—ταλα, *deva*—δευος (δεινος, βασιλευς), *nârikela*—ἀργελλια (? ναργελλια), * *nîla*—νιλον; * *pattrapâpikâ*—πατροπαπιγη, *bhâlâri*—βουτυρον (asafœtida), *mushka*—μόσχος; *veḷuriya*—βηλυρρος, βηρυλλος, *sakkhara* (? *śarkarâ*)—σακχαρι σακχαρον, * *saguṇa*—sacon sacondion sagenon, *saphena*—sapenas, *śiṅgavera* (*śṛiṅgavera*)—ζιγγίβερι, *surâ*—(ῥογχο)-σουρα, *sulvâri* (*śulvâri*)—sulphur.

Among geographical names the following occur††:—* *adhisattra* (*Ahichhattra* ?)—Αδεισαθρος, *Anurâdhagrâma*—Ανουρογραμμον, * *andhomati*—Ανδωματις, *Andhra*—Andarae, **Andhrasimantla*—Ανδρασιμουνδον, *Abhisâra*—Αβισαρης, -σσαρεις (Βησσαρεων?), *Abhîra*—Αβηρια, *Ambaṭṭha Ambashṭha*—Αμβασται Αμβασται, *Aśmaka*—Asmagi, *Aśvaka*—Ασσακηνοι, *Asikni*—Ακεσινης‡‡, * *asta* (West) Ασταкαμπρον.

**Ikshumati*—Οξυματις,§§ *Irâvati*—Ὑαρωτις Ῥουαδις Ὑδραωτης, *Indapattha Indraprastha*—Ινδαβαρα Ινδαπραθαι, *iriṇa*—Ειρινον. *Ujjeni*—Οζηνη, *Uttarakuru*—Οττοροκορρας, *Uraśâ*—Ουαρσα. *Ṛikshavant*—Ουξεντος, *Audumbara*—Odomboerae.

*Kaṭha*—Καθαια, *Kaṇṇakujjâ* (*Kanyâkubjâ*)—Κανογιζη, *Kapishṭhala*—Καμβισθολοι, *Kammandâ* (*Kurmandâ*)—Κομμενασης, *Kaliṅga*—Καλιγγαι Calingae, *Kalyâṇi*—Καλλιενα, *Kaśmîra*—Κασπειραιοι, **Kaśyapapura*—Κασπαπυρος (Καβουρα), *Kâkuṭṭhi* (*Kâkutsthî*)—Κακουθις, *Kâveri*—Χαβηρις, *Kâśi*—Κασσιδα, *Kirâta*—Κιρραδαι, *Kubhâ*—Κωφην, *Kumâri*—Κομαρια, *Kulinda*—Κυλινδρινη, *Kârkhi*—Κολχοι; *Kekaya*—Κηκεοι, **kokanâga*—Κυκκοναγαι, **kokanagara*—Κοκκοναγαρα, *Kaumâra*—Καυμαρα, *Kosambi* (*Kauśâmbî*)—Κωσαμβα, *Kolûbha* (*Kauluba* ?)—Colubae, *kshattra*—Ξαθραι, *Kshudraka*—Ξοδρακαι (Ξυδ-) Οξυδρακαι. *khatriya* (*kshatriya*)—Χατριαιοι.

*Gaṅgâ*—Γαγγης, *Gaṇḍakavati*—Κονδοχατης, *Gandhâra*—Γανδαροι, *Goṇḍa*—Γονδαλοι, *gauri* (?) Γαροιας, *grâma*—γραμμα γραμμον, * *Glauca*—Glausae, *Glauchukâyanaka*—Γλαυκανικαι.

*Chaṇḍâla*—Κανδαλοι,‖‖ *Chandrabhâgâ* Σανδρα-

* Of these Minayeff alone has discovered lately the first direct trace, namely, in the *Bavarujâtakam* (*Jât.* IV., 34, 9 no. 334) according to the Comm. of Buddhaghosa. (5th cent. A. D.) It contains a legendary report of repeated voyages of Indian merchants to Baverû (*Babiru* of the Old Persian cuneiform writing בבל) where they brought, on the second occasion, the *first peacock* for sale. See *Mélanges Asiatiques of the Imp. Russ. Academy*, Vol. VI. 1871, p. 557 *seqq.* It is mentioned also in the Bible that among other things the Phœnicians in Solomon's time brought also *peacocks* from Ophir (*Abhîra*). (Here I may incidentally observe that I do not think תכי is connected with *sikhin*, because the latter word can scarcely have meant a peacock at the time here intended. Also the word *togei*, supposed to be Malabarian, which has been enlisted for this connection, can scarcely have originated from *sikhin*, rather perhaps some Dakhaṇi word, which in that case might very well be the root of the Hebrew word). The form *Bâveru*, with *r* instead of *l*, here of course militates against a Phœnician, but rather for a *later Persian* mediation in the legend; otherwise the final *u* here, as well as in the Bâbiru of the cuneiform writing, is probably a remnant of the Semitic nominative sign.

† This word, curiously enough, occurs in the form *kafu* certainly, as early as the hieroglyphs of the 17th cent. Conf. Joh. Dümichen, *The fleet of an Egyptian queen of the 17th century*, Leipzig, 1868, Plates II. and XIV.

‡ The *l* of the words for *agaru* and *madâra* (?) bears witness to their transmission through *Semites*, not across *Persia*.—Hereto belongs also the name Ophir (*Abhîra*) itself, which of course does not occur in Greek.

§ *Ind. Skizzen*, p. 88.

‖ Differently in V. Hehn, *Cultivated plants and domestic animals*, p. 121. (Berlin, 1870.) The use of hemp in the preparation of intoxicating liquors (*ibid.*, p. 481) ascends probably to the Aryan period, partly because *bhaṅga* is used in the *Ṛik.* IX. 61, 13, as an epithet of the intoxicating *soma*, and partly because Indian lexicographers use *bhaṅgâ* to denote hemp and beverages of that king prepared from it. Comp. also *Vend.* IX. 138, *Yesht* XXIV. 26.

¶ Although their Indian descent and signification have been handed down to us, *e. g.* of margarita, troppaga, kotymba (perhaps *kaṭupa*, boat or little bag for keeping fluids?) κολανδιοφοντα, σαγγαρα, brochma (abortion; comp. *bhrûṇahan*?), dramasa (*dhruva*?) καρπιον, δικαιρος, and many others.

** I mark with a star the words the signification, or rather use, of which cannot be exactly pointed out, although they are possibly current. I do not put any marks to the Prâkṛit forms drawn from Sanskrit words actually occurring in the respective meanings, but I enclose the latter words in parentheses. I add, moreover, a few words which occur only in a Latin form, *e. g.* sulphur, &c.

†† The readings in Arrian, &c. vary much in the MSS.; I mostly adhere to those adopted by Lassen, since also the production itself of the corresponding Indian names is usually based on the precedent of Lassen.

‡‡ See Roth, *Lit. u. Gesch. des Weda*, p. 139.

§§ Also (like Ακεσινης) purposely an echo of Greek words: *vid. inf.* the words marked §§.

‖‖ See Lassen I. (820); according to *ibid.* III. 175, Γανδαλοι is to be read for it.

βαγα Σανδαροφαγος§§, *Chandravatî*—Σανδραβατις, *Chola Chora*—Σωρα.

*Takshasilâ*—Ταξιλα, *tagara* (*sthakara*)—Ταγαρα, *Tañgaṇa*—Ταγγανοι, *tabassa* (*tapasya*)—Ταβασσοι, *tâbasa* (*tâpasa*)—Ταβασω, *Tambapanni* (*Tâmraparṇî*)—Ταπροβανη, **taranivâha*—Τυραννοβοας,§§ *Tâmasâ*—Ταμασις, *Tâmalitti* (*Tâmalipti*)—Ταμαλιτης, *Tosali*—Τωσαλει.

*Dakkhinabadha* (*dakshiṇâpâtha*)—Δαχιναβαδης, *Darada*—Δερδαι Δαραδραι, *Dârva*—Δυρβαιοι, *dîba* (*dvîpa*)—Divi (Ιοβα)διου (Ναγα)διβα, **dîba sukhatara*†—Διοσκοριδης, *devapalli*—Δεσπαλλι, *Dvârakâ*—Βαρακη.

*nagara*—ναγαρα, *nâga* — (Κοκκο)ναγαι, *nagnaloka*—Ναγγαλογαι, *nâgadîba* or *naggadîba* (*nagna*-)—Ναγαδιβα, *Nammadâ*—Ναμαδης, *nânâgiri*—Ναναγειροι, *nânâguna*-Ναναγουνα, *nâsikâ*-Νασικα, *nilakantha* (?) Νιλκυνδα.

*Pañchala*—Παζαλαι Πασσαλαι, *Patisiâna Paitthâna* (*Pratishṭhâna*) — Πτιστανα, Παιθανα(Βαι-), *parna*—Παρνος, **Parvara* (? *Prâmâra*)—Πορουαροι, *Pâalipatra* (*Pâtali*-) Παλιβοθρα, *Pândava* (?)—Πανδαε Πανδυα, *Pâṇḍya*—Πανδιων,**pâlipattana*—Παλαιπαττνα§, * *pâlisimanta*—Παλαισιμουνδου‡, *Pukkhala Pukkhalâvatî* (*Pushk*-)-Πευκελα Ποκλαϊς Πευκελαῖτις, *-pura*.—βορα (Κλεισο-), *patala*—Παττaλα, *prâchya*—Πρασιοι.

*brahmâgâra*—Βραμαγαρα, *brâhmaṇa*—Βραχμανες, *Bhilla*—Φυλλιται§§, *Bhauliñgi*—Bolingae.

*Mandala*—Μανδαλαι, *Mathurâ*—Μοδουρα Μεθορα, *Maruṇḍa*—Μαρουνδαι, *Malaya*—Μαλαια Μαλεα Μαλεον, *Maśaka*—Μασσαγα Mazagae, *Mahâgrâma*—Μαηγραμμον, *Mahânada*—Μαναδος, *Mahî*—Μαϊς Μοφις Μωφις, *Mâdhyandina*—Μανδιανδινοι, *Mâlâva* (or *Malla*)—Μαλλοι, *Mûsika* (*Mûshika*)—Μουσικανος, *Meru*—Μηρος, **mausala*—Μαυσωλος§§.

*Yamunâ*—Διαμουνα, *Jomanes*—Ἰοβαρης, *Yavadîba*—Ἰαβαδιου.

*Lampâka*—Λαμβαγαι, *Lâla*—Λαρικη,**lonavâri* (or *-vâla*, *lavanavâri*, or *-vâla*)—Λωνιβαρε.

*Varânasî*—Ἐρεννεσις, *Vasâti*—Ὀσσαδιοι (Βασαδαι ?), **vârikachha*—Βαρυγαζα,— *-vâha*-βοας,§§ *Vijayanta* (or *Vaij*-) — Βυζαντιον,§§ *Vitastâ*—Βιδασπης Ὑδασπης, *Vindhya* — Οὐινδιον, *Vipâś* — Βιβασις Ὑφασις.

*Saka* (*Śaka*)—Σακαι, *Satadru* (*Śa*-)—Ζαδαδρης Hesudrus, *Sabara* (*Śab*-)—Σαβαραι, *Sâgala* (*Śâk*-)—Σαγαλα, Σαγγαλα, *Sâmba* (*Śâlva* ?)—Σαμβος Σαβος, *Sibi* (*Śibi*)—Σιβοι, *siripâla* (*śrî*)—Σιριπαλα, *supâra* (*Śurpâraka* ?)—Σουππαρα, *sûdra* (*śû*)—Συδροι, *Sûrasena* (*śu*-)—Σουρασηνοι, *Sona* (*Śoṇa*)—Σωνος.

**Saparṇa*—Σαπαρνος, *Sarayû*—Σαραβος, *Sâkâta*—Σαγηδα, *Sârañga*—Σαραγγης, *Sindhu*—Sindus Σινθος Σινδιμανα, Σινδοκλια, *simanta*—σιμουνδου, *Sihaladiba* (*Siñhaladvîpa*)—Σιελεδιβα Σαλαι Serendivi. *Surâshtra*—Συραστρηνη, *Suvâstu*—Σοαστος, **suvana*—Σοανος, *-sthûra*—Στουρα.

*Himavant*—Ἰμαος, *Haimavata*—Ἡμωδος Hemodus. *Hiraṇyavâha*—Ἐραννοβοας.

Lastly, also, to these belong a few historical names, &c. as Πωρος Πωρος—*Paurava*, Δανδαμις (Μανδ-) Δαμις Δαμιδαμις—**dandami*, **damin*, **damâdamin*, Κητευς—*ketu*, Καλανος—*kalyâṇa*, Σωπειθης—*Aśvapati*, Σαγγαιος—*samjaya*, § Σπινης—**sphîna*, Σπιτακης—**sphîtaka*‖, Φηγευς—*Bhârgava* (?), Μωριευς Moeris— *Maurya* (?), Σανδροκυπτος Σανδρακοττος—*Chandragupta*, Σισικυπτος—*Śaśigupta*, Ἀμιτροχατης—*Amitraghâta*, Σωφαγασηνος—*Subhagasena*, Βαζοδηο¶—*Vâsudeva*, Ζαρμανοχηγας—*śramaṇâchârya* (?), Rachias—**rakkhasa* (? *râkshasa*, *râjan* according to Lassen), Τιαστανης—*Chashṭana*†, Κηρεβοθρης—*Chelebothras Kera(la)putra*, Σιρι Πολεμιος—*Siri* (*śrî*), *Pulumâi***, Σαραγανος—(**sâragaṇa* according to Lassen, but perhaps better) **Sâtagani* (*Śatakarṇi* the exchange of *t* for *t* in the place of *p*), Σαδανης Σανδανης—**Chandana* (? *sadhana* according to Lassen), Βασαρωναζ—**vâsarandga* (? according to Lassen, *Vatsaraja* of Bhâu Dâji), Βαλεοκουρος—**balavathura* (? according to Lassen, *malayakûta* ?), Ἀνδουβαριος—*Aryabhaṭa*, Βουδδας—*Buddha*, Σαμαναιοι Σεμνοι Σαρμαναι—*Samana śramaṇa*, Πραμναι— *prâmâṇa* (?) OAΔOBOA CAMA OΔYOBOY CAKAMA —*bhagavat samanâ*,†† PAONANA PAO—*râñaṁ*(?)*râa* (*râjnâṁ râjâ*). So further the mythic names Σπαταμβας—*sadyambhuva* (? according to Lassen), Βουδυας—*Budha*, Κζαδειυας for Πραρειυας—*Purûravas* according to Lassen (? perhaps *deva* ?), Μαυσαλος—**mausala* (for *musalin* = *baladeva*), Γηγασιος—*Yayâti* (according to Lassen).

To non-Sanskrit but nevertheless Indian names, belong also the Greek legends on the coins of the Indo-Scythians (see above, p. 144) are to be considered, *e.g.* Γονδοφαρου‡‡, Υνδοφ-—*Guduphara*, Κανηρκου—*Kanishka*, Πακορης—*Pakura*, as well as those strange names of gods on them, partly with the initials APΔ, OPΔ, the meanings and derivations whereof are yet obscure, *e. g.* OKPO—*ugra* or *ahura* ? APΔOXPO—*ardha*+*ugra* or *arta*+*ahura* ?,

† Or perhaps better inverted, *dîba sukhatara*, from Διοσκοριδης ? See *Ind. Skizzen*, p. 88 n.

‡ The words of Ptolemy ἥτις ἐκαλεῖτο πάλαι Σιμούνδου, νῦν σε Σαλικῆ, according to Lassen are to be considered a misunderstanding on the part of the author.

§ Perhaps Zend *sanha* ?

‖ Perhaps Zend *śpitama* ?

† Bhâu Dâji in *Journ. Bombay Br. R. As. Soc.* VIII. 235, IX. 3 Lassen, II. 782, reads in the inscription in question against Prinsep: *Chandana*.

** The variants are:—*Pulomâvi*, *Padumâvi*, *Pulomavit*, *Pulimant*; a non-Sanskrit name (like *Chashṭana*).

†† ? Or *bhagavat sakamuni*? See my *Dissert. on the Bhagavatî of the Jainas*, II. 163. *Ind. Streifen*, II. 121.

‡‡ An Indian royal name which is otherwise also often

ΟΡΔΑΘΡΟ—*arta* or *ardha* (?) + *athra*, ΟΡΔΑΓΝΟ—*ardha*+*agni* or *verethraghna** ? see Benfey in *Z. d. D. M. G.* VIII., 430 *seqq.*, 460 *seqq.*

Hence the following results are to be drawn. Firstly, as to the *vowels* :—

α stands so regularly for *a*, *á*, that there is no need of adducing examples;—for *o* in Πατταλα—*potala*,—for *ava* in Κονδοχατης, Pandae,—for *aya* in Βυζαντιον.

[Indian *ă* is further represented† by ο, as in 'Ανουρογραμμον, 'Αμιτροχατης, 'Εραννοβοας, 'Οττορο-, Καμβισθολοι, Κανογιζη, Κοκκο-, Κονδοχατης, Κομμενασης, Μαθουρα, Μωφις, Σανδροκυπτος, Jomanes,—by ε in Ερεννεσις, Δερδαι, Κομμενασης, Κηρεβοθρης, Μεθορα, Σεμνοι;—by ι in ζιγγιβερι, Λωνιβαρε, Σισικυπτος;—by υ in βουτυρον‡ (*bhúdári*), Δυρβαιοι, (καρυο)φυλλον‡, Νελκυνδα (*nîlakantha* ?); by ου in σιμουνδου, Αυδουβριος, sulphur (*śulvári*);—by ω in Μωφις, Μαυσωλος. The representation by ο is however by far the more prevalent].

ε stands for *a* (as above), for *aya* in Κηκεοι, for *ava* in Οὐξεντος, for *î* in Ερεννοβοας; Νελκυνδα, for *u* in Πολεμιος (*Palumâi*), for *o* in ἀργελλιον (?), ζιγγιβερι.

ι stands for *i*, *î*, of which examples are not required; also for *a* (as above), for *u* in Κανογιζη.

[Indian *i* is moreover represented by ε (as above); by ει in Αδεισαθρος, Εἰρινον, Κασπειραιοι, Τωσαλει; by αι in Παλαι-*; by υ in 'Υαρωτις, 'Υδασπης, 'Υφασις, Βαρυγαζα (?), Βυζαντιον, Φυλλιται; by ο in Οξυματις.]

ο stands for *a*, *i* (as above), for *u* in Odomboerae, 'Οζηνη, 'Οτταροκοῤῥας, ὀπαλλιος, Βαζοδηο, -βοθρα, -βοθρης, -βορα, καμφορα, Κολχοι, Κομαρια, κοστος, Μεθορα, μοσχος, Ποκλαῖς, Σοδρακαι, (with Συ-), sacon (?), Σινθος, Σοανος, Σοαστος, Σοδραι;—for *o* in Κοκκο-, Γονδαλοι; for *au* § in Odomboerae, Bolingae, Colubae, Πωρος;—for *ava* in Πωρος, Μαλλοι.

υ stands for *ă*, *i* (as above), for *u* in βηλυρρος, καρυο-, καττυ-, Κασπαπυρος, Κυλινδρινη, 'Οξυδρακαι, 'Οξυματις, Σανδροκυπτος, Σισικυπτος, Συδροι, Συραστρηνη.

[Indian *u* is represented also by ι, ο (as above), by ου (Latin *u*) in Οὐαρσα, Ανουρο-, Βουδυας, Βουδδα, βουτυρον, -βουρα, (καττυ)βουρινη, Διαμουνα, Κακουθις, Ναναγουνα, Μοδουρα, Μουσικανος, -σουρα, Σουρασηνοι, sulphur. Στουρα;—by ευ in Πευκελα; by ω in Κωφην, Σωφαγασηνος.]

η, and Latin e, stands for *e* in Βαζοδηο, βηλυρρος, Κητευς, Κηκεοι, Κηρεβοθρης, Μηρος, 'Οζηνη, Σαγηδα, sapenas, Σουρασηνοι, Σωφαγασηνος, Χαβηρις;—for *ai*‖ in Ημωδος;—for *i* in 'Αβηρια (with 'Αβιρια), Βησσαρεων (?);—for *u* in sageuon (?)

[Indian *e* is also further represented by ε, as above.]

ω stands for *o* in 'Ανδωματις, Κωσαμβα, Λωνιβαρε, Σωνος, Σωρα, Τωσαλει;—for *au*¶ in Πωρος, Μωριευς,—for *ava* in 'Ημωδος;—for *va* in Σωπειθης.

αι, ει stand for *i* (ut sup.);—αῖ, αω for *ava*, in Πευλελαῖτις, 'Υδραωτης;—αο for *ava* in 'Ιμαος;—εο for *eva* in Λεοπαλλι;—αυ for *au* in Γλαυκανικαι, Glausae, Καυμαρα, Μαυσωλος;—ου for *a*, *u*, (ut sup.), for *ri* in Οὐξεντος;—ευο for *eva* in δευος.

[Indian *o* is moreover represented by α, ο, ω,—*au* also by ο, ω (as above); in Γαροιας for *Gauri*, there is probably a transposition from Γαοριας ?]

Next with reference to consonants, the frequent use of β is to be noted. This letter occurs for *p* in Βιβασις, -βορα, Δαχιναβαδης, 'Ινδαβαρα, διβα, Καβουρα (?) Καμβισθολοι, Κηρεβοθρας, μαλαβαθρον, Παλιβοθρα, Ταβασω, Ταβασσοι, Ταπροβανη, (but a great proportion of these words is probably based on Prâkrit forms which already had *b*);—for *b* in Βουδυας, Βουδδα, Κωσαμβα, Σαβαρα, Σαμβοι, Σιβοι;—for *bh* in βουτυρον, Bolingae, Αβηρια, Αβισαρης, (Βησσαρεων?), 'Ανδουβαριος, Colubae, καττυβουρινη (?);—for *v* and especially as an initial, as in—Βαζοδηο, Βαλεοκουρος (?), Βαρυγαζα (?), Βασαρωναξ (?), Βηρυλλος, Βησαδαι, Βιβασις, Βιδασπης, Βυζαντιον, as also in medials, thus—cinnabari, Δυρβαιοι, Ερανvοβοας, ζιγγιβερι, 'Ιαβαδιου, Λωνιβαρε, Σανδραβατις, Τυραννοβοας, Χαβηρις;—for *dv* in Βαρακη;—for *y* (perhaps by exchange with *v*) in Σαραβος.

[The Indian *v* is further represented by *ph* in sulphur;—by the rough aspirate in 'Υδασπης, 'Υφασις;—by the smooth aspirate in 'Ερεννεσις, 'Οσσαδιος, Σοανος, Σοαστος;—by οὐ in Οὐινδιον, Περουαροι.

Besides *va* appears as ω,—*ava* as α, ε, ο, αο, ω,—*áva* as αί, αω; as *ova* in 'Ρουαδος (*Irâvatî*),—*eva* as εο, ευο (as above)].

Further, the use of σ for the smooth palatal *ch* is interesting, in Glausae, Πασσαλαι, Πρασιοι, Σαν-

* Comp. βασιλευς, βασιλεων μεγας Ορθαγνης on a coin of *Gudupharo* in Thomas' *Catalogue of Bactrian Coins*, No. 28 (Lond. 1857). The other words of this kind, such as ΑΘΡΟ, ΜΙΙΡΟ, ΜΑΟ, ΜΑΝΑΟ ΒΑΓΟ are by Lassen also referred to the Zend, more particularly to Persia; whence it would indeed be difficult to separate the above words from it! With ΟΡΔΗΘΡΟΥ moreover, after the prefix ΟΡΔ = *ardha* an entirely hybrid formation would have to be assumed. But of course the explanation of ΟΡΔ through *arta* is also hazardous, because (1) *arta* sounds in Zend *asha* (the form *arta* seems to belong only to the *Western* Persians), and (2) because the same falls entirely away for ΟΡΔΑΓΝΟ Ορθαγνης if it be conceived as *verethraghna*; but to seek in it perhaps *arta* + *agni* (!) is precluded by the circumstance that we would then have to assume a hybrid formation, and would consequently fall into the same difficulty which precludes the explanation of ΟΡΔΗΘΡΟΥ from *ardha* + *athra*.

† The constant representation of *a* by α or ο, ε, &c., or more particularly of *u* by ι or ο, υ, ου in *different* texts is a testimony for the homogeneity of the respective passages; more particularly with reference to their derivation from a common source.

‡ *With an echo purposely sought of Greek words.*

§ If not already in the Indian word, *o* is to be prefixed according to Prâkrit rules

‖ Rather perhaps already in the Indian word itself; *e*.

¶ Do. do. do. do. ; *e*.

δραβαγα, Σανδραβατις, Σαρα, Σανδροκυπτος, σανταλον, as well as of ζ also for *ch* in Παζαλαι,—and for *s* as in Ζαδαδρης, ζιγγεβερι, Βαζοδηο, and for *j*, as in Βυζαντιον, Κανογιζη, Οζηνη.

[*ch* is also represented by τι in Τιαστανης,—by τζ in τζανδανων; its representation by κ in Κανδαλοι is perhaps to be rejected, and we ought to read Γονδαλοι;—*chh* appears as ζ in Βαρυγαζα (?).]

Of the semivowels ρ is not only used for *r*, but also for the lingual (*ṭ* or rather *ḍ*) * as 'Ανδουβαριος, 'Ινδ ιβαρι, καρυοφυλλον, Λαρικη, Λωνιβαρε (?) Σαραγανος (?) Βαλεοκουρος (?) In Κολχοι λ is put for *r*, in σανταλον for *n*.

[By adopting Lassen's explanation the *lingual* tennis in καττυβουρινη would be represented by ττ; in Καθαια, Παιθανα, the θ stands for *ṭh*, *ṭṭh*; in Νελκυνδα the *ṇṭh* is represented by νδ, *shṭh* in Καμβισθολα by σθ. In Διαμουνα *y* is rendered by δι, in the same way *dhy* by δι in Μαδιανδινοι, Οὐινδιον;—for *v* see above.]

Of the *aspirates*, θ appears for *t* in Σωπειθης, for *th*, *ṭh*, *tth*, *ṭṭh*, in Ινδαπραθαι, Καθαια, Κακουθις, Καμβισθολοι, Μεθορα, Παιθανα, once for *dh* in Σινθος,—θρ for *ttr*, *tr* in Αδεισαθρος, Κηρεβοθρης, μαλαβαθρον, Παλιβοθρα, Σαθραι;—φ stands for *p* in 'Υφασις,—for *bh* in Κωφην, Σανδαροφαγος, Φυλλιται,—for *h* in Μοφις Μωφις,—for *v* in sulphur;—χ stands for *k* in χαβηρις, Κονδοχατης, μοσχος,—for *kh*, *kkh*, in Δαχιναβαδης, Κολχοι, Χατριαιοι, σακχαρι,—for *gh* in Αμιτροχατες,—for *h* in Βραχμαναι.

And as to the Indian aspirates—*kh*, *kkh* (from *shk*) are represented by κχ, χ, as well as by κ alone, as in—cinnabari. Πευκελα;—*gh* appears as χ,—*ch* as ζ (as above); *ṇṭh* is transliterated as νδ in Νελκυνδα, *sth*, *shṭh* as στ in Στουρα, 'Αμβασται, κοστος, Παιστανα;—*dh* as θ only in Σινθος, as δ in 'Αδεισαθρος, Andarae, 'Ανδρα, 'Ανδομανις, Γανδαροι, Σινδο- Sindus, Μαδιανδινοι, Οὐινδιον, as (probably it had first become *h* in the Indian and then) it had dropped out in 'Ανουρο;—*ph* is rendered by *p* in sapenas,—*bh* appears as β, φ;—*h* fell out entirely as in Μαναθος, Βραμαγαρα, or appears as the smooth aspirate as in 'Ημωδος 'Ερανν οβοας, 'Ιμαος, -βοας, γραοι, Μααγραμμον, Μαϊς, Σιαγαι, as (the rough aspirate) *h* in Hemodus, or as φ, χ (as above).]

Aspirating occurs in Κονδοχατης, καμφορα, Σωπειθης, 'Υφασις, Χαβηρις, as well as in the use of θρ for *tr*, *ttr* (as above), whilst this has conversely been omitted in Πευκελα, cinnabari, Βαρυγαζα, sapenas, through the representation of *bh* by *b*, as well as frequently by *ṭh*, *nth*, *sth*, *dh*, *ndh* (as above).

Hardening takes place in Κονδοχατης, sacon (?), σανταλον, Σανδροκυπτος, Σισικυπτος; but more frequently softening, which however are mostly reducible to Prâkrit forms; compare the remarks on β, as further also 'αργελλια (?) Βαρυγαζα, Ζαδαδρης, Κανογιζη, Κιρραδοι, Λαμβαγαι, Mazagae, 'Οσαδοι, πατροπαπιγη, Σαραγανος (?), 'Υδασπης.

From to the nature of the case, the result of this juxtaposition of Indian vocables occurring in a Greek dress is of greater importance to the pronunciation of Indian (see the remarks on *a*, *u*, on the palatals, linguals, and aspirates) than of Greek words. For the latter nevertheless, *inter alia*, also the soft pronunciation of *b* (for *v*), of ζ (for *s*); on the other hand the hard pronunciation of θ (for *th*, *tth*); further the almost constant use of η for *e*; and lastly the preferential use of υ for *u*, as well as of *ab* for *au*, appear interesting.†

* In Δαραδραι, Κυλινδρινη, yet an *r* is added to the dental sound (comp. *drekâṇa* for δεκανος).

† *Monatsbericht der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Dec. 1871), pp. 613-632.

## REVIEW.

LOTUS LEAVES; or Poems chiefly on Ancient Indian Subjects; by H. C. Dutt.—*Calcutta*, 1871.

A volume of poems in the English language by a native of India is still somewhat of a novelty; but this is not the first time that the author of the collection before us has appeared before the public in verse. His name will be familiar to some of our readers as one of the contributors to the well-known "Dutt Family Album," which was so favourably received in England a few years ago. In the "Lotus Leaves" he has attempted to embody in a poetical form some of the more remarkable traditions and incidents in Indian history, beginning with scenes from the story of Râma and Sîtâ, and coming down to the capture of Tornâ by Sivaji. Those into whose hands this little book may fall must not expect to find anything very striking or original in the treatment of these subjects, but they will find everywhere smooth and pleasing versification, and considerable skill shown in the adapting of the measure to the varying character of the themes. Special mention may be made of the little poem entitled *The Bridal of Draupadi*, in which that famous story is reproduced with sufficient fidelity and much liveliness.

# NOTES AND MISCELLANEA.

## ON ATTRACTION AND REPULSION.

*From the Mathnawy of Jellāl-al-dyn Rūmy : 1st Duftur No. I.*

چون حکیمک اعتقادی کرده است
کاسمان بیضه زمین چون زرده است
گفت سایل چون بماند این خاکدان
درمیان این محیط آسمان
همچو قندیلی معلق در هوا
نی بر اسفل میرود نی بر علا
آن حکیمش گفت کز جذب سما
از جهات شش بماند اندر هوا
چون ز مقناطیس قبه ریخته
درمیان ماند آهنی آویخته
آن دگر گفت آسمان با صفا
کی کشد در خود زمین تیره را
بلکه دفعش میکند از شش جهات
تا بماند درمیان عاصفات
پس ز دفع خاطر اهل کمال
جان فرعونان بماند اندر ضلال
پس ز دفع این جهان و آن جهان
مانده اند این بیرهان بی این و آن
سر کشی از بندگان ذوالجلال
زانکه دارند از وجود تو ملال
کهربا دارند و چون پیدا کنند
کاه هستی ترا شیدا کنند
کهربای خویش چون پنهان کنند
زود تسلیم ترا طغیان کنند

When a small sage professed the belief
That heaven is an egg and earth its yolk,
An asker asked : "How does the earth abide
In this great ocean of the firmament,
A lamp suspended in the welkin vast ?
Does it slide neither down nor up at all ?"
The sage replied : "The attraction of the sky
From all directions keeps it in the air ;
As dome of loadstone molten standing fair
Holds iron with itself suspended high."
The man rejoining said : "Can heaven pure
Attract this sinful melancholy earth ?
It so repels it from all sides alike
To fix it amidst awful hurricanes !"
Thus the aversion of the blessed saints
In aberration fetters impious men
In the repulsion of this world and next
For either hopeful pledges they have none.
You spite the servants of the Lord Most High
Because they are aggrieved at your life.
They possess the electrum and reveal it,
Then they entice your straw, your nature vile ;
But when their grand electrum they conceal
Your resignation quickly turns revolt !

E. REHATSEK.

## THE MAHĀ MĀGAM AT KUMBHAKONAM.

THE town of Kumbhakonam is the scene of one of the greatest of Hindu festivals, the '*Mahā Māgam*,' which is celebrated once in twelve years, and to which people from all parts of India repair, to obtain remission of their sins by washing in the waters of the Ganges, which (according to Hindu legend) are brought, in some miraculous manner to the sacred tank on the south-east side of the great temple. This tank, which is known as the *Mahā Māgam* tank, is supposed to possess miraculous virtues at this particular season, for the goddess *Gangā* is said to visit the tank once in twelve years to cleanse herself from the pollution contracted by her, in consequence of so many thousands of human beings bathing in her waters and leaving their sins behind them. The purifier comes here to be purified, and at the same time to purify the multitudes of pilgrims and devotees who flock to Kumbhakonam on this auspicious occasion, that they may wash in the sacred stream and be clean. The legend given of the origin of this festival is briefly as follows :—

*The grandsons of a certain king of the solar race* who reigned in the ancient town of *Ayodhya* were *commanded by their grandsire to carry to the* eight corners of the earth a horse which had been offered in sacrifice, according to the peculiar rites of the Hindus appointed for the *Aswamedha Yajna*. The object in sending round this horse was, it would seem, that all the kings of the earth might do homage to it, such homage being reckoned a token of submission to the great sovereign of the solar race who had offered it in sacrifice. During their journey the horse was one night stolen from the princes by the god *Indra*, who concealed the animal in the lower world close by the spot where a Rishi was performing penance. After a long search the princes discovered the horse where it had been concealed, and, imagining that the ascetic was the person who had made away with it, they immediately attacked him, while he was still deep in his devotions. The ire of the otherwise meek Rishi was roused by this sudden and sacrilegious violence to his person, and darting fire from his eyes he consumed his enemies, reducing them to a heap of ashes. Through the intercession of the aged grandsire, and, subse-

quently, of one of his descendants named Bhagiratha, the ascetic withdrew his curse, adding that the souls of the princes whom he had destroyed could only reach the abode of the blessed after they were cleansed in the waters of the Ganges which flowed upon the crest of Śiva. This deity was next invoked on behalf of the unfortunate victims of the Rishi's wrath, and at his command the waters of the Ganges flowed upon the earth, and the ashes of the dead princes mingled in the sacred stream. When *Śiva* commanded *Gangá* to flow upon the earth, the god also decreed that whoever washed in her waters should be cleansed from the pollution of sin, and, in order to remove from the goddess *Gangá* the stain of pollution she would thus contract, he commanded her to visit the sacred tank at Kumbhakonam once in twelve years, when she could cleanse herself from such pollution.

The festival of the *Mahá Mágam* occurs in the year *Mágha* during the month named *Mágha*, and during "the occurrence of the full moon in or about the asterism *Mágha*." During this festival the pilgrims to Kumbhakonam bathe first in the waters of the *Mahá Mágam*, then in the tank of the Golden Lotus (*Pon thamarei thadagam*) and, lastly, in the river Káveri. There are twelve temples at Kumbhakonam, each having its presiding deity, the chief of the twelve being *Kumbhéśvaram*. These twelve deities are placed in their respective cars and dragged each round his own temple. They are all then carried on the shoulders of men in grand procession, with banners, incense, and fireworks, to the great tank, on the banks of which are erected twelve shrines, one for the reception of each idol. In the shrine which is built in the centre of the tank certain ceremonies are then performed, the trident being planted within it and besprinkled with holy water and incensed by the officiating *guru*. After the completion of these ceremonies, the people, who stand around the tank in anxious expectation, make a sudden plunge into it, as if the healing virtue would affect only the first who entered. A correspondent writing to us regarding this festival says,—"I am told that about 33,000 people are expected to visit Kumbhakonam during this *Mahá Mágam*, and judging from the number of special trains that the G.S. I. Railway run, both by day and by night, I believe there is no exaggeration in the statement."—*Madras Times, Feb.* 12.

## A FESTIVAL AT HAIDARABAD.

Once a year, on "Langur Day," the city of Haidarabad presents a scene characteristic of that Oriental grandeur, wealth, and fondness of display which historians and travellers chronicle but we in India seldom see. The whole of the tributary princes, chiefs and noblemen, within a certain radius of Haidarabad, assemble at the head of their dependants for the inspection of the Prime Minister, Sir Salar Jang, pay homage to the Nizam, and undergo a species of "muster" previous to the disbursement of the annual government stipend for the maintenance of the troops they keep up. The "Langur" of 1873 took place on the 5th March. A writer in the *Madras Mail* says that all present were conspicuous for their magnificent and costly dresses, whilst their dependants, horse and foot, contributed to an amusing spectacle. Uniforms of all ages, Oriental as well as European, were exhibited: coats, wristpieces, and morions of chain-mail; Saracenic head-pieces with their spikes of steel and chain-mail curtains; buff coats of tough bull's-hide; coats with tarnished epaulettes and wings of five and twenty years ago; shakos huge-topped and befeathered; the bearskin of some long-forgotten commander of a "grenadier company;" long swallow-tailed coats of the Christy Minstrel type, worn without continuations of any kind. Motley and numerous as the dresses were, in weapons the diversity was greater still. You saw bell-mouthed petronels of the time of the first James, an arquebuss or two, crossbows with dangerous-looking bolts, matchlocks, flint and steel muskets of various degrees of efficiency; swords of every age, shape, and nation. Yonder a curved scimitar; here the long straight blade of a knight of Malta. Knives more or less richly ornamented appeared in the kamarbands of high and low, but the arm most fancied seems to be a double muzzle-loading gun or rifle, many of which were carried in the hands of the noblemen seated on elephants. Long, light, bamboo lances were adopted by the majority of the mounted retainers, with, in some cases, a carbine slung behind the back. Throughout the day there was music for the Europeans present.—*Friend of India.*

## AJANTA CAVES.

About five and twenty years ago the Court of Directors of the late E. I. Company, with the liberality that so distinguished it, resolved to secure faithful transcripts of the wonderful frescoes in the Ajantá Cave Temples. Accordingly, Major R. Gill was employed, with the necessary establishment of assistants, and in the course of a number of years he sent home nearly thirty large and faithful copies of almost all the best portions. Of these, twenty-two or more, were placed in the Sydenham Crystal Palace, where they were destroyed by fire about six years ago. No copies, tracings, or photographs were taken

of them before sending them to be exhibited—and finally burnt: and all we possess of this magnificent series of facsimiles are woodcuts, on a very small scale indeed, in Mrs. Manning's *Ancient India*—of two of the pictures and of eight detached fragments of others. Fortunately five or six of Major Gill's large paintings had not been sent to the Crystal Palace, but were afterwards found among the stores and are now hung in the corridors of the India Office.

Most of the frescoes have suffered much since they were copied by Major Gill,—some have almost, if not entirely, disappeared. Still representations were made to Government to attempt rescuing some portion of what still remains, and Mr. Griffiths of the Bombay School of Art was accordingly deputed to visit them and report on the feasibility of copying them. His report has not been published *in extenso*, but the following extracts from it are of interest:—

"They are not frescoes in the true acceptation of the term, nor do they appear to correspond to the Italian 'Fresco secco,' where the entire surface of the wall was first prepared for painting on, and then thoughly saturated with lime-water before the painting was commenced,—as the groundwork upon which the paintings at Ajaṇṭâ were executed would, I think, hardly admit of this treatment. The groundwork, which appears to be composed of cowdung with an immixture of pulverized trap, was laid on the roughish surface of the rock to a thickness varying from a quarter to half an inch. To increase the binding properties of this ground, rice-husks were introduced in some instances, especially in the ceilings. Over this ground was laid the *intonaco* of thin, smooth plaster, about the thickness of an egg-shell, upon which the painting was executed. This thin coating of plaster overlaid everything,—the mouldings, the columns, the ornamental carving, and the sculptures,—and enough remains to show that the whole has been closed.

"Many of the paintings, as far as the hand could reach, have been wantonly defaced, hacked, and scratched in every direction, leaving not a square inch perfect. Bats by the thousand have done their work of destruction by clinging to the upper portions of the walls, and, to complete the havoc, water was percolating through the rock, converting some of the paintings on the walls and ceilings into a black unintelligible mass. It is surprising how these paintings have existed for so long under such treatment, when others which were not half their age have perished despite the care that was taken of them.

"The paintings in Cave No. I. are in a better state of preservation, and are more intelligible than those in any of the other caves. There are fragments of figures, some of them larger than life-size, of which the faces and hands are painted with vigour and expression; and although they are only shadows of what they were originally, still, I think, they are worthy of being copied. Portions of the ceiling to this cave are in a very good state of preservation, and were there nothing else remaining of the paintings this ceiling alone would be well worth copying, as being a marvellous piece of work and a school of art in itself. It is divided into panels, which are filled with painted fruit, such as mangoes, pineapples; in others are elephants, buffaloes, parrots,—all most delicately drawn. The panels are divided by bands filled in with the *fret-guilloche* and the *patera*, of infinite variety in design.

"I need hardly remark that the work of copying will be attended by many difficulties. But I am of opinion that no effort should be spared to obtain records, however slight, of what remains of the paintings of these famous caves. A few years hence the originals will be entirely obliterated; and I consider it will be a loss to art if some record be not made, even of the fragments that remain, of the works of these old Buddhistic artists, who evidently were keenly alive to the pleasures derived from, and who thoroughly understood the principles of, Decorative Art in its highest and noblest sense."

The Government of India having sanctioned an expenditure of Rs. 5,000 for this purpose, Mr. Griffiths and a party of students went to Ajaṇṭâ early in the cold season, and it is satisfactory to learn that all of the ceiling worth copying, and four pieces of the wall-painting of Cave I. have been successfully copied. It is to this cave also that most of the paintings at the India House belong.

To the paintings at Ajaṇṭâ, however, belongs only a part of the interest attaching to the remarkable remains there: in the architecture of the various caves is to be read a remarkably extended record of the history of the development of that art during a period of from five to eight centuries, and which could be fully supplemented from other groups of Buddhist remains in the Bombay Presidency and contiguous provinces. Materials for the illustration of Buddhist art at Ajaṇṭâ and elsewhere exist at the India House and with private individuals, and in April 1871 J. Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S., laid before the Secretary of State a proposal for completing and utilizing these, and offering to edit the work for publication. This offer was at once accepted and referred to the Bombay Government to arrange for completing the materials and carrying into effect, but nothing has since been done in the matter.

CASTES OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

Dr. H. V. Carter to his "Report on the Prevalence and Characters of Leprosy in the Bombay Presidency" has added an appendix giving short notices of all the castes mentioned in the returns. "The details it supplies," he remarks, "are of the simplest, and without pretence: such of the information as is not commonly available has been obligingly furnished by the Magistrates of Kanara, Khandesh, Thana, Dharwar, &c. and many probable discrepancies are referrible to the varying customs of the same castes in different provinces."

"The subject of caste," he adds, "is full of instruction to the antiquary and the ethnologist: it is a mine as yet little worked, but which holds information sufficient, by analysis of details, to explain many curious anomalies in the opinions and condition of the existing native races, if not to throw light on their origin and descent."

The list is arranged alphabetically, but we extract the accounts of some of the castes without reference to such arrangement:—.

"*Koli*.—A caste of low rank, embracing numerous tribes who are still most numerous in the mountain ranges running parallel to the sea-coast, and *par excellence* a hill-people; dwellers in the jungle or forest; most numerous of all such in the Bombay Presidency; they exist in large numbers in Gujarat and the Konkan and in the adjoining central districts of the Dekhan, but not beyond these limits: their proper *locale* would seem to be the Western Ghâṭs and prolongation northwards (18° to 24° N. Lat.); they also occupy the seaboard; it would appear as if their continuity had been disturbed by intrusions of the 'Bhills,' coming from inland forest hills along the banks of the Tapti and other rivers opening into the Gulf of Cambay; hence in Khandesh 'Bhills' occupy the ghâṭs and hilly ranges, the 'Kolis' being found in the plains, as a reflux from the south. The Kolis of Gujarat are thus almost separated from those of the Vindhya Ghâts; their history and present condition differ somewhat also; for a few formed alliances with marauding Rajputs, and their descendants claim the title of Thâkurs; and in this fertile province some of the Kolis have become admirable and prosperous farmers. Coastwise the race has maintained its place as fishermen, boatmen, and sailors: they make salt. In Lat. 20° Kolis again predominate on both sides of the ghâts: they are chiefs in the Dhangs; Patels, &c. in the Mâwals; the name 'Thâkur' is retained, but is not now associated with any preference apart from means: here, too, in the Dekhan a large section of 'Kolis' have become incorporated with the population on the plains; they occupy a humbler position than the Talabdi 'Kolis' in Gujarat, but have a recognised place in the village establishment, being watchmen, water-carriers, boatmen, fishermen, messengers, &c.; these have made the first long stride towards complete civilization. On the hills their brethren are still a rude people, living by selling jungle produce, cultivating a little land, and keeping a few cattle. All are very ignorant, but not unintelligent. Kolis are subdivided into numerous families (or kuls) all of which are perfectly distinct; the families form orders or classes, which under climatic and historic influences have acquired their present distinctive characters; eventually, doubtless, the whole race will become assimilated, without being decimated in process, for the people are apt.

"*Ambigâr*.—A Koli caste of boatmen, watermen, and fishermen, in S. India; they belong to the recognised and more civilised division of Kolis.

"*Patanwaria*.—A 'Koli' tribe of Gujarat, originally named from Patan-Anhilwâḍâ, the Hindu capital of Gujarat; their rank in the Koli caste is not the highest, as they eat the flesh of buffaloes; they are cultivators and labourers and sometimes village watchmen.

"*Bhui Kahâr*.—A widely-spread caste of rather inferior rank, whose occupation is to carry palkis, dolis, water-skins, &c.; to act as porters: they also catch and eat fish: they bear some resemblance to 'Kolis,' and have latterly been suspected to be also aborigines; they eat flesh and drink spirits: they are an ignorant but industrious class. Buchanan describes them as of Telinga descent: and adds that distillation of rum is one of their proper occupations.

"*Khârwi*.—A caste in Southern Konkan and Kanara, who are fishermen and pâlki-bearers, also crews and mates of native craft: they speak Marathi and Kanarese, and in that respect are noted to differ from 'Bhûis' or 'Kâhâras;' numerous: of rather inferior rank, and partakers of all kinds of food, &c. The name is indicative of their connexion with the sea.

"*Dharâlâ*.—In Gujarat; an inclusive term for people who habitually wear arms and pay for the privilege: in most villages they are Kolis and Pagis: in a few only Rajpûts and Sipâhis also: some are in independent circumstances: and all are probably the descendants of former successful soldiers

"*Mâchi*.—In Surat, of the Koli caste: fishermen, chiefly; a rude, ignorant, and intemperate race, said to be short-lived.

"*Wâgri*.—An offset, probably, of the Koli tribe, who retain primitive habits, and are mostly hunters and snarers of game and wild animals, whose voice and calls they can closely imitate; some make earthen toys, &c. They are widely distributed; some are lepers in Gujarat, where they are probably more numerous than in the Dekhan and Southern India. In appearance they are, often at least, of a true aboriginal type: their language appears to be the vernacular of the province they inhabit."

# NAGAMANGALA COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION.

BY LEWIS RICE, BANGALORE.

THE inscription of which a translation is given below was found in a temple at Nâgamangala, the chief town of a taluq of the same name, and 30 miles north of Seringapatam. It is well engraved on six plates of copper, about 10 inches by 5, held together by a thick metal ring bearing on the seal the figure of an elephant.

The grant which it records was made by Prithivî Koṅgaṇi Mahârâjâ of Vijaya Skandâvârâ in the 50th year of his reign, the year of Śâlivâhana 699 (A.D. 777), on the application of Prithivî Nirggunda Râjâ, for the support of a Jain temple erected in the north of Śrîpura by his wife Kundavvi, a grand-daughter of the Pallavâdhirâjâ.

The inscription begins with an account of the Koṅgu or Chera kings, almost identical with that given in the Merkara plates* as far as these date, namely, to A. D. 466. The variation is principally in the name of the first king, who is here called Kodgaṇi Varmma Dharmma Mahâdhirâjâ, while the sixth king is called Kogaṇi Mahâdhirâja. The form Koṅgaṇi occurs but once, in the name of the king who made the grant. The different ways of spelling this name may be of little importance, but are interesting in connection with yet another form which struck me at the time I saw it as suggestive. This was on a stone inscription in Coorg, containing a grant by Satya Vâkya Kodgiṇi Varmma Dharmma Mahârâjâdhirâjâ, whom I take to be the third in succession after the donor in the present instance, and ruling about A.D. 840. If from the similarity in the names Koṅgu and Koṅgaṇi we may infer that they were liable to the same changes, and that the former was sometimes written Kodgu, we have a very near approach to Kodagu, the existing name of the country which Europeans have corrupted into Coorg. I am aware that Professors Wilson† and Dowson‡ give the name as Koṅga, but the Rev. W. Taylor§ replying to them, in his literal translation of the *Koṅgu Deśa Râjâkal*, expressly says, "Throughout the document the word used is Congu-deśa.‖"

To return to the grant. It confirms the statement in the Merkara plates of an alliance between the second Mâdhava and the Kadamba king Krishṇa Varmma, the former having married the latter's sister. There is not a word about the adoption of a son by Vishṇu Gopa, nor of the reign of a king named Dindikara Râya, both of which are mentioned in the chronicle.¶ From this period of the Merkara plates to the date of the present grant the list of kings agrees with that generally received, as far as Bhû Vikrama, whose reign began in A. D. 539. His successor appears from the grant to have been Viḷanda, having the title of Râjâ Śrî Vallâbhâkhya, which in the chronicle is given as the title of the brother under whose advice he acted in the government of the country, (*younger* brother and named Vallavagi Râya according to Prof. Dowson, *older* brother and named Vala Vâcya Râya according to Mr. Taylor). In reality he was king *de jure* as well as *de facto*. The younger brother, on the other hand, is here called Nava Kâma. If this be the next king, he must be the same as Râja Govinda Râya of the chronicle. We then have mention of a Kogaṇi Mahârâjâ whose other name was Simeshwara (?). This evidently points to the Sivaga Mahârâyâ of Dowson and Siva Râma Râyâ of Taylor. His grandson, according to the chronicle, was a Prithivî Koṅgaṇi Mahâdhirâjâ ruling in A. D. 746. This is the name of the present donor, and by taking the intervening names of Bhîma Kopa and Râjâ Kesari as mere epithets of this king, which is permissible, the grant and the chronicle are brought into agreement.

Prithivî Koṅgaṇi must have begun to reign in A. Ś. 649 (A. D. 727). It is no small matter to obtain a fixed date for the commencement of a reign, and also to learn that it was prolonged to the unusual term of 50 years—

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 361.
† *Mack. Coll.* I. 198, and *Ind. Ant.* ut sup. p. 360.
‡ *Jour. R. A. Soc.* vol. VIII. p. 2, or *Ind. Ant.* ut s. p. 361.
§ *Cat. Rais. Or.* MSS.
‖ *Mad. Jour. Lit. and Sc.* vol. xiv. pt. i. p. 3; & conf. p. 45.
¶ As Dindikara Râya does not fall in the line of descent, it was scarcely to be expected that his name should be mentioned.—ED.

how much longer we do not know. Being the grandson of his predecessor, this king must have come to the throne at an early age, and hence there is nothing improbable in the duration assigned to his reign. The thing to be noticed is the absence of the minute details regarding the date of the donation, which are usually found in inscriptions. The name of the cycle year is not given, nor the day of the month or week, nor any astronomical conjunction. But notwithstanding the absence of these particulars the date of the grant accords perfectly with what we know of the history of this king.

We are next introduced to a province named *Nirggunda*. This I conceive to be the name that occurs in connection with one of the witnesses to the Merkara plates, but which, from his being there described as a servant, I conjectured might mean *nirganta*, the village waterman.* The position of *Nirggunda* I do not know. Wherever it may have been, the tributary king of the region had married the grand-daughter of the Pallavâdhirâjâ. I am not aware that anything definite has been published as to the chronology and succession of the Pallava kings. The following are a few scattered notices of the dynasty.

Sir Walter Elliot says †: "Previous to the arrival of the first Châlukya in the Dakhan the Pallavas were the dominant race. In the reign of Trilochana Pallava an invading army, headed by Jaya Sinha, surnamed Vijayâditya, of the Châlukya-kula, crossed the Nerbudda but failed to obtain a permanent footing. Jaya Sinha seems to have lost his life in the attempt, for his queen, then pregnant, is described as flying after his death and taking refuge with a Brahman called Vishnu Somayâji, in whose house she gave birth to a son named Râja Siṅha, who subsequently assumed the titles of Râna Râya and Vishṇu Vardhana. On attaining to man's estate he renewed the contest with the Pallavas, in which he was finally successful, cementing his power by a marriage with a princess of that race, and transmitting the kingdom thus founded to his posterity."

The rivalry, however, was not thus ended For I have a Châlukya inscription in which the first Vikramâditya is stated to have become "the possessor of Kânchipura‡ by the conquest of Pallava Pati, whose insults threatened destruction to the dynasty resembling in purity the rays of the moon," *i.e.* the Châlukyas, who were of the soma vaṁśa or lunar line.

The next king, Vinayâditya Satyâśraya, who began to reign A.D. 680, is described as having "destroyed the power of Trairâjya Pallava in the same manner as the heavenly general § of *Bâlénd[u]a Śekhara* || smote down the excessively-grown might of the *Daityas*." Previously to this, however, we find from the present inscription that Pallavendra Narapati had suffered defeat from Râjâ Śrî Vallabhâkhya of the Koṅgu line.

I have also met with two stone inscriptions of the Pallavas, but so worn from age as to be almost illegible. On one of them the name Nolambâdhi Râjâ has been doubtfully made out.

The character in which the inscription now translated is engraved bears much resemblance to that found in the Buddhist stûpa of Amarâvati with the addition of the characteristic letters of the *Haḷa Kannaḍa* or Ancient Kanarese, namely, the vowels, the four forms of *l* and two forms of *r*. These are denoted in the transliteration thus:—

r = ṛ = ಠ; ri = ऋ = ಋ; r = ಱ; l = ळ = ಳ;
l = ऴ = ೞ; l = ಲ; and ʟ = ೞ.

II. TRANSLITERATION.

[1.] Svasti jitam bhagavatâ gata ghana gaganâbhena Padmanâbhena. Śrîmaj Jâhnaveya kulâmalâvyomâvabhâsana bhâskarah sva khadgayka prahâra khandita mahâśilâ stambha labdha bala parâkramodâraṇâ-

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p 365, note ¶.

† 'Numismatic Gleanings,' *Madras Jour. of Lit. and Sc*, *N. S*, vol. IV. pp. 78, 79, quoted *Jour. R. As.. Soc., New Series*, vol I. p 251.

‡ Conjeveram, S. of Madras.

§ Kumâraswâmi.

|| Śiva

2

3

NĀGAMANGALA COPPER-PLATES.

rigana vidâranopalabdha vrana vibhûshana vibhûshitah Kânvâyanasa gotrah śrîmat Kodgani Varmma Dharmma mahâdhirâjah. Tasya putra pituranvâgata guna yukto vidyâ vinaya vihita vritta-h samya k-prajâ pâlana mâtrâdhigata râjya prayojano vidvat kavi kâñchana nikashopala bhûto nîti śâstrasya vaktri prayoktrî kuśalo dattaka sûtra vrittoh pranetâ śrîmân Mâdhava mahâdhirâjah. Tat putrah pitri paitâmahâ guna yuktoneka châturddanta yuddhâ vâpta chatur udadhi sali-la svâdita yaśâh śrîmadd-Hari Varmma mahâdhirâjah. Tasya putro dvija guru devatâ pûjana paro

[II.] Nârâyana charanânudhyâtah śrîmân Vishnu Gopa mahâdhirâjah. Tat putrah Tryambaka cha-ranâmbho-ruha rajah pavitrî kritottamâṅgah sva bhuja bala parâkrama krayn krita râjyah kali yuga bala pa-nkâvasanna dharmma vrishodharana nitya sannaddhah śrîmân Mâdhava mahâdhirâjah. Tat putrah śrîmat Kadamba ku-la gagana gabhakti (sti) mâlinah Krishna Varmma mahâdhriâjasya priya bhâgineyo vidyâ vinayâti śaya paripûritântarâtmâ niravagraha pradhâna śauryyo vidvatsu prathama ganyo śrîmân Kogani mahâdhirâjah. Avinîta nâmâ tat putro vijrimbhamâna śakti traya Andarih Alattûp-Paurulare Pelnaga râjyaneka samara mukhamakhabûta śûra puru-sha paśûpahâra vighasa vihastikrita kritântâgnîmukhah kirântâjuniya pañchadaśas sargga-

[III.] dikonkâro Duvvinîta nâmadheyah. Tasya putro durddânta vimardda mimriditam viśvambha-râdhi pañchâli mâlâ makaranda puñja piñjarî kriyamâna charana yugala nalino Mushkara nâma nâmadheyah. Tasya pu-traśchaturddaśa vidyâstânâdhigata vimalamatih viśeshato nava koshasya nîti śâstrasya vaktri prayo ktri kuśalo ripu timira nikara nirâkaranodaya bhâskarah Śrî Vikrama prathita nâ-madheya h. Tasya putrah aneka samara sampâdita vijrimbhitadvîra Daradana kuliśâghâtah vrana samrûda svâsthyadvijaya lakshana lakshîkrita viśâla vaksha stalah samadhigata sakala śâstrâ-dhi tatvassamârâdhita tri varggo niravadya charita pr(?)ati dinam abhivarddhamâna prabhâvo Bhû Vikrama nâmadheyah. Apichah nânâ heti prahâra prathighatita bhattârankavâlîithitâ srigbhârâsvâda ma-

[IV.] mmatâdsh (?) ipiśiti virâni??de sammarddha śimo sa?met Pa(?)llavendrañ narapatim aja-yad yo Vi-landâbhidhâno Râjâ Śrî Vallabhâkhyas samara śata jayâ vâpta lakshmî vilâsah. Tasyânu-jo nata narendra kirîta koti ratnârka dîdhiti virâjita pâda patmah lakshmyâ svayam vritapatir Nava Kâ-ma nâmâ śishta priyorigana dârana gîta kîrttih. Tasya Kogani mahârâjasya Śim(?)esh(?)va-râpara nâmadheyasya pautrah samavanata samasta sâmanta makuta tata ghatita ba-hula ratna vilasa damara dhanushkhanda mandita charana nadha mandalo Nârâya-ne nihita bhaktih śûra purusha turaga nara vârana ghatâ sanghatta dârana samara śirasi nihitâtma kopo Bhîma Kopah. Prakata rati samaya samanuvarttana chatura yuvati jana lo-ka dhûrtto loka dhûrttah sadardharâneka yuddha mûrdhna labdha vijaya sampadahita gaja gha-

[V.] tâ kesari Râja Kesâri. Apicha. Yo Ganganvaya nirmmalâmbaratala vyâbhâsana prollasanmârtâ-ndori bhayankarah śubhakaras sanmârgga rakshâkarah saurâjya samupetya râjya savitarâjanyattâro-ttamo râja śrî purushaśvîra vijayate râjanya chûdâmanih Kâmo Râmom sa châpa Daśaratha ta-

nayo vikrame Jâmadagnyaḥ prâjyo vîrye Balârirbbahu maha śira viśva prabhutve Dhane śahbhûyo vikhyâta śaktisphuṭatarmakhilam prâṇabhâjâm vidhâtâ dhâtrâ srishṭah prajânâm patir iti kavayoyam praśamsanti nityam tena prati dina pravritta mahi dâna janita puṇyâha ghoshamukharitamandirodareṇa śrî purusha prathama nâmadheyena Prithuvi Koṅgaṇi mahârâjena. Ashṭi navatyuttare shaṭchhateshu śaka varshesh varṭitesh-vâtmanaḥ pravarddhamâna vijaya vîrya samvatsare pañcha śattame pravarddhamâne Mânyapuram adhiva-

[VI.] sati Vijaya Skandâvâre śrî mûla mûlaśaraṇâbhinandita Nandi Saṅghânvaya Eregitturnnâmni gaṇe Mûlikalgachchhe svachchhatara guṇa kira pratati prahlâdita sakala lokaḥ chandra ivâparaḥ Chandra Nandi nâma gurur âsît. Tasya śishyas samasta vibudha loka parirakshaṇa kshamatma śaktiḥ Parameśvara lâlanîya mahimâ kumâravadvitiyaḥ Kumâra Nandi nâma munipatirabhavat. Tasyântevâsi samadhigata sakala tatvârttha samarpita budha sârdha sampat sampâdita kîrttiḥ Kîrtti Nandyâchâryo nâma mahâmunis samajani. Tasya priya śishyaḥ śishya jana kamalâkara pra (?) bodhanakah mithyâjñâna santata santa sasanmânâttaka saddharmma vyomâvabhâsana bhâskarah Vimala Chandrâchâryas samudapâdi Tasya ma-

[VII.] harsherddharmmopadeśanayâ śrîmad bâṇa kalakalaḥ sarvva tapa mahânadi pravâhaḥ bâhidaṇḍa mandalâ akhaṇḍitâri maṇḍala drumashaṇḍo Dundu prathama nâmadheyo Nirgunda Yuva Râjo jajñe. Tasya priyâtmajah âtma janita naya viśesha nisseshî krita ripu lokaḥ loka hitah madhura manohara charitaḥ charitârtta trikaraṇa pravrittiḥ Parama Gûla prathamadheya Śrî Prithuvi Nirgunda Râjo jâyatav Pallavâdhi Râja priyâtmajâyâm Sagara ku[la] tilakât Maru Varmmano jâtâ Kundavvi nâmadheyâ bhartri bhavana a[vi]rbhabûva bhâryâ tayâ satata pravrittita dharmma kiryayâ nirmmittiya Srîpurottara diśam alankurvvate loka tilaka dhâmne Jina bhavanâya khaṇḍa sphuṭita nava samskâra deva pujâ dâna dharmma pravartanarttha tasyeva Pri-

[VIII.] thivî Nirggunda Râjasya vijñâpanâyâ Mahârâjâdhirâja Parameśvara Śrîja sahita Devena Nirgunda vishayântarpâti Ponnaḷḷi nâma grâmas sarvva parihâropeto dattah. Tasya sîmântarâṇi pûrvvasyâm diśi Nolibeḷadâ beḷgal moraḍi pûrvva dakshiṇâsyâm diśi Paṇyangere dakshiṇâsyâm diśi Beḷgalli gereyâ Diḷa gereyâ paḷḷadâ kâdal dakshinâpaśchimâyândiśi Jaidarâkeyyâ beḷgal moradu paśchimâyandiśi Henkeri tâḷtuvâyarâ kere paśchimottarasyândi[śi] Puṇṇseyâ Goṭṭagâlâ kalkuppe uttarasyândiśi Sâma gereyâ paḷḷadâ permmaikke uttara pûrvvasyândiśi Kaḷambetti gaṭṭu. Îshânyânyâni kshetrântarâṇi dattâvi(ni) Duṇḍu samudradâ vayalokirudârâ mege padirkkaṇḍugam Maṇṇampaleya ere Nallu Râjarppâḷudirkkaṇḍugam ŚrîvuradâDu-

[IX.] ṇḍa gâmuṇḍarâ tâṇḍadâ paduva yendu tiṇḍa Śrîvuradâ vayaluḷ Kammarggaṭṭinalli irkaṇḍugam Kaḷani perggereyâ keḷage âru gaṇḍugam Erepûli gereyâ koyilgodâeda irppattu gaṇḍugambbede aduvu Śrîvuradâ baḍagaṇâ paduvaṇâ konuḷau Devangeri madaman nididam mûvattâdindu maneya manetâṇam. Asya dâna sâkshiṇâh ashtâdaśa prakritayaḥ

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6

NAGAMANGALA COPPER-PLATES

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9

10

NĀGAMANGALA COPPER-PLATES.

[X.] Asya dânasya sâkshiṇah shaṇṇavati-sahasra vishaya prakṛitayah. Yosyâpaharta to(bhâ)t mohât pramâdena vâ sapañchabhirmmahadbhiḥ pâtakais samyuktovabhava(ti) yo rakshati sapuṇyabhâgbhava(ti). Apichâtra Manu gîtâ ślokâ svadattâm paradattâm vâ yohareta vasundharâm shashṭirvarsha saha srâṇi vishṭiyâm [jâyâ] jâyate krimiḥ. Svandâtumsumahachchhakhyandukhamanyasya pâlanam. Dânam vâ pâlanamveti dânâchchhreyonu pâla(na)m. Bahubhirbbasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis Sagarâ dhibhi yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis tasya tasya tadâ phalam. Devasvant avisham ghoramnavisham visham uchyate visham ekâkinam hanti devasvaṁ putra pautrakam. Sarvva kalâdhârabhûta chitraka *lâbhijñena Viśva Karmmâchâryenedam* śâsânam likhitam. Chatush kaṇḍuka vrîhi bija(?)mâtram dvi kaṇduka kaṇga kshetraṁ tadapi brahmadeyam iva rakshaṇîyam.

### II. TRANSLATION.

May it be well. Success through the adorable Padmanâbhâ,* resembling (in colour) the cloudless sky. A sun illumining the clear firmament of the Jâhnavî race, † distinguished for the strength and valour attested by the great pillar of stone divided with a single stroke of his sword, adorned with the ornament of the wound received in cutting down the hosts of his cruel enemies, was Śrîmat Kodgaṇi Varmma Dharmma Mahâdhirâjâ of the Kanvâyanasa gotra. His son, inheriting all the qualities of his father, possessing a character for learning and modesty, having obtained the honours of the kingdom only for the sake of the good government of his subjects, a touchstone for (testing) gold the learned and poets, skilled among those who expound and practise the science of politics, the author of a treatise on the law of adoption, ‡ was Śrîmân Mâdhava Mahâdhirâjâ. His son, possessed of all the qualities inherited from his father and grandfather, having entered into war with many elephants (so that) his fame had tasted the waters of the four oceans, was Śrîmad Hari Varmma Mahâdhirâjâ.

His son, devoted to the worship of Brâhmaṇs, *gurus* and gods, praising the feet of Nârâyaṇa,§ was Srîmân Vishṇu Gopa Mahâdhirâjâ. His son, with a head purified by the pollen from the lotuses the feet of Tryambaka,‖ having by personal strength and valour purchased his kingdom, daily eager to extricate the ox of merit from the thick mire of the *Kali Yuga* in which it had sunk, was Śrîmân Mâdhava Mahâdhirâjâ. His son, the beloved sister's son of Krishṇa Varmma Mahâdhirâjâ, who was the sun to the firmament of the auspicious Kadamba race, having a mind illuminated with the increase of learning and modesty, of indomitable bravery in war, reckoned the first of the learned, was Śrîmân Kogaṇi Mahâḍhirâjâ. His son, named Avinita, possessed of the three powers of increase, ¶ who had brought anxiety to the face of *Yama** on account of the smallness of the residue left after the countless animals offered to him as a tribute, (viz.) the brave men consumed in the sacrifice of the face of the many wars waged for the kingdoms of Andari, Alattûr, Paurulare, Pelnaga, equal to Kirâtârjuna, the mighty master of the fifteen creations† and of the syllable *om*, was called Duvvinîta.

His son, the lotuses of whose feet were dyed with the balls of honey shaken from the lines of bending bees, the clustering savages, rubbing against one another, had the illustrious name of Mushkara. His son, of a pure wisdom acquired from his being the abode of fourteen branches of learning, an embodiment of the nine treasures,‡ skilled among those who

* Vishnu. † *Jahnavî kula—Gangâ kula* or *vaiśa*.
‡ Might also be rendered—the donor of lands to the *Dattaka* line. § Vishnu. ‖ Siva.
¶ *Sakti traya*—these are *prabhu śakti*, *mantra śakti*, and *utsâha śakti*, or the powers of sovereignty, of counsel, and of energy or perseverance.

* God of death, judge of the dead, the Indian Pluto.
† The reference is not understood.
‡ *Nava-koṭa—nava nidhi*, the nine treasures of Kubera, god of riches, viz. *padma*, *mahâpadma*, *śankha*, *makara*, *kachchhapa*, *mukunda*, *nanda*, *nila*, *kharva*. It is uncertain what these are.

teach and practise the science of politics, a rising sun in dispersing the clouds of darkness his enemies, bore the celebrated name of Śrî Vikrama. His son, whose breast being healed of the wounds inflicted by the discus weapon of Daradana—exulting in his growing bravery displayed in many wars—bore on itself the emblems of victory, possessed of the quintessence of all the sciences, having gained the three objects of worldly pursuit,* the glory of whose virtuous life each day augmented, was Bhû Vikrama by name.

Moreover, he who was eager to drink the stream of blood issuing from the door of the breast of the *Bhaṭṭâra* (or warriors) forced open by his numerous weapons . . . . he who had subdued the Pallavendra Narapati,† and was named Viḷanda, was Râjâ Śrî Vallabhâkhya, in the enjoyment of fortune obtained by victory in a hundred fights. His younger brother, whose lotus-feet were irradiated with the brilliance of the jewels in the crowns of numerous prostrate kings, who was to fortune as a husband chosen by herself, beloved of the good, whose fame in destroying hostile kings was the theme of song, was named Nava Kâma. The grandson of that (?) Kogaṇi Mahârâjâ, whose other name was Śimeshvara (?), ‡ the groups of the toes of whose feet were illuminated with a rainbow light from the rays of the jewels set in the bands § of the crowns of prostrate kings, who had fixed his faith on Nârâyaṇa, ‖ raging with fury in the front of war ¶ horrid with the assault of heroes, horses, men, and elephants, was a Bhima Kopa. No less a captivator of the glances of young women the most skilled in the joyful art of love than a subduer of the world, laden with spoils of victory gained in many most arduous wars, a lion to the herd of elephants the hostile kings, he was a Râjâ Kesari.

Moreover, a sun greatly illumining the clear firmament of the *Gangâ* race, a terror to hostile kings, a protector of the fortunate ways of good men, who having obtained the name of a good king shone like a sun over all kingdoms, . . . . . . lord over kings who were wed. to fortune, a shining head-jewel to the brow of kings, in the bow on his shoulder like Kâma or Râma the son of Daśaratha, in bravery a Paraśu râma, in great heroism Balâri, § in great splendour Ravi, ‖ in government Dhaneśa, ¶ of a mighty and splendid energy, the most glorious all-in-all, * to all things living Brahma himself, the king whom all the poets in the world daily praise as the creator Brahma, that Prithuvi Kongaṇi Mahârâjâ, the middle of whose palace continually echoed the sounds of the holy ceremonies which accompanied his daily rich gifts, among the favourites of fortune named the first, the Śaka year 698 having passed, and the 50th year of his glorious and powerful reign being then current, † residing in Mânyapura in Vijaya Skandâvâra;—

In the village named Erogittûr in the group of Mâlikalgachchha, rejoicing all the world with his combination of the rays of auspicious good qualities, resembling another *chandra* (or moon), was there a *guru* named Chandra Nandi, of the Nandi Sangha race praised of all the highest protectors of the Śrî Mûla (Jains). His disciple was a *munipati* named Kumâra Nandi, whose ability was worthy of protecting the assembly of the learned, a second Kumâra worthy to rejoice the heart of Parameśvara (otherwise, the greatest sages). His disciple was the great *muni* Kirti Nandyâchârya, who understood the essence of all sciences, who had acquired the fame of possessing wealth but for the assembly of the learned. His dear disciple was Vimala Chandrâchârya, the beloved of the lotus-lake of the disciples, a sun in illumining the sky of the virtuous actions of good men daily praised for their great learning.

Through the instructions in law of this great *rishi*, having become like the embodiment of the sound of a twanging bow, like the embodiment of the flood of the river of all penance, the sceptre of whose powerful arm

* *Trivarga*—these are *artha*, *kâma*, *dharma*, or wealth, pleasure and virtue or religious merit.

† This name is uncertain, as the greater part of the line has evidently been altered and the original letters written over, so that what appears is almost illegible.

‡ This name has apparently been altered in the plate. The above rendering is doubtful, as the middle letters are out of focus in the photograph.

§ *i.e.* the jewels were large ones.

‖ Vishnu.

¶ *Samara śirassu.*

* Indra.

† The sun.

‡ Kubera.

§ *Akhilam.*

‖ *Ashṭa navaty-uttare shaṭchhateshu śaka varsheshvartiteshu âtmânaḥ pravarddhamâna vijaya virya samvatsare panchâśattame pravarddhamâne.*

had broken down the groups of trees the hostile kings, was Duṇḍu, first of the name, the Nirgunda Yuva Râja. His beloved son, who through his knowledge of politics had destroyed without exception the groups of his enemies, a friend to all the world, of a life pleasant to be heard of, making good use of thought, word, and deed, was Parama Gûla, first of the name, the Srî Prithuvi Nirgunda Râja. His wife, born of the beloved daughter of Pallavâdhirâja by Maru Varmma, an ornament of the *Sâgara Kula*, was Kundavvi by name. In her husband's house did she grow up, daily promoting works of merit; and she erected a Jain temple, an ornament to the north of Śrîpura, a glory to all the world.

For the repairs of any cracks or defects in which, for erecting any new portions, for the worship of the god, and for the gifts and charities—on the representation of that Prithivi Nirggunda Râja—the Mahârâjâdhirâja Parameśvara, united with (his queen) Śrija superior to *Lakshmî*, made a grant of the village of Ponnaḷḷi, belonging to Nirgunda, with freedom from all imposts. Its boundaries:—On the east, the white stone rock of Nolibeḷa; on the south-east, Paṇyangoṛe; on the south, the bank of the watercourse of the Beḷgalli-tank and the Dilla-tank; on the south-west, the rocky ground of white stone at Jaidarâke; on the west, the tank of the Henkovi weavers;* on the north-west, the piles of stones at Puṇuse and Goṭṭagâla; on the north, the great bend of the watercourse of the Sâma tank; on the north-east, the Kalambetti hill.

And he further gave other land on the north-east, (viz.) in the plain of the Duṇḍu Samudra a small garden of 12 *kanduga*†; in the share of Nallu Râja, the chief of Manmampale, 2 *kanduga*; on the west of the *tânda*‡ of the Duṇḍu chief, one *tânda*; in Kammargaṭṭi, in the plain of Śrîvura, 2 *kandugas*; under the Kaḷani large tank 6 *kanduga*; in the pasture-land of the Eropûli tank 20 *kanduga*,—this is dry-cultivation land; and as a site for a house 30 . . . . . . in the north-west corner of Śrîvura in the middle of Devangeri.

Witnesses to this gift: The 18 existing chiefs §.

Witnesses to this gift: The existing chiefs of the 96,000 country ‖.

Whoso through avarice seeks to resume this gift incurs the guilt of the five great sins. Whoso maintains it acquires all merit. Moreover by Manu hath it been said: Whoso by violence takes away land presented by himself or by another shall be born a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. He who makes a gift has an easy task; the maintenance of another's gift is arduous. But to maintain a gift is more meritorious than to make one.

The earth has been enjoyed by Sâgara and other kings. According to their (gifts of) land so was their reward. Poison is no poison, the property of the gods that is the real poison. For poison kills a single man, but a gift to the gods (if usurped) destroys sons and descendants. By Viśva Karmmâchârya, an abode of all learning, skilled in painting pictures, was this *śâsana* written. Though it be but four *kanduku* of rice seed . . . . or two *kanduka* of waste land, it should be protected in the same manner as a gift to a Brâhman¶

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## THE HILL OF SAPTA ŚRING.

BY W. RAMSAY, Bo. C.S.

"Sapta Śring," or, as it is called in some maps, but erroneously, "Chattar Sing," is one of the highest points in the line of hills commonly known as the Chandor range, running due east and west, at right angles to the main line of the Western Ghâts, and separating the district of Khândesh as it formerly stood, on the north, from the plains of Nâsik, to the south. The range is a remarkable one, presenting a series of perpendicular basalt faces to the south,

* *Talluodyaru*, supposed to be the same as *tanturayaru*.

† *Kanduga*, as much land as takes a *khanduga*, or about three bushels of seed.

‡ The signification of this term is not known. Perhaps it is a form of *tanu*, a place.

§ *Ashṭadaśa prakritayah.*

‖ *Shaṇṇavati sahasra vishaya prakritayah.* The name of "the 96,000 country" or country yielding a revenue of 96,000 pagodas, was *Gangavâdi*, as we learn from other inscriptions, but where situated I have not been able to discover.

¶ This last verse is obscure.

intersected by openings at intervals, with spurs more or less gradual running down to the valley of the Girnâ to the north. The range may thus be described as a continuous series of basalt blocks, mainly of even height, presenting a uniform steep face on one side, viz. the south. The range is again capped in the case of almost each block by vast masses of bare basalt rising from the centres of the lower and large masses, and assuming all sorts of strange forms and appearances, as of castles, pinnacles, &c. Sapta Śring forms one of these blocks, presenting an almost perpendicular face to the south, but with one or two spurs trending to the northward. The average height of the plateau is about 1800 feet above the plain to the south, and more than 3000 feet above the sea.

About the centre of it rises a bare rock of no thickness, but about half a mile in length, somewhat curved, highest at the two ends and depressed in the centre, giving the appearance of a wall with towers at each extremity. But at every turn the rock assumes a new appearance, and imagination must supply what the pen would fail to depict. The highest point rises over 900 feet above the plateau, and the rock is perpendicular on all sides but one, where it has somewhat crumbled away, and grass has sprung up among crevices. The name Sapta Śṛing is derived from a supposed idea of there being seven horns or peaks to the rock, but the eye fails to see the appropriateness of the title.

The hill is ascended by a good but steep bridle-road from the north; from the south a steep footpath leads up part of the way, ending in a flight of stairs carved out of the rock-face. Such is the rock of Sapta Śṛing, the abode of the goddess Devî, in whose honour a great fair is held every year at the full-moon of the month of Chaitra. The goddess herself resides in a cave at the base of a perpendicular scarp, the summit of which is the highest point of the hill, and her dwelling is approached by a zigzag staircase of 465 steps, built in the steep "*talus*" of débris which has formed all round the rock, and is now overgrown with thick scrub jungle. At the foot of the steps lies the village, if it may be so called, consisting of three or four Gaolis' huts, two *nagarkhânas*, and three *dharmaśâlas* for the accommodation of pilgrims. The place is well supplied with water from springs, which have been built up with masonry sides and with steps leading down to the water, and are known by distinctive appellations, such as Kâlî Kuṇḍ, Surya Kuṇḍ, Datâtre Kuṇḍ, &c. &c. Some are used for drinking, and others for bathing purposes, some possibly for both! Last, but not least, comes the "Śivâlè Tîrtha," or bathing-place sacred to Śiva. It is a small stone-built tank, not above 40 yards square, and nowhere more than four feet deep; yet thousands of pilgrims manage to bathe and wash their clothes in it at the fair-time, and appear to think themselves cleaner and better for the process, though to the eye of the profane observer the water rather resembles pea-soup in colour and consistency.

Not far from the Śivalè Tîrtha is a frightful precipice, known as the "Sît Kude." The rock overhangs at a height of more than 1200 feet clean above the valley below. Over this Tarpeian rock human victims are said to have been hurled in ancient days. Nowadays the mild but pious Hindu contents himself with sacrificing a living but generally very thin kid, commonly in fulfilment of some vow.

Looking down the dizzy height the eye discerns the mangled fragments of the poor victims being devoured by the vultures and other birds, who no doubt duly appreciate the piety of the offerers. The Śivale Tîrtha is said to have been constructed by the "Śenâpati" of the Satâra Râja during the beginning of last century. On one side of it stands a temple called Siddheśvar, now mostly in ruins, but with a dome still standing, and boasting some rather elaborate stone carving. Under the dome stands a *linga*, and in front of it (now in the outer air) is the usual carved Nandi or bull. The temple is one of those built of large cut blocks, without mortar, and ascribed to superhuman agency. "Bibisan," brother of Râvaṇa, being sick, was cured by the celebrated physician Himaḍ Panṭ. The latter being asked to name his reward mentioned his modest wishes, viz. that 350 temples should be erected in one night, and this was duly effected by the Râkshasas: of these the temple in question is one.

Not far from the dharmaśâla above noticed stands a *samâdhi* or tomb of one of the Râjas of Dharampur, his name apparently unknown. It is in the form of one of the ordinary dome-capped temples of Mahâdeva, and contains the usual emblem of the god inside; it is built

in good style and has some neat carving, but is sadly in need of repair. A *sâdhu* by name Gand Svâmi is said to have lived here a century ago as a devotee of the goddess. The Dharampur Râjâ was his *chela* or disciple, and on one of his visits to his *guru* died, and the *samâdhi* above described was raised to his memory.

There is a fine old "Baoli" adjoining, said to have been built by Gand Svâmi. The above are the chief points of interest on the hill, but there are numerous minor objects of adoration in various places, chiefly figures of Mâruti or Gaṇpati, the favourite deities of the Marâthâs in these parts.

The origin of the hill of Sapta Śring was on this wise:—Lakshmana, after being wounded by an arrow from the bow of Megnâth or Indrajit, son of Râvaṇa, despatched Hanumân to procure certain healing herbs from the hill of Girjâ Mahâtma, situated in Paradise. Hanumân duly reached the hill, but, being devoid of all medical knowledge, was quite ignorant of what particular herbs he should select, and accordingly solved the difficulty by taking up the hill bodily on his shoulders and transporting it to earth; on the way, however, portions of the mountain kept falling away, and one of these alighting in these regions became the hill of Sapta Śring. "Now there were giants," or at least Râkshasas, "in the earth in those days," and the earth may well be said to have been "filled with violence." The Hindu Triad resolved upon a remedy, and out of their own combined essence produced the goddess "Devî" or "Mahâlakshmî." Devî having been called into existence was located in a cave of the rock, and it lay with her to rid the earth of the Râkshasas. Devî was supposed to have been created in 3½ portions—one called "Mahâlakshmî" and seated at Kolhâpur, another called "Mahâsarsutî" or "Tukai" at Tuljapur, a third called "Mahâkalî" seated at Matapur, and lastly the remaining half at Sapta Śring, known as Sapta Śring Nivâsnî.

At the three first-mentioned places different ceremonies are observed in the worship of the goddess, but at Sapta Śring the forms are all combined.

But to return to Devî and her work. Two of the Râkshasas, Shumbh and Nishumbh his brother, she killed without much difficulty. A third, named Mahisâsur, so called from having the form of a buffalo, gave her greater trouble. Devî cut off his head, and out of the trunk proceeded the Demon himself, and a long struggle ensued, during which the Râkshasa once flew right through the rock, and an opening is said to exist at the present day, marking the spot. Eventually, he too was slain, and hence the goddess received the title of "Mahismardanî," or the buffalo-slayer. After this the earth was at peace, and Devî henceforth took up her abode in her cave, and became a general object of worship.

A sort of portico was added to the cavern at the beginning of last century by the Senâpati of Satâra, and the present plain structure was recently built by the present Chief of Vinchur. The solid flight of steps leading up to it is said to have been built by a *savkâr* of Nâsik, about a century ago. At certain intervals one meets with images of Râmchandra and Hanumân, Krishṇa and Râdhâ, and in one or two places the tortoise is carved out of a flagstone: these were, no doubt, designed as halting-places to serve as a pious excuse for the weary pilgrim to stop and take breath in the course of his ascent. The sight is curious during fair-time, for besides able-bodied pilgrims the sick and halt are dragged up in hopes of a miraculous cure, and barren women in numbers go to pour their vows before the shrine of the goddess. All bring offerings of some sort—grain, flowers, cocoanuts, or money, according as they are disposed. The daily service of the goddess consists in bringing her bathing-water from the Surya Kuṇḍ previously mentioned, and laying before her offerings of *khir* (cakes of rice, milk, and sugar), *turi* (cakes of flour and ghee), preserves, and so forth. After having been presented they become the perquisites of the "Bhopa," a hereditary guardian of the shrine.

Doubtless much of the merit of the pilgrimages lies in the bodily labour endured in ascending the hill and steps: in addition to the above, there are three different paths round the mountain, which are footed by the more devout—one a sort of goatpath round the base of the scarp, a second of greater circumference on the lower plateau, and a third round the base of the mountain below, which latter is said to be nearly 20 miles in circuit, passing through the narrow valleys which isolate Sapta Śring from the rest of the range on the east and west.

The summit of Sapta Śring is said to be

inaccessible to ordinary mortals, but on the night of the full-moon of Chaitra the Pâtil of Burigâm (a neighbouring village) ascends, and at sunrise next morning is seen to plant a flag. How he ascends, or how he descends, is a mystery, the attempt to unravel which would be immediately punished by loss of sight. A pair of binoculars, however, enabled the writer to track the footsteps of the flag-bearers, who were two in number, during their descent, which in places is certainly most perilous, and practicable only to feet devoid of shoes, and capable of grasping monkey-fashion. This perilous office has been filled by the same family from father to son for generations, and though a son is never wanting, other children if born die young: such is the story told.

Opposite Sapta Śring to the east, but divided (as before described) by a deep ravine, lies the hill called Markund Dêva, with a rocky top not unlike the Matterhorn in shape, as seen from the west. This is said to have been the abode of a Rishi in ancient days, whose spirit, after his demise, took up its dwelling in the rock: his present occupation is to recite the Purâṇas for the edification of Devi, who is said to be an attentive listener; this idea may have originated in the echoes, which are very remarkable.

The image of Devi resides in a natural cavern or hollow in the rock. The figure is about eight feet in height, carved *in relievo* out of the natural rock, and is that of an ordinary woman, save that she has 18 arms, 9 on each side, each hand grasping a different weapon. She wears a high crown not unlike the Pope's tiara, and is clothed with a "*choli*" and a "*sâri*" round her waist and limbs. She has a different suit for each day of the week; she is bathed every day, using warm water two days in the week. In front of her is planted her ensign, viz. a *Triśula* or trident painted red: there are also the usual accompaniments of bells, lamps, and so forth. A silver nose-ring and necklace are the only ornaments in daily use. The whole figure is painted bright red, save the eyes, which are of white porcelain. Near the base of the steps leading to the temple are two *nagarkhânas;* one, called Barodekar, was built by Gopâlrâo Mairâl of Baroda to commemorate the alleged miraculous cure of his wife, who having been a helpless cripple was suddenly enabled to walk up the steps carrying on her head a vessel of water to the goddess. An allowance of Rupees 150 a month is also paid by the same benefactor for the goddess's service. The other *nagarkhâna*, called Chandorkar, was built by a former Divân of Sindhia a *saukâr* of Chandor, who also added a *nemnuk* of Rupees 95 a month; a *nemnuk* of Rupees 35 a month was added by one Dâji Sâheb Kibe, a *saukâr* of Indor.

Further, the revenues of a village called Chandkapur were alienated for the service of the Devi by the Peshwâ in the time of Gand Svâmi above mentioned. These funds are administered by different agents, and there is is also a Panchâyat who exercise some sort of superintendence over the "personal property" of the goddess, her ornaments and so forth. The money offerings of pilgrims become the property of certain families, in certain fixed shares, while one of their number, the Bhopa, receives as his perquisite all eatable offerings. The story is told that a former turbulent jâghirdâr of the neighbouring town of Abhona, facetiously called "Tokerâo" or "the Hammerer" (precisely as King Edward I. was termed *Malleus Scotorum*)," used always to be harassing and plundering the pilgrims, until he was bought off by a fixed payment of half the offerings made to the goddess on 72 fixed days of the year. This arrangement is still in force, the allowance being enjoyed by the two widows of "Tokerâo." This is not the only occasion on which the goddess has had to yield to vulgar mortals; could a pen blush, it would do so in relating how the sanctity of Devi has recently been invaded by the myrmidons of so very human an institution as the Civil Court. Sad though it be, it is still a fact that at this very moment a mere ordinary mortal, "juptee Kârkun," is in possession of all the property of the goddess, owing to a demand made by "a claimant" against the present Bhopa. At this very moment a handsome set of ornaments, the gift of the Gaikwar, and valued at not less than Rupees 30,000, are lying in the hands of the "Panchâyat" at "Wanî," who are afraid to trust the goddess with her own, lest it should be swept into the devouring meshes of the law. After this great fall from the sublime to the mundane we make our best bow to "Devî," and wish her safe delivery from the hands of her friends and their legal squabbles.

# REMAINS IN MEKRAN.

BY CAPT. S. B. MILES, POLITICAL AGENT, MUSCAT.

The province of Mekran is remarkably poor in archæological remains of every kind, there not being, so far as I know, any extensive ruins or architectural monuments anywhere to be found in it.

From this circumstance we may be justified in concluding that Mekran has never been in a state of civilization, and that the inhabitants have ever remained in the same state of poverty and semi-barbarism in which they now are.

The causes of this are probably not far to seek; the general sterility and unattractiveness of the country, its hilly nature and want of water, are sufficient to account for its disregard by more advanced and energetic races, and for its not being permanently occupied and settled in by them, while it has also laboured under the additional disadvantage of lying out of the general highways of commerce. But these causes, though they have successfully preserved it from development and progress, have not been able to protect it from being frequently invaded and plundered by various conquerors.

The names of several cities and walled towns are enumerated by Arrian as having existed on this coast and in the interior at the time of Alexander's march through it, and subsequently by Ptolemy and Marcian, but no traces of these towns now remain to indicate their sites, and it is probable they were merely of the same rude and temporary character as the forts and hamlets of the present day

Among the few memorials of ancient vigour still to be seen is a hewn-stone *bând* or dam of considerable extent on the top of the "Batel" or high headland forming the peninsula at Guadar. This *band* has been admirably built across a declivity or ravine, draining a large portion of the surface of the hill, which is very flat. The huge sandstone blocks of which it is composed have been very regularly and compactly placed, and are so morticed or dovetailed together, without any cement being used, as to form a barrier of great strength and solidity, which though now partly in ruins is still serviceable, and after the winter rains usually retains a large body of fresh water. It has been supplemented by a modern *band* of sand thrown up at an angle to it. The reservoir thus formed usually lasts the inhabitants of the town of Guadar, where the water obtained from wells is very scanty and bad, for the best part of a year. The construction of this dam is generally ascribed by Europeans to the Portuguese, but it appears to me of much more ancient date, and is perhaps due to one of the Persian monarchs. No information can be gathered from the inhabitants on the subject, as the Baluches are singularly wanting in national traditions of any kind likely to throw light on their past history. About a hundred miles to the W. of Guadar, near the village of Tîz, are some curious and interesting caves, which I had last year an opportunity of visiting. The village of Tîz is situated in a small valley, and is closely environed on all sides but one by ranges of hills. In the range to the N. E. of the town, and about two hundred feet above the plain, is a circular chamber with a large entrance, evidently artificially excavated, opening on to a small platform. The diameter of this chamber is about twelve feet, and in the centre of it is a rectangular block of stone or masonry seven or eight feet long with a small dome on it; in front of the block is an opening leading to a cavity underneath. There is no inscription, but it appears to have been intended for a tomb. The face of the rock to the left has been smoothed and covered with plaster: this is covered with scribblings and symbols (the *swastika* and *triśula*) in Gujarâti, done by the Hindu traders of the neighbouring port of Charbar, who believe the caves to be of Hindu origin, and are in the habit of resorting to them. Below this, to the left again, is another smaller chamber neatly excavated and chunamed, but quite empty. The platform is made of kiln-burnt bricks and mortar, and has apparently formed part of some building or structure which has been destroyed, or has disappeared by the disintegration and falling away of the sandstone rock. Some distance away to the right, the face of the cliff is perfectly smooth and perpendicular, and at the foot of it is a spacious natural cavern, the mouth of which is now almost entirely blocked up by huge fragments of rock and débris. In shape this cavern is semicircular, and it is, I should think, about a hundred yards in circumference, but the roof is rather low. It appears to have been used as a temple. The roof and sides, which bear signs of being greatly eroded

by water, have been covered with a coating of mortar or chunam, which is still adhering in some places. In the centre is a low wall, four or five feet high, of thick chunam, forming a semicircular enclosure, and inside this is a small angle or step of chunam; this is all that remains of the building or structure, whatever it was. The ground is covered with pieces of mortar so very thick and solid that it is evident the temple has been purposely destroyed by man. Close by is another low cavern, hollowed out by water apparently, but said to be an artificial subterranean passage cut through the range of hills to a hamlet on the other side; I satisfied myself, however, that it was natural and led only a few yards. The inhabitants have a legend attached to these caves, attributing them to a former Baluch queen, who is said to have resided in them and dug the passage through the hills.

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## ON A PRAKRIT GLOSSARY ENTITLED PÂIYALACHHÎ.

BY G. BUHLER, PH. D.

In the January number of this journal (vol. II. p. 17) I announced the recovery of Hemachandra's Deśîsabdasaṁgraha, the first work of its kind which ever had fallen into the hands of a European Sanskritist. By another stroke of good luck I am now enabled to give a notice of a second Prakrit Kosha which precedes *Hemachandra's work by two centuries.* This is the Pâiyalachhî nâmamâlâ, *i. e.* Prâkṛitalakshmîh, 'the wealth of the beauty of the Prakrit language.' In the MS. bought, the title is spelt Pâyalachhî and Pâyayalachhî. But the fact that in the first verse (see below) pâyalachhî must contain eight mâtrâs, and the circumstance that Hem. Deśî. I. 4 has the form pâiya for prâkṛita, prove the correctness of my emendation.

The MS. contains about 240 granthas and is written of 6¾ folios à 34 lines à 46—48 Aksharas. It is perhaps a hundred years old, and its characters are Jaina-Devanâgarî.

The Pâyalachhî nâmamâlâ is written in the Aryâ metre and constructed on a principle similar to that of the Amarakosha. It gives strings of synonyms for substantives, adjectives, and adverbs, each string filling usually a verse or a half-verse. The principle on which the synonyms have been arranged is not very intelligible. The book is not divided into chapters or sections, and no attempt at order is apparent. First have been placed the synonyms for Brahmâ (v. 1), Pârvatî (v. 2), sun (v. 3), moon (v. 4), fire (v. 5), love (v. 6), ocean (v. 7), elephant (v. 8), lotus (v. 9), bees (v. 10), woman (vs. 11 and 12). Then follow some adjectives and adverbs, vs. 13—16. Next come the words denoting 'collection, heap,' 17 and 18[a], and in the second half of the eighteenth verse the author says: 'Now we will declare the words occurring in the Gâthâs' (itthe gâhatthe hi vannimo vathupajjie). After this fresh exordium, he begins his enumeration with the terms for salvation (19[a]), a person saved (19[b]), *Vishṇu* (20[a]), *Śiva* (20[b]), *Kârtikeya* (21[a]), gods (21[b]), Indra (22[a]), Balarâma (22[b]) Yama (23[a]), Kuvera (23[b]), Vâyu (24[a]), Garuda, (24[b]), snake (25[a]), Daityas (25[b]), cloud (26[a]), air (26[b]), water (27[a]), river (27[b]), earth, (28[a]), Râhu (28[b]), etc.

The words given in the Pâiyalachhî are not exclusively Deśîs, but include many Tadbhavas and Tatsamas. Many of the Deśîs given occur also in Hemachandra's Saṁgraha. But sometimes their forms slightly differ in the two works. I have not found any quotation from the Pâiyalachhî in the Deśîsaṁgraha.

The author of the Pâiyalachhî has not given his name. But he states in the concluding, unfortunately corrupt, verses* of his work, that he wrote in Vikrama 1029, or 972-3 A.D., at Dhârânagara, under the protection of the king of Mâlava. In the ninth and tenth centuries under Munja and Bhoja, Dhârâ was a great centre of literary activity, and it is remarkable that Dharmasâgara in his Therâvalî, as well as other Jaina authors, state that in that very same year Dhanapâla wrote in the same place a Deśînâmamâlâ. I should have been inclined to identify the latter work with the Pâiyalachhî, were it not that Hemachandra quotes Dhanapâla several times and that his quotations are

* Vikkamakâlassa gae aunattisuttare sahassammi | mâlava narindadhâdie ludie mannakhedammi || dhîrânnyarie pariheua maggo thiyâe anavajjo kiyakaattheavahinie sundarî nâma dhijjâo || kamo aulbajanaih kiûrvâlaaattarayâ nam antimâ vannâ nâsammi jassa kamaso tenesâ viram desî || karvesu yo yo saddâ bahusakalhuin vaghanti to itthaâmao raiâ rumantu kao sahiyayânam iti pâyayalachhî nâmamâlâ samâtâ ||.

not traceable in my MS. In conclusion I give the text of the fourteen first verses of the Pâiyalachhî with the equivalents of the Prakrit words in Sanskrit, as far as I have been able to make them out.

Namiûṇa paramapurisaṁ purisuttamanâbhisambhavaṁ devam |
vuchhaṁ pâialachhîtti nâmamâlâṁ nisâmehi || 1 ||

Pâyalachhi tti...... nâmâmâlam, MS. against the metre, which is Âryâ.

*Translation.*

Bowing to the Supreme being, that lord who *sprang from* the navel of Purushottama, I propound "the wealth of the Prakrit language." Listen.

Kamalâsaṇo sayambhû piyâmaho ya paramiṭṭhî...... |
thero vihî virancho payâvahî kamalajoṇî ya || 2 ||

The first half-verse is mutilated, metre Âryâ or Upagiti.

Subject: Brahmâ.—Sanskrit equivalents: kamalâsana, sayambhû, pitâmaha, parameshṭhin, sthavira, vidhi, virinchi, prajâpati, kamalayoni.

Dakhkâyaṇî bhavâṇî selasuâ pavvaî umâ gorî |
Ajjâ duggâ kâlî sivâ ya kachchhâyaṇî chaṇḍî || 3 ||

MS. varakhkâyaṇî ...... morî—the first against the metre.—Metre: Âryâ.—Subject: Pârvatî. Sanskrit equivalents: dâkshâyaṇî, bhavânî, śailasutâ, pârvatî umâ, gauri, âryâ, durgâ kâlî, śivâ, kâtyâyanî, chaṇḍî.—Hem. Deśî. I. 8. com.: ajjâ gauriti kechit saṁgṛihṇanti.

Akko taraṇî mitto mattaṇḍo diṇamaṇî payango ya |
Abhimayaro pachchûho diyasayaro aṁsumâlî ya || 4 ||

MS. asumâlî ag. met.—Metre: Âryâ. Subject: Sun. Sanskrit equivalents: arka, taraṇi, mitra, mârtaṇḍa, dinamaṇi, patanga, pratyûsha, divasakara, aṁśumâlin; abhimayaro is doubtful to me. Hem. Deśî. VI. 5 (307) pachchûho ravimmi.

Indû nisâyaro sasaharo vihû gahavaî rayaṇinâho |
mayalanchhaṇo himayaro rohiṇîramaṇo sisî chandro|| 5 ||

MS. idû ...... gaṇahavaî...... ramaṇî against met. and sense. Subject: Moon. Sanskrit equivalents: indu, niśâkara, śaśadhara, vidhu, grahapati, rajanînâtha, mṛigalâñchhana, himakara, rohiṇîramaṇa, śaśin, chandra. The Prâkrit forms of the last two words are doubtful.—Hem. Deśî. II. 94 (274): gahavaî gâmiyasasisu ...... gahavaî grâmîṇaḥ śaśî cha | grahapatitvam âditya eva rûḍhaṁ na śaśiniti nâyaṁ grahapatiśabdasamudbhavaḥ.

Dhûmaddhao huyavaho vibhâvasû pâyao sihî vahnî |
aṇalo jalaṇo ḍahaṇo huyâsaṇo havvavâho ya || 6 ||

MS. huyâsaho.—Metre: Âryâ.—Subject: Fire. Sanskrit equivalents: dhûmadhvaja, hutavaha, vibhâvasu, pâvaka, śikhin, vahni, anala jvalana, dahana, hutâśana, havyavâh.

Mayaraddhao aṇango raiṇâho mammaho kusumabâṇo |
Kandappo panchasaro mayaṇo saṁkappa joṇî ya || 7 ||

MS. raiṇâho ...... kandappa sakappajoṇî, against met. — Metre: Âryâ.—Subject: Cupid. Sanskrit equivalents: makaradhvaja, ananga, ratinâtha, manmatha, kusumabâṇa, kandarpa, panchaśara, madana, saṁkalpayoni.

Mayaraharo sindhuvaî sindhû rayaṇâyaro salilarâsî |
pârâvâro jalahî taraṁgamalî samudda ya || 8 ||

MS. taralamâlî ag. met. Metre: Âryâ. Subject: Ocean. Sanskrit equivalents: makaradhara, sindhupati, sindhu, ratnâkara, salilarâśi, pârâvâra, jaladhi, taraṁgamâlin, samudra.

Pîlo gao mayagalo mâyango sindhuro kareṇû ya |
doghaṭṭo dantî vârano karî kunjarî hatthî || 8 ||

MS. pîlagau ...... mâyago ...... kunjarî harî. ag. met. Metre Âryâ. Subject: Elephant. Sanskrit equivalents: pîlu (an Arabic loan-word), gaja, madakala, mâtanga, sindhura, kareṇu, dvighaṭa (?) dantin, vâraṇa, kunjarin, hastin. Hem. Deśî. quotes in the Com. on VI. 29 (422) and gives. V. 43 (273), *dugghuṭṭo* as a synonym of hastî.

Amburuhaṁ sayavattaṁ saroruhaṁ puṇḍarîyam araviṁdam |
râîvaṁ tâmarasaṁ ma..uppalam pankayaṁ naliṇam ||

The *la* of madhuppalam has been destroyed by an insect, and the reading is conjectural though not doubtful. Metre: Âryâ. Subject: Lotus. Sanskrit equivalents: amburuha, śatapattra, saroruha, aravinda, râjîva, tâmrarasa, madhûtpala, pankaja, nalina.

Kullaṁdhayâ rasâo bhiṅgâ bhasalâ ya mahuyarâ aliṇo |
iṅdindira durehâ dhuyagâyâ chhappayâ bhamarî || 10 ||

MS. iṅdidirâ ag. met. Metre: Âryâ. Subject: Bees. Sanskrit equivalents and etymologies: kulaṁdhaya, rasâpa drinking with the tongue or fr- ras, to sound? (bhringâ, madhukara, ali

repha, dhantakâya? shatpada, bhramarî.—Hem. Deśî VII. 2. (447) gives rasâu bhramrah, rasâu śabdoyam ityanye, yadyopâlah. Alnapi rasâo syât.—Hem. Deśî. VI. 99 (398) has bhasaro; Hem. Deśî. I. 80 indindirammi iddando, and Com. iddondo bhramarah | kaiśchudindi(n) diraśabdopi desya uktah | asmâbhistu samskṛitepi darśanâd anayâ bhangyâ nibaddhah. Hem. Deśî. V. 56 (296) bhamare dhungadhuyagâyâ dhûmangâ; the first and last apparently = dhûmrânga.

Râmâ ramanî śimantiṇî bahû vâmaloyaṇâ viṇayâ |

Mahilâ juvaî abalâ anganâ narî — — — || 11 ||

The second half-verse appears to be mutilated. Metre: Âryâ. Subject: Woman. Sanskrit equivalents: râmâ, ramanî, simantinî, vadhû, vâmalochanâ, yuvatî, abalâ, anganâ, nârî.

Sachchhandâ uddâmâ niraggalâ mukkalâ visankhaliâ |

Niravaggahâ ya sayarâ nirankusâ hunti appavasâ || 12 ||

Metre: Âryâ. Subject: A self-willed woman. Sanskrit equivalents: Svachchhandâ, uddâmâ, nirargalâ, muktakâ, viśrinkhalitâ, niravagrahâ, svairâ,* nirankuśâ, alpavaśâ.

Ruiram muṇoraham rammaṁ abhirâmaṁ bandhura maṇojja cha |

laṭṭhaṁ kântaṁ suhayam maṇoramaṁ chârn ramaṇijjaṁ || 13 ||

MS. latthakântam ...... ramaṇijjaṁ cha ag. met Metre: Âryâ. Subject: *lovely*. Sanskrit equivalents:—ruchira, manohara, ramya, abhirâma. bandhura, manojña,—?, kânta, sukhada, manorama, châru, ramaṇîya.

Hem. Deśî VII. 26 (472) says: latto anyâsakto manoharah priyamvadaścheti tryarthah.

Sasiṇaṁ saṇiyaṁ mitthaṁ mandaṁ alasaṁkuḍaṁ marâlaṁ cha |

khelaṁ bhikuyaṁ sâiraṁ visatthaṁ mentharaṁ thamiyaṁ || 14 ||

MS. visatthamentharam ag. met. Subject: *slow*—Sanskrit equivalents: mṛishta = marshita, manda, alasa,— —? marâla, svaira, visrasta (?) manthara.

## COORG SUPERSTITIONS.

BY REV. F. KITTEL, MERKARA.

### *The Demons in Coorg.**

I. MALES.—1. Ayyappa (Ayya-Appa),† *i. e.* Lord-father, a name at present explained as if Ayyappa were the lord of the universe. I think it originally means Demon-*master*, Appa being a very common honorific If a person falls under his influence (*drishti*), he will become ill. Ayyappa is also called Malĕ Deva, *i. e.* Hill-god, and Bêṭĕ Ayyappa, *i. e.* Lord-father of hunting, and his favour is sought for hunting expeditions. His stone, on a small platform (*ḍimba katṭĕ*), is met with in jungles and gardens. Here and there a whole jungle is dedicated to one of his stones, and out of such jungles superhuman sounds are said by some occasionally to proceed. On his platform models in wood and clay of bows, arrows, dogs, horses, elephants, &c. are laid as gifts. When a hunt has been successful, an Ayyappa stone is presented with a cocoanut and some rice, and, according to others, also with a fowl and some arrak in a leaf. The hill-Ayyappa stands nowadays on the boundary between the Kûlis (Demons) and Devas (Deities), as is indicated by the fact that no swine—the gifts thought particularly fit for Kâraṇas (Ghosts) and Demons—are offered to him.‡ To some of the jungle-Ayyappas Brahmans are sent once a year; others are served only by the Coorgs—with such the Brahmans have nothing to do. Some Coorgs say that in a few places a buffalo is tied up, in Ayyappa's name, in the jungle (*i. e.* killed?).

With the Tamiḻas, Ayyappa is called Ayyanâr and receives also swine as offerings§; the Tulus call him Ayyappa.

2. Another name of Ayyappa in Coorg is Sâstâvu or Sârtâvu. It is also found among the Tamilas|| and Tuḷus (*Sâstâvu*), both of whom consider its bearer to be the master of Demons. In Coorg he is a stone within or

* No bigoted Coorg would dare, and no Brâhman would, put the Ayyappas and Kâlis under the same headmr with the Demons.

† Ay, *Ayya*, is a honorific title among the Dravidians frequently affixed to proper names, like "Appa." May it be connected with *arya*?

‡ Bali is the specific name for "bloody sacrifice" with the Dravidians; the root *bal* means to be strong, able, firm or tight, and is very common. Bala and Bali of Sanskrit literature may be Dravidian.

§ Ziegenbalg's *Genealogie der Malabarischen Götter* p. 151.

|| Sâtta, Sâstâ. See Zieg. pages 150, 152 154, 186. The names of this Demon remind one of Śiva's appellations—Śânta, Śarva.

outside a temple, with a Brahman Pûjâri, and only at some distance from his Pûjâ-seat receives fowl-sacrifices from the hands of the Coorgs. Among the Tulus he holds about the same position; among the Tamilas he seems to bear more of the Demon character.

3. Kuṭṭi Châtta, a pure Demon that is found also among the Tamilas and Tulus. It means "the small Châtta (or Sâtta)."

4. Karu Vâḷa, *i. e.* he of the black sword. This is a Malêyâla and Tulu Demon.

5. Guḷiga (the Kulika of Sanskrit dictionaries), a stone under a jack or other tree with abundant sap. The Coorgs have this Demon in common with the Tamilas and Tulus. By the Tamilas he is stated to be one of the eight Serpents supporting the eight angles of the world;* but this idea is not familiar among the Coorgs. One thing, however, connects him with serpents also in Coorg, viz. the notion, though not at all general, that where a Guḷiga is, also a Nâta or Nâga stone ought to be.† Guḷiga means either "he of the pit," or perhaps "he who is united" (so as to be ringled?).

One or more Coorgs of the house to which a Guḷiga belongs go to it once a year with one of the three above-mentioned Malêyâlas, who breaks a cocoanut, kills a fowl, and offers some arrak (his reward being a quantity of rice). This is done with the object of averting contagious cattle-disease. If it happens that the Brahmans declare, and are believed, that some Guḷigas have become impure, they are sent to cleanse them with water—for which performance they are presented with some rice. To the Nâta stone, once a year, pûjâ is performed by a Brahman, and people from the neighbouring Coorg house go and light lamps to it.

6. Kôraga. This and the next are expressly stated to have been introduced by the Tulus. It may mean "he who cuts into pieces," or "he who dries up"—perhaps the sap of the body,—or also "the snorer."‡

7. Kallugoṭṭi (*Kallu-Kuṭṭi*), *i. e.* he who strikes with stones. Throwing stones at houses and people is thought to be a trick of certain Demons.

8. Panjuruḷi (*Panji-Uruḷi*), *i. e.* pig-rider. Among the Tulus, from whom he no doubt came, he is represented by an idol on the back of a pig. Brass images of Demons are most frequent with the Tulus.

9. Kuruṇḍa, *i. e.* perhaps "the blind one," or "the shaky (unsteady) one." He is a specific Demon of the Coorg Hŏlêyas or outcastes.

10. Tammacha. A jungle and hunting Demon that receives bloody sacrifices, but no pigs. He is especially the Demon of the Malê Kuḍiyas, *i. e.* hill-inhabitants, and is said to sow the cardamom seeds: these spring up wherever a big tree is felled in certain parts of the Western Ghâṭs.

II. Females. 1. Châmuṇḍi or Chauṇḍi (Châvu-Uṇḍi),§ *i. e.* either "death-mistress," or "she who preys upon death." Her name translated into Sanskrit is Mârî, the killer. She is also named Masaṇî (Śmaśânî), the woman of the burial-place. This Châmuṇḍi is always a mere stone, which is sometimes enclosed in a small temple but for which there never is a Brahman Pûjâri. She has three other appellations: Bêṭê Châmuṇḍi, *i. e.* Hunting-Châmuṇḍi, Kari Châmuṇḍi, *i. e.* dark Châmuṇḍi, and Puli Châmuṇḍi, *i. e.* Tiger-Châmuṇḍi. Another name is Bêṭê Masaṇi, and a stone of this appellation is kept by some people in their houses to invoke for hunting purposes.

2. Karingâḷi (*Kari-Kâḷi*),‖ *i. e.* the dark black one. She has only one place in Coorg, viz. at the village Kuṭṭa, where she is represented by some stones in an enclosure. She is so terrible that no Coorg of the old school likes to utter her real name; she is therefore generally called "the deity of Kuṭṭa." An Ŏkkaliga, *i. e.* a Kanarese peasant, is her Pûjâri.¶ At her yearly masquerade (*Kôla*, the Canarese *têrû*) Boṭṭa Kurubas (hill-shepherds) and Malêyas use to dance, but no Coorgs. Regarding the animals to be decapitated on that

* They are: Vâsuki, Ananta, Takka (Takshu), Sankhapâla, Guḷiga, Padma, Mahâ Padma, Kârkoṭaka.

† Probably on very few of the Coorg Nâga stones is the form of a serpent. Should, after all, in spite of Professor Benfey's ingenious guess (nâga = snâga, snake), Nâga be Dravidian? Nâta means smell, stench.

‡ There is a jungle tribe in Tulu called the Kôragas, who make baskets and mats of split bamboos.

§ This Demon is throughout Dravidian.

‖ Kâḷi's-root is Kar, Kal, to be black; Krishna probably belongs to this same root.

¶ With the Tamilas the Pûjâris at the pagodas of Durgâ are Pandârus, a class of agricultural labourers or Sûdras. The Coorgs are peasants or Sûdras themselves.

occasion in Kuṭṭa I had unfortunately been misinformed when I wrote my first article.* Karingâḷi has been raised so high as to be offered no pigs, but only fowls !—possibly from the fear arising from publicly declaring her to be a demon.

3. Badra Kâḷi, as Kâḍu Badra Kâḷi *i. e.* the Badra Kâḷi of the jungle. She has a Brahman as Pûjâri; but near her place is another stone at which either the Coorgs themselves, or by their order, Malĕyas offer fowls and goats. She has this character also among the Tuḷus, who once a year send a Brahman to serve her; sometimes the Brahman (against his caste-rules) orders a bloody sacrifice. By putting the epithet *Bhadra* (propitious, happy) to Kâḷi the Brahmans may have tried to change the demon's character: Bhadra means also "gold"—conf. No. 10.

4. Kundamme (*Kunda-Amme*), *i. e.* hill-mother: not general.

5. Karingōrati (*Kari-Kōrati*), *i. e.* the dark Kōrati. Kōrati is also among the Tuḷus. She appears to be a female form of Kōraga: see Males, No. 6.†

6. Kalluruṭi (*Kallu-Uruṭi*), *i. e.* stone-roller. She and the next are pointed out as having been imported by Tuḷus.

7. Nuchchuṭṭe (*Nuchchu-Uṭṭe*), *i. e.* probably "she who feeds on broken grains."

8. Nanjavva (*Nanju-Avva*), *i. e.* poison-mother. She and the next two are demons of the Coorg Hōlĕyas.

9. Nîli Avva, *i. e.* black mother. Nîli is the name of a crafty demon among the Tamiḷas.‡

10. Pŏnnañgâlamme (*Ponnu-añ-kâlu-Amme*), *i. e.* mother with the bright (or golden) foot-sole. But is she not likely to be the same as the Tamiḷa Añgâḷi, Añgâḷamme?§ Then the translation might be: Mother Kâḷi, who is the bright incubus (conf. No. 3). Other Coorgs pronounce the name Pannañgâlamme; in this case the composition might be *Pannañ-kâlu-Amme*, *i. e.* mother of strong feet, or, according to the Tamiḷa reading. Mother Kâḷi who is the impetuous incubus.

III. Bîras.—Another class of beings whom the Coorgs believe to exist is still to be mentioned, viz. the Bîras.‖ They are said to be human souls transformed to demons.¶ Such people as die a violent death are likely to become Bîras. Bîras have their stones at which bloody sacrifices are offered (fowls and also pigs).

*Deities, sometimes called Rain-gods.*

The so-called Deities (*deva, devi*) of the Coorgs are known by their being connected with regular temples (*tirikĕ*, lit. sanctuary), Brahman Pûjâris, and partly with idols. They are partly demons in a Brahmanical garb, partly entire importations.

Such of them as are represented either by stones or by images, or by both, are the males Ayyappa and Mahâdeva (*Omkâreśvara, Linga*), both being nearly identical; and the female Badra Kâḷi. Occasionally a face is painted on Mahâdeva's stone.

As a temple-deity also Ayyappa is the patron of huntsmen; he receives the same hunting implements as the jungle-Ayyappa*; his bloody sacrifices (or rather those connected with his host of Demons) are performed by the Coorgs at some distance from the temple, the Brahman Pûjâri remaining in the temple. Mahâdeva is quite modern Brahmanical, as no animals are killed for him.

The temple Badra Kâḷi (also called Pŏgōdi, Pavōdi, a *tadbhava* of Bagavati) is considered by some Coorgs to be one with Châmuṇḍi. Her bloody sacrifices, consisting of fowls, goats, and buffaloes, are made in the vicinity of her temple. About every second year a buffalo-sacrifice takes place. The decapitator is a Paruva (Mêda), an outcaste who makes bamboo mats and baskets and beats the big drum (*hĕmbaṛĕ*) at certain festivities. Also the Tamiḷas hire a Pariya (*i. e.* drummer) to perform the decapitation at their Badra Kâḷi sacrifices.† In the Tuḷu country the peasants (Baṇṭa, Gauḍa), though employing the Paruvas at masquerades,

* There are many Coorgs that have never acquired the knowledge of such particulars. *Vide ante*, p. 48.

† In Tamuṇa a female basket-maker who at the same time divines by cheiromancy is called Kuratti.

‡ Zieg. p. 186

§ Regarding this Añgâlamme, see Zieg. p. 104 *seqq.*

‖ Vîras? or Bhairavas?

¶ [illegible] male devil, Pêychchi, being a female of them, is not found among the Coorgs and Tuḷus. The feminine form strongly reminds one of Piśâchi, a word that is known and used everywhere in the South.

* It may be remarked here that, as a rule, at all places connected with Coorg superstition, Triśûlas (tridents) are found.

decapitate the buffalo themselves. With the Coorgs the Paruva is superintended by the Mukkâṭis, i. e. arrangers, who are either Coorgs or other Śûdras.

Near the source of the Kâvêri river is the temple, and within it the idol of Kâvêri Amma, i. e. Mother Kâverî. The service of this deity is quite Brahmanical, and my opinion is that the deity is an importation from the plains. The Amma's Tantris, or owners, are Tuḷu Brahmans. I do not find that the Coorgs are water-worshippers, though they have adopted also something in this respect from the Brahmans; and besides they have no *tangible* profit from this river in their own country.

Another deity with purely (Tuḷu) Brahmanical pûjâ, whom some people declare to be identical with Subrahmaṇya, is Iguttappa (Igutta-Appa), *i. e.* Father Igutta. He is prayed to for rain, and invoked at the harvest-festival. Might this deity not be the same with the Tamiḷa Vêguttuva-avatâra, *i.e.* the Buddha-avatâra of Vishṇu*? Besides Vêguttava the form Vêgutta is also correct.

It seems to be quite certain that many centuries ago the Coorgs, and with them most probably others of the Dravidian tribes, were mere ghost and demon worshippers without any ray of light to alleviate their fear. Have Brahmanical innovations in any way ameliorated their spiritual condition, or has even the contrary taken place? The discussion of questions of such a character is of much interest.

*Merkara, 22nd April* 1873.

# NOTES ON NATURAL HISTORY.

## I.—SNAKES.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C. S., KHÂNDESH.

It is the common belief of Khândesh, the Dekhan, and Central Provinces that the amphisbœna or slow-worm, (*mandûp*) changes its head to its tail, and *back*, every year. Also that its bite causes leprosy. At Christmas 1870, I shot a short, thick, clouded snake known as Jogî (I suppose because it is lazy and venomous). My police orderly, a Marâṭha from Anjanvel in Ratnâgirî, said: "There are lots of these in my country. If they bite a man or a buffalo, he swells up to the shape of this snake, and spots like those on the snake come all over his body." The beaters, Thâkurs of the Ghâṭs, knew nothing of this belief, though they hold the snake in so much dread that one man threw away the stick with which he had crushed its head. I have often met with this snake in the Dekhan and Khândesh, and never found this belief current anywhere above the Ghâṭ; but it is certainly poisonous. Compare the snake in Dante by whose bite a man was turned into a snake and *vice versa*†. In the year 1865, or thereabouts, a snake with fur or hair upon its body is said to have appeared near Bhima Shankar, the source of the Bhima river in the Sahyâdrî hills. It is described as having been about four feet long, and covered with a soft curly wool; and the people worshipped it for a season until it disappeared. My informant was very hazy about dates and details. Perhaps the creature was suffering from some furry fungous disease, such as fish are liable to.

The little river Yel, on the high plateau, known as the Peṭ Pathâr, in Tâluka Khoṛ of the Puṇâ District, is inhabited by great numbers of Dhâmans, the large water-snake with yellow netlike markings on his back. The belief of those parts is that the Dhâman is powerless to injure man or beast except the buffalo; but if a buffalo so much as sees a Dhâman he dies of it—the idea of the basilisk! Further east it is sometimes believed that the Dhâman drowns bathers by coiling round their limbs. It is really quite harmless to any creature above the size of a water-rat.

The natives of the Ghâṭs hold a small snake called the Phursa in much dread; and the Bombay Government have honoured it by bracketing it with the cobra, and putting a price on its head. The Kolis, who ordinarily bury their dead, have so great an abhorrence for four sorts of death that they will not bury the victims of any of the proscribed means of exit from this world. Three of the four are cholera, small-pox, and the bite of the *Phursa*. The fourth I have forgotten; but in these cases they make forks of saplings, pick up the deceased, and pitchfork him over the nearest cliff.

* Ziegenbalg, p. 8.

† *Inferno*, c. xxv.

With all this, I have never been able to find out satisfactorily what the Phursa is*. I have been shown at least a dozen different snakes by that name, the most of them tree or water snakes and as harmless as frogs.

A long thin yellow snake called Korad is much dreaded in the open stony parts of the Puṇá district. The people say: "He does not give a man time to drink water." This is certainly the most active ground-snake I have seen.

## LEGEND OF VELLUR.

BY DINSHAH ARDESHIR TALEYARKAN, SECRETARY, KAṬHIÁWÁṚ EKSAMPI RÁJASṬHANI SABHÁ

If a traveller in Southern India is induced to visit Vellur, it is specially because of its forts and its temple. We ascended one of its hills called "Sajra," on which there still exists an ancient fort. There is a sort of rough track which leads to the summit in about an hour. Surveying the town from this height, you find it lying close upon the base of the Sajra, irregular, scattered, and closely surrounded by high hills except towards the north. There you find the broad bed of the river Palâr stretching as far as the eye can reach. Over it runs a lengthy viaduct of about a hundred low arches. The river is dry, but here and there are canals dug for cultivators, dhobis, and others. The expansive bed and the beautiful bridge lying amidst numerous glittering nalás testify to the dimensions to which the river attains during the rains. Before the bridge was built intercourse with the surrounding places was very difficult: it took a whole day to cross the river, and four pairs of bullocks were required to drag a laden cart through it. We have scarcely seen another town so picturesquely situated. It is pleasantly buried amid clumps of trees of various sorts. Interspersed here and there about the outskirts of the town are paddy and sugarcane fields. Above all is a fort, but nothing of it remains except the surrounding walls. Broken cannon lie here and there half-buried. Large balls are also found scattered and rusting. You sometimes alight on artificial caves. In the very centre of the peak there still exists a deep tank. The water in it, though unused for years and rendered unwholesome by the growth of weeds and the rubbish which continually falls into it, would be drinkable in time of need. There are lasting springs in it.

Besides Sajra there are other hills close to it. On two of these are also ruined forts. The highest of all is Gojra, whose peak is narrow and pointed. To ascend Gojra is much more difficult. A tunnel is built in it, which, it is said, leads to all the other mountains, but no one ventures to go in.

These hills, forts, &c. were one of the principal means by which the former rulers used to defend themselves. The height, the positions, and the number of the hills were sufficient to harass the most patient.

Besides these forts, at the extremity of Sajra hill below, is another fort built of large black slabs, which is oblong, occupying about four miles; a very wide ditch surrounds it, full of pure water.

Inside the fort are found the offices of the Small Cause Court, Sub-Magistrate's and Tehsildar's Kacheris, Pension, Post, and other Offices. In the middle is an open space where a building was erected by Government many years ago, in which to confine princes who fell prisoners into their hands. As you enter the fort, opposite you stands a large Hindu temple which in extent and workmanship excels both the grand temples of Konjîvaram. It has several gigantic "Mandaps" of superior carving. In them are many dark cells for gods. The gods of this temple were those who lived in water, hence

* Natives are generally very ignorant of natural history, and often give the first name that occurs to them for any of the less common plants or animals. The Phursa is a species of *Lycodon*, the 'Gajoo Tutta' (Kaju Tatá) of Russell, who describes it as a *Coluber*, "the *head* broader than the neck, ovate, depressed, obtuse. The first pair of lamina between the nostrils, small, sub-orbicular; the next, pentagonal; the middlemost lamina of the three between the eyes, broad-lanceolate; the last pair, semi-cordate. The *mouth* small; the lower jaw shorter than the upper. The *teeth* below, numerous, close, reflex; two palatal rows above, close also and numerous, but the anterior in the marginal row, longer than usual. The eyes lateral, small, orbicular. *Nostrils* close to the rostrum, gaping. The *trunk* round. The scales, broad-ovate, imbricate. *Length* 14 inches. Circumference near the head, 1¼ inch; the thickest part of the trunk about 2 inches, and diminishes inconsiderably till near the tail. The *tail* very small, tapers suddenly, sharp-pointed; length 2 inches. The *colour*,—the head very dark, obscure, green, without spot. The trunk (including the tail), almost black, with a dark-greenish cast. The ridge of the back variegated with about twenty narrow spots, composed of longitudinal, short, dusky-yellow, white and black lines. Along the sides, and half down the tail, are interrupted rows of short, white lines; and from the head to the anus, on each side close to the scuta, there is a regular row of black dots. The scuta and squamæ are of a bluish white colour." In an observation, he remarks that the "colour resembles the Gedi Paragud" of the Coromandel Coast, which is the Maner or Manyâr (*Bungarum candidum*) of the Konkan; "but the variegating spots are very different," and "from the want of poisoning organs it may be inferred that it is not so formidable as, by the natives, represented."—(*Account of Indian Serpents*, p. 22).—ED.

there are wells all about. Streams of water run continuously underneath the temple. There is one portion of the temple in which you cannot go without a guide and torch; it consists of seven rooms built one beyond another.

This temple went out of the hands of the Hindus about the commencement of the Muhammadan rule in Vellur. No idol is left in it; half a dozen public offices are located in it; the richly carved black massive "Mandaps" have been whitewashed; the whole building has been disfigured. The following story* will tell how this curious temple and fort were erected.

It is said that when this place was a desert it was resided in by a god named Jalâgandi Ishwavar; Gangâ Gauriaman was the goddess. The small hill or Durgam was their frequent resort. The Palâr river was then called Chir and was on the north. To the south was the village of Welapadi. To the east was Palakonda Rânmalâi mountain. To the south-east was Dharmalinga Malâsi mountain. To the west was the tank of Sâdipâri. Everything within these boundaries was "Welankud," or forest. Cholâ Râja was then reigning, who had acquired much fame.

A person named Eatumardi used to live in the sacred city of Palavansa, on the banks of the Krishna river. He had two sons, Bimardi and Timardi, whose statues are yet at the sides of the temple gate. They are also found inside the temple in various attitudes. Their mother died soon after giving them birth. Eatumardi had four sons by his second wife. His wealth consisted in cattle, and they were by thousands. Soon after celebrating the marriages of his sons he made two divisions of his wealth; one was given to Bimardi and Timardi, and the other was divided among the four sons by his second wife, who commenced quarrelling with and even concerting the death of their two half-brothers after the death of their father. Hereupon the two brothers abandoned their homes with their families and their cattle. In course of their journey they halted at a place called Tirum, whence water was conveyed for the god Śriranganaigar, who was living in Palikonda. Hearing of the fame of Chola Râja and the sacredness of the hills in his possession, they went to Kailâspatnam; and Bimardi besought the Râja to give him some land for cultivation. The Râja, seeing he had come with immense cattle, gave him as much land as he wished in Welapadi to till and to rear his cattle. This place was called Welapadi, because it was full of trees named *welam* which furnished sticks for cleansing the teeth. He daily went to Kailâs Hill to worship the Dharmalinga, from whom he wished to know all about his lot. He intended to stay where he was, if he was thereby to become happy, otherwise he purposed to go and live in Senchi near Tanjor. On the tenth day the two brothers were attacked by Pâlagar marauders, but Bimardi and Timardi fought so boldly against them that they retreated. On hearing this the Râja was much pleased, and the two brothers were entrusted with numerous Silladars. The villagers also rendered them any aid they needed. At this stage of affairs one of the cows of Bimardi was delivered of a calf. It was as white as milk; but its horns, nose, tail and hoofs were black. Its teats were five. When it grew it never went in company with the other cattle. It went to graze alone, and returned alone. It was delivered of a calf, but did not allow it to drink milk. Bimardi was surprised to find that daily when the cow returned in the evening it came with empty udder. Nor was the herdsman able to explain this, but one morning he followed the cow wherever it went. The cow went on till it came near a small island, to which it went crossing the water. Immediately after this a serpent came out of a hole. It had five mouths, by which it drank milk from the five teats of the cow. After the serpent had done drinking, the cow returned to its master's place. Bimardi was much affected by this sight. He considered both the occurrence and the locality as sacred. On the morning of the following day he crossed the water and went near the hole of the five-mouthed serpent. There he prayed to know what were the wishes of the serpent. After this he fell fast asleep. A figure then appeared to him in his dream and said to Bimardi—"My name is Śambaśivam. That cow which you possess is created by me. I drink its milk and am pleased. I therefore wish you all success and happiness!" Bimardi answered—"I do not care for life or happiness, but am anxious always to remain in your service; and I am also anxious to perpetuate your name; with that desire I wish to construct a temple and a fort." The god replied: "Why need you do this? I am not any way known, and wish to remain so." Bimardi repeated, however, his prayers with much supplication. The Deva then asked; "Well, if your wishes be so strong, whence can you bring all the wealth to build the temple and fort? What money have you got for this purpose?" "All my wealth consists in the 8,700 head of cattle I possess; I shall sell them and carry out my object."

* A different legend is given by Lieut. H. P. Hawkes in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XX. p. 274, bearing some slight resemblance however to this.—Ed.

The god was much pleased to hear this, and ordered Bimardi to erect a temple and fort, and said to him—"When I was living with Wenkata Sapramal on the hill of Dharmalingamalai, that god placed one foot on the Dharmalinga Hill and the other on the Tripati Hill, and went to Tripati. In the place on which he placed his first foot there lies immense wealth, of which you may take as much as you can in the course of seven days and seven nights." So saying the serpent returned to his hole. Bimardi awoke from his dream, and implicitly believing everything that he had heard and seen in his vision, the first thing he did was to place a line of labourers from the hole to the hill mentioned by Śambaśivam. Bimardi afterwards repaired to the summit of the hill, where he repeated what the god Śambaśivam had uttered. All of a sudden, golden coins now flowed out, which Bimardi's men began to carry one after another. On this news reaching the Râja he summoned Bimardi into his presence. Bimardi informed him of all that had occurred. The Râja was so gratified to hear all this that he rendered his best assistance in getting the aforesaid jungle cleared for Bimardi. As the jungle was being cleared, it so happened that a hare appeared and made a certain sort of round several times and then disappeared. Bimardi was lost in astonishment. He implored his patron god to acquaint him with the meaning of what he saw. He was informed in his dream that he should lay the foundation of the fort as the hare had pointed out. Bimardi lost no time in complying with this behest. The foundation was laid in the Sakla year 1190 of Śâlivâhana's Sagârtha-varsha. The month was Panguni, and the date 19th. The god further ruled that the whole structure should be finished within nine years, and he be installed in the year Iśvara and on the 19th date of the month of Panguni. Bimardi on laying the foundation earnestly expressed his desire to carry out all these commands. The stones required for the structures were sent by Bimardi from a hill named Palikonda, which was 12 miles distant, and where Śriranganaigar used to sleep—*pali* meaning bed, and *konda* to take. The more stones were extracted from this quarry the more inexhaustible it proved. This mystery is explained by another story which may be told here. There was a Râja named Dharma Râja. He had a son who was noted for unrivalled beauty. He had a step-mother who became hopelessly fond of him. She once called him to her and tried by every means to make him make love to her. Sarangadram hereupon left his stepmother in great disdain. With a view now to ruin him, she told her husband Dharma Râja that this his son had attempted to take improper liberties with her. The Râja was consequently so much enraged against him that he instantly ordered his hands and feet to be cut off, and his maimed body to be cast on the aforesaid hill from which Bimardi had his stones. Sarangadram did not take this undeserved cruelty to heart, but spent all his solitary hours in devotion to his god. Consequently his hands and feet were replaced, and the hill was also benefited by his meritorious sufferings, in that any extent of stones extracted from it was in no time replaced.

Now to return to the story of the fort and the temple. They were all completed within the fixed time. The sacred cars were also ready. The first worship was held on the appointed day and the appointed hour. The god was named Jalâganthâ Iśvarar, and fairs in the temple were held every year, and the number of pilgrims and worshippers constantly increased.

Meanwhile, Bimardi besought an interview from his god, which was granted: he commenced thus—"I am simply a shepherd and tiller; I have no capacity for administration. I beseech thee therefore to appoint one who is fit to conduct a râj and to keep all affairs in connection with the temple in a prosperous state, so that I may have more time to spend in your devotion." To this the god answered—"There is one Wenkatdevamahariar, the son of Pargondama Pirawadardevamahariar, who maintains a thousand Brahmans daily. He is a fit person for the râj; go and tell him to undertake the management." A dispute was now raging between Wenkat and his brother as to the distribution of certain villages between them. Vellur was also added to these villages. The two brothers agreed to proceed to the Melkatachalapalaraisna temple in the Maisur Zilla, and there to cast lots and abide by the result. Wenkat got Vellur. On leaving his father's palace to repair to Vellur, he met with what was considered a very good omen, which was in the form of a maid-servant who was preparing torches in the palace. The result of his connection with her at this moment, which was justified and unavoidable in consequence of the coincidence, was that she gave birth to a son, who was, according to the law of the times, proclaimed heir-apparent to the râj. He was named Krishṇa Devamahariar. Wenkat reigned three years and gained a name for uprightness. He granted Wanandurgam and Chitaldurgam, lying to the east of Vellur, to his washerman and shoemaker, and made other similar grants to his deserving subjects. After this he abandoned all his possessions and business, and retired into a jungle where he led the life of a hermit. The Rayars or the descend-

ants of Wenkat ruled 234 years in twelve dynasties. It is still believed of Wenkat that he wanders in the jungle, and will some day again rule over the place. A Pathân succeeded these Rayars. The Pathân was succeeded by his son Abdul Ali Khan, who ruled 25 years. The fort of Vellur was now besieged by the Marâṭhas headed by Tukojirao and Silojirao, who espied blood flowing out of stones a mile away from the fort. They began to worship it, and a god named Puliyar issued saying—"I have been residing here for long." The Marâṭhas hereupon built a pagoda, Sambagavinagar, over this stone, and began performing daily ceremonies. A village was also established here of the same name. This god told them in a dream that if they wished to conquer Vellur they should worship Surpayagam. Thereupon proceeding to the river they built a place called Barindâvanam for the purpose. As prayers began to be offered here, serpents commenced moving about in the fort of Vellur. The mother of Abdul Ali Khan seeing the palace filled with serpents, insisted on his surrendering the fort to the Marâṭhas. He did so accordingly, and removing three miles from Vellur there founded a place termed Abdulwaram. The rule of these Marathas lasted 35 years, and their sons ruled 20 years more. A Musalman named Zulfikr Khan took the fort by force and ruled 22 years. Zulfikr Khan was succeeded by a Maratha named Sivajirao, who had besieged the fort for three years, and who remained on the *gadi* for 30 years. The rule of his son lasted 22 years. After this Pathân Daud Khan, coming from Dehli, made inroads on Vellur and Arkat, the administration of which he entrusted to his Vazir, and then returned to Dehli. The Vazir and his descendants enjoyed the sovereignty for 45 years. Now commenced the rule of Wallajah for 34 years, and Arkat and Vellur remained in the hands of his descendants until the British power appeared.—Such is the local legend.

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## THREE COPPER PLATES FROM THE KRISHNA DISTRICT.

The Acting Collector of the Krishna District has forwarded three copper Śâsanams to the Madras Government, presented by the Zamindar of Nazid. The largest of the three was found about a year and a half ago in the Mokâsa village of Ederu, near Agiripalli, where the Zamindar lives, by a man ploughing; and the others were found in the time of the present Zamindar's father. The writing on all is a mixture of Telugu and Sanskrit. The plates are in the Government Central Museum. The following translations were made in the Collector's office. The first and most important, gives some particulars of the Eastern dynasty of Châlukyas descended from Kubja Vishṇu Vardhana, or Vishṇu Vardhana 'the Little' or 'Hunchback,' the younger son of Kirtti Varma, and brother of Satyâśraya of the Kalyâṇi dynasty,—who established for himself a new kingdom by the conquest of Vengi. His successors extended their territories northwards from the Krishṇâ to the borders of Orissa, and ultimately fixed their capital at Râjamahendri, now Râjamandri. Their emblem was the Varâha lânchhana or Boar-signet. Some orthographical mistakes in the following versions have been rectified, and a few notes added from Sir W. Elliot's *Gleanings* respecting this dynasty:—

I.—Sri Ramulu.

A king called Kubja Vishṇu Vardhanudu*, elder brother of Satya Śri Vallabhudu, of the Mânavyasa gotra or tribe, who was a descendant of a Rishi called Hâriti, who got the kingdom by virtue of the boon of Kauśika, who was nourished by seven mothers named Bhamhi Maheśwaryadi, and who was a votary of Shanmukhudu,† who possessed an emblem of the boar which he obtained by the grace of the god‡ and which could subjugate all enemies, who had his body purified by an ablution at the end of an Aśvamedha and who was a ornament of Châlukya race, reigned over the earth for eighteen years. Vishṇu Vardhanudu‖, son of Indrarâja, his elder brother, reigned for nine years. His son, Manga Yuvarâja, for twenty-five years. His son Jayasinharâja, for thirteen years. His half-brother, king Kakati§, for six months; Vishṇu Vardhanudu, elder brother of Kakati, for thirty-seven years, after defeating his brother; his son, Vijayâditya Bhaṭṭârkudu, for eighteen years; his son, Vishṇu Vardhanudu, for thirty-six years; his son, Vijayâditya Bhupati,¶ after fighting 108 times within the space of 12½ years with the force of Gangarattu, and after constructing 108 Śiva temples, left this world for heaven after

* He conquered Vengi. A. D. 605. See Sir W. Elliot in *Mad. Jour. Lit. Sc.* vol. xx. p. 81.—Ed.
† 'Svâmi Mahâsena,' according to Sir W. Elliot.
‡ Bhagavân Nârâyaṇa.—Elliot.
‖ Vishṇu Vardhana III.—the fourth king of the Eastern line of Châlukyas.—Ed.
§ Kokkili, in Sir W. Elliot's list.—Ed.
¶ Narendra Mriga Râja, in Elliot's list.

a reign of forty-four years. His son, Vishṇu Vardhanudu, knowing the rules of castes, conquering his foes, and becoming the chief of his tribe, reigned for one and a half years. His son, Vijayâditya,* who became king of all kings, who conquered many heroic kings, and who shone with great splendour, who had the power of Śiva, who, by the inducement of Ratta Bhupati, beheaded Vengu Bhupati, burnt his kingdom, reigned for forty-four years and left this world for heaven. Afterwards the kingdom of Vengu Bhupati was usurped by the kinsmen of Ratta Bhupati.† His younger brother, Châlukya Bhimadhipudu (who had another name of Droharjunudu), and son of Vikramâdityudu, protecting all people in general, reigned for thirty years and left this world for heaven. His son, Vijayâdityudu, inheriting the kingdom, which is replete with comfort and every blessing, in his nonage conquered many foes during his father's lifetime by the strength of his arm. After his father's death, too, he conquered many of his foes and left this world for heaven. His son Udyâdityudu,‡ bearing also the name of Râma Râja Mahendrudu, and possessing all the powers of a king, the abilities of a prime minister, &c., and excelling the glory of his ancestors, one day in his reign seated himself on his throne, sent for the Gṛihastas (householders) of Kauteruvadi and addressed them thus :—" In the family of that warrior who was the best person of the Pattavardhani family, who was a follower of Kubjavishṇu Vardhanudu, who was well known by the name of Kadhakampa, and who in battle conquered Dudardudu, and brought all his banners, titles, &c., Somâdityudu was born. He begat Prithivijaya Râja. His son, this Kuntâdityudu, who is the servant of my father, Vijayâdityudu, who obtained the title of 'Uggivelagaudu,' who is feared by enemies, conquered my foes at the very moment he heard the sound of their battle-drums, and, pleasing me, proved himself a loyal subject. Therefore, the village called Guntur, with its twelve villages, is given by us to this man. May this be known to you.

" Its boundaries are—On the east by Gonguva, on the south by Gonayuru, on the west by Kalu Cheruvulu or tanks, on the north by Matupalli.

" The boundaries lying in the middle of these villages are—On the east Potarayi, on the south-east Pedda Kalumulu, on the south Kurvapudi, on the south-west Peruvati Kurva, on the west the western bank of Polugunta, on the north-west Polakungonda Mona Durga Bhagavati, on the north Matapalliparu, on the north-east Chamarainguuta.

"This should not be annoyed by anybody. He who does so is considered as one that has committed the five great sins—Veyasulu. Up to this time many granted gifts of lands and many had them granted. Whenever the gifts are accepted by the donees, to them they really belong. He who usurps the land given either by himself or by others will be born as a worm in the human excrement for 60,000 years."

II :—Sri Shobhanadri.

One by name Vijayâdityudu,§ a sovereign of the Châlukya family, grandson of Vikrama Râma Bhupati, and son of Vishṇuvardhana Mahârâja, gave at the time of a solar eclipse one khandrika of rent-free land, sufficient to be sown with twelve khandis of korra seed (*Panicum Italicum*), to a Brahman named Padma Bhattârakudu, of the village of Minamina, who is of Kaśyapa gotra (Apastambha sect), grandson of Takasarma Trivedi and son of Danaserma Trivedi; the land being bounded on the east by Korraparu polemera (or boundary), on the south by Pataka, on the west by Rumati, on the north by Renukavadi.

III :—Sri Sobhanadrisa.

Svayambhuva Mânava, who was kept and saved on the ark of the Earth at the general deluge by the Supreme Being who assumed the form of a fish and preserved the world, is born first of the kings of solar race. Bhâgirudhudu, who, after many years' *tapas* or self-mortification, conquered Śiva and brought to earth the Ganges, the gem worn on his head, is the king of solar race. Ikshvâku and other kings, by whose valour Devendrudu enjoyed the kingdom of heaven, was born in the solar race which deserves adoration. Kakucha Bhupati who rode upon Devendrudu who assumed the form of a bull, Raghumahârâja who rendered the weapon of Indra useless, and Sri Râmachandrudu who built a bridge over the sea and killed Dasakanttudu, having been born in that race, the glory of that race cannot be too much extolled. In that race King Arikaludu is born lineally, who begat Kalikaludu, whose history excels that of former kings thus :—He used to bathe every day in Ganges water brought by the hands of kings in succession. He conquered all the kings between the Kâveri and Setu (the bridge at Râmeśwaram), and subjugated them. He refused a platter (to be employed in worshipping the god) which is suitable to be accepted, and which was sent by Bhojarâja. He derided with his toe the

* Vijayâditya II. or Guna-gudânka Vijayâditya, conquered Kalinga.—Elliot, *ut sup.*

† In A. D. 973, Taila Bhupa II. or Vikramâditya III. of Kalyâṇi restored that monarchy which had been for some time usurped by the Ratta Kula.—Elliot, *ut sup.* p. 70.

‡ No such name occurs in Elliot's list; the successor of Vijayâditya III. was Amma Râja, who probably reigned about A.D. 900.—Ed.

§ [illegible] II. of the preceding

eye in the forehead of Pullavabhupati, and he has certain other qualifications. In the reign of Nata Bhimudu and other potent kings born in the family of the said Kalikaludu, the earth had been prosperous for a long time. Somabhupati, son of Duhutta Nârâyara Râmabhupati of the same family, who is the emblem of Supreme Being himself, subdued many neighbouring kings and begat a son named Prince Gangâdharabhupati by his wife Surâmbikâ. Gangâdharabhupati, devoting himself to the god and Brahmans, begat a son, Bhakitbhupati, who resembles Parijata (the name given to all the flowers resembling in scent the jessamine), which exhales a sweet scent over all the earth, and who is a votary of Śiva, by his wife Irugambâ, who is the daughter of Kâmabhupati of the lunar brace, and sister of Vahupati. Bhakitbhupati, deserving as he is to be adored by many kings, wore the badges or the honourable distinctive marks of "Gandabherunda," which is fit to repel all lions of foes (*i.e.* kings' foes), and of "Râyavesiya bhujanga," which is fit to compel all kings to leave off their haughtiness and be submissive, and so he continued to reign. One day, while he was proceeding on his royal tour, he happened to meet on a hill a Brahman hermit named Visvanadhudu, who is well versed in Vedas, and finding him to be zealously engaged in divine contemplation, and, as such, an emblem of Śiva, saluted him. He remained there for some time with devoutness.

On Monday, the 15th of the waxing moon of Kârtika, Sâlivâhana Śaka 1277, he gave with pleasure to the said Visvanadhudu, who is steadfast in devotion and a great hermit of the Kauśika gotra, the village of Kadavakolanu, which is replete with complete comfort and every blessing and with the eight sources of pleasure.

The village is bounded on the east by a large ant-hill, on the south-east by Chintajodupallam, on the south by a Vagu or watercourse, on the south-west by Madotopuna Nandikambham, on the west by Doni Maru, on the north by a Kunta or pond, on the north-east by the boundaries of Bommada and Makkala.

The said king having given to the aforesaid worthy Brahman the village of Kadavakolanu, within the above-mentioned notable limits, thought the descendants of his family would be meritorious. May this Śâsana, inscribed to notify the gift of the village called Kadavakolanu, endure until the end of time!

As bestowing the gift is common to all kings, this deserves to be preserved by you for ever. Râmachandrulavaru will frequently pray all kings that commit anything to affect this gift.

—*Proceedings of the Madras Government, Public Department, 7th April 1873.*

## ARCHÆOLOGY OF BELÂRI DISTRICT.

(*From the Belâri District Manual, by J. Kelsall, M.C.S.*)

THE finest specimens of native architecture are to be seen at Hampi, the site of the ancient city of Vijyanagar. These ruins are on the south bank of the Tungabadrâ river, about 36 miles from Belâri, and cover a space of nearly nine square miles. At Kamlapûr, two miles from Hampi, an old temple has been converted into a bangalâ, and this is probably the best place to stop at when visiting the ruins. Many of the buildings are now so destroyed that it is difficult to say what they were originally meant for, but the massive style of architecture, and the huge stones that have been employed in their construction, at once attract attention. Close to Kamlapûr there is a fine stone aqueduct, and a building which has at some time or other been a bath. The use of the arch in the doorways, and the embellishments used in decorating the inner rooms, show that the design of this building was considerably modified by the Musalmans, even if it was not constructed by them altogether. A little to the south of this is a very fine temple, of which the outer and inner walls are covered with spirited basso-rilievos representing hunting-scenes and incidents in the Râmâyaṇa. The four centre pillars are of a kind of black marble handsomely carved. The flooring of the temple, originally large slabs of stone, has been torn up and utterly ruined by persons in search of treasure which is supposed to be buried both here and in other parts of the ruins. The use of another covered building close by, with numerous underground passages, has not been ascertained. It also is covered with basso-rilievos, in one of which a *lion* is represented. At a little distance is the building generally known as the "Elephant stables," and there seems no reason to doubt that it was used for this purpose. Two other buildings, which with the elephant stables form roughly three sides of a square, are said to have been the concert-hall and the council-room. Both, but especially the latter, have been very fine buildings.

Not far off are the remains of the Zenana, surrounded by a high wall now in a very dangerous condition, and beyond this again the arena where tigers, elephants, and others animals were pitted

against each other for the amusement of the court. This is the account given by tradition, and, judging from the character of the sculptures surrounding the place, it is probably the true one. The animals fought on the ground, and the king and his suite watched them from elevated platforms of stone. The buildings in which these beasts were confined cannot now be distinguished, but the stone trough at which they were watered still remains. The trough is a monolith, which has unfortunately been slightly cracked in turning it over to look for treasure. Its dimensions are $41\frac{1}{4} \times 3 \times 2$ feet.

Leaving these, the road passes through a few paddy-fields towards the river. There are fine stone buildings all round and the débris of countless houses of stone and brick. On the left is a mutilated monolith representing Śiva with a cobra with outstretched hood over his head. Śiva is represented seated, and the statue is about 35 feet high. It has been much damaged by Tipû's troops, who have broken off the nose and one of the arms. Close by are two fine temples between which the road passes, but which are remarkable for nothing but the enormous size of the stones which have been used in their construction. Masses of cut granite, many of them 30 feet in length by 4 in depth, are seen high up in the wall, and no explanation can be given of the mode in which they were placed in their present position.

About 100 yards beyond this place, the crest of the hill is reached, and from it a magnificent panoramic view is obtained. Immediately below, the river Tûngabadrâ flows through a gorge between the rocks, and on the opposite bank are high rugged granite hills. Parallel with the river is the main street, lined with temples and palaces and some modern houses. Small patches of paddy and sugar-cane cultivation serve to give colour to the scene. At one end of this street, which is about half a mile long and fifty yards in breadth, is a large pagoda in good repair, which is the only one in which service is still kept up. A channel from the river runs through the centre of it, and is led through the room used for cooking, so that at all times there is a supply of fresh running water. At the other end of the street is a large figure of Hanuman, the monkey-god, while the whole is commanded by a high hill composed of irregular granite boulders, on the summit of which a large temple has been erected. The view from the top well repays the trouble of the ascent. Parallel with this main street, but a little further from the river, is another, equal in size, but with fewer fine buildings in it. The finest temples of all are about half a mile lower down the river. One dedicated to Viṭhal, a form of Vishṇu, is said to be equal in its architectural detail to anything at Elora. The roof is formed of immense slabs of granite supported by monolithic columns of the same material richly carved, and twenty feet high. Close by are similar buildings dedicated to Vîrabhadra and Gaṇeśa. In the centre of the Viṭhala temple is the stone-car of the god, supported by stone elephants, and about 30 feet high.*

*Tâḍpatri* (population 7,869) is built on the right bank of the Pennêr river, which flows close underneath its walls. According to tradition, it was founded by Râmalingam Nayudu, a subordinate of the Vijayanagar kings, about 400 years ago. The village was first called "Tâlepalli," having been built in a grove of palmyra trees, and this was afterwards corrupted into Tâḍpatri. He also built the fine temple dedicated to Râma Iśwara. The other temple, on the river-bank, called that of Chintarâya, was built by his grandson Timma Nayudu, who also founded several other villages in the neighbourhood. These two temples are "*elaborately decorated with sculptures representing* the adventures of Kṛishṇa, Râma, and other mythological events. Among the bas-reliefs is a figure holding a Grecian bow, rarely seen among Hindu sculpture." The temple on the river-bank is by far the finest, but was never finished. The Gopuram of the other temple was struck by lightning about 30 years ago and split in half. After the battle of Talikoṭa, the country round Tâḍpatri was subdued by the forces of the Kutb Shahi dynasty, and a Muhammadan Governor was appointed. Afterwards the town was captured by Morari Rao, and still later by Haidar Ali. The situation of Tâḍpatri is low, and in the rains and when the river is in fresh the worst parts of the town are under water. The main street, though narrow, is straight, and the houses on each side of it well and substantially built. Another good street might be made along the bank of the river, and the embankment necessary would have the effect of preventing the river from undermining the Râma Iśwara temple, as it now does. The streets in the rest of the town are small and crooked, and lined with squalid mud houses, built without any attempt at regularity. The road from Kaḍdapah to Belâri passes at the rear of the town, as does also the railway, though the station is at Nandelpâd, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles off. Tâḍpatri has always been a great trading centre, and on this account, and also on account of its peculiar sanctity (one authority reckoning it next to Benares), it has always been a thriving and populous town.†

* pp. 290-292

† *Ibid.* pp. 48, 49.

At Lepakshi, in the Hindipûr tâluqa, is another large temple, said to have been built by Krishna Râyal. The roof of the large hall here is supported by about forty pillars, two of which do not touch the ground but are suspended from the roof. So at least the attendant Brâhmans tell you, and prove it by passing a cloth between the pillar and the ground. The space between the pillar and the ground is about half an inch, and the trick is managed so adroitly that, unless the action is closely watched, the cloth really appears to be passed completely underneath the pillar. As a matter of fact each of these two pillars has one corner resting on the ground. The natives will not admit that it has always been so, but attribute this sinking to the act of an engineer some thirty years ago, who endeavoured to find out how such solid pillars were suspended, and injured them in the course of his experiments. About a hundred yards away is a colossal monolith, a Basava or stone bull. The story is that the coolies employed on the great temple being dissatisfied with their wages struck work and retired to consult. They chanced to sit down on a rock, and while debating the question began to hack it with their tools. The masters gave in in an hour and the coolies came down from their rock, when it was found to have assumed the form it now has.

Of more recent buildings, the pagoda at Pennahoblâm, on the left bank of the Pennêr, and the Jamma Masjid at Adoni, are perhaps the best specimens of Hindu and Muhammadan architecture. The temple of Anantasaingudi, near Hospet, is worthy of mention, and is of interest to engineers and architects from the peculiarities of its construction.

At most of these places there is an annual festival. Nearly every village has its car-feast in honour of its patron deity, but the great festivals are held in the vicinity of the splendid pagodas and shrines, of which a brief account has been given.*

The general opinion seems to be that the attendance at the Hampi festival is decreasing year by year. About fifteen years ago it was estimated that 100,000 people were present, five years ago it was 60,000, last year it was doubted if 40,000 people attended. The reason of this has never been satisfactorily explained, and it is the more remarkable, because in former years cholera invariably broke out among the assembled pilgrims, while during the last five years, in which sanitary precautions have been adopted, the festival has not been accompanied by this scourge. One reason possibly is, that the people do not like these sanitary measures; they object to leave their bullocks at some distance outside the walls, to be obliged to bathe in certain places, and to get their drinking-water from others; they dislike being interfered with, and though the better informed readily admit the benefits that result from these measures, and value their immunity from epidemic disease, yet they, as well as the great mass of the people, would prefer to have none of them, and keep away rather than submit to them. During the last three festivals it has been found very difficult to get enough people to drag the car from one end of the street to the other, according to custom.

One of the superior magistrates always attends this festival; medical assistance is sent out from Belâri, and Rupees 600 is annually allotted for clearing out wells, &c., and for other necessary purposes.

After Hampi the festival held at Mailar is the best attended. It is held after the harvest, and the people encamp in the fields, being spread over a space about a mile square. The Tûngbadrâ is close by, so that there is an abundant supply of pure fresh water, and, as there is no necessity for the pilgrims to crowd together as at Hampi, disease does not often break out. There is one custom which is peculiar to this festival. On the great day, in the evening, when the worship is completed and the offerings made, the deity deigns, in the person of a child, to lift the veil of the future, and in the presence of the assembled thousands to utter one sentence prophetic of future events. A little child is held up on the shoulders of the priests, and, closing in his arms the iron bow of the god upheld by the priests, he utters the words put into his mouth by the god.

The words uttered in 1869 were, "there are many thunderbolts in the sky," and the words were greeted with a murmur of joy, as implying probably a good supply of rain in the coming year. Great faith appears to be placed by the people in these words heard at these times, and, as there seems to be the same vagueness about them as characterized the utterances of the Delphic oracle, it is probable that their faith is never put to any severe test. The sentence uttered the year before the Mutiny,—"the white ants are risen against," is now recalled by many in proof of the far-seeing power of their god * * * "There were present at the festival about 5,000 bandies, 25,000 head of cattle, and not fewer than 40,000 people." (*Report* of Mr. Clogstoun, Assistant Collector, in G. O., 3rd March 1869.)†

* The chief festivals are:—at Hampi in Hospet tâluqa, in honour of Virupakshapa Swâmi about 15th April; at Kotûr, in Kudlichi, in honour of Basdpaivara Swâmi, 27th Feb.; at Mailar, in Hadagalli, in honour of Lingapa Swâmi, 14th to 16th Feb.; at Kuruvalli, Harpanhalli, in honour of Goni Barappa Swâmi, 12-14th March; and at Manchala, Adwani, in honour of Rägarendra Swâmi, 14th August.

† *Ibid*, pp. 292-295.

*Inscriptions and Śásanams.*

The numerous inscriptions at Hampi have all, at one time or another, been deciphered. A list of them, with translations, will be found in Vol. XX. of the *Asiatic Researches*, appended to an essay by Mr. Ravenshaw, B.C.S. . . . There are several long inscriptions in the Hali-Kanarese character at Kurgôdu, in the Belâri Tâluqa, but they are so worn with age as to be in many places illegible. An inscription on the wall at Kenchengôdu, in the same tâluqa, is not of much interest, for it only gives the names of the village officers at the time the pagoda in that village was built. There is another long inscription on a stone lying on the tank-band at Chikka Tumbul, which has never been deciphered. In such places as Belâri, Guti, Raidûrg, Harpanhalli, and Pennakonda, where inscriptions might have been expected, none are now to be found. There has indeed once been an inscription on one of the rocks at Guti, but it is almost obliterated, and hardly two consecutive letters can be made out. Diligent search would doubtless result in the discovery of other inscriptions or dedications, the existence of which is unsuspected or unknown beyond the limits of the village where they are.

In connection with the subject of this chapter, mention must be made of a peculiar hill about eighteen miles from Belâri. Captain Newbold was the first to call public attention to it, and his account will be found at page 134 of No. 18 of the *Journal of the Madras Literary Society*.

About three miles beyond Kodatanni, and close to the Antapûr pass, on the right of the road, there is a small hill about fifteen feet high and four hundred in circumference, and surrounded by hills of considerable elevation. The summit of this hill or mount is rounded, and the surface partially covered with scanty patches of dry grass, from which crop out masses of tufaceous scoriæ. The hills around are composed of a ferruginous sandstone in which minute scales of mica are found disseminated, but this mound is evidently composed of very different materials, and when struck it emits a hollow cavernous sound. Some have thought it of volcanic origin, but Captain Newbold thought it more likely to be the remains of an ancient furnace. The local tradition is that this mound is composed of the ashes of an enormous Râkshasa or giant, whose funeral pile this was. The giant's name was Edimbassurali, and he was living here when the five sons of king Pandu visited the country. The giant's sister fell in love with one of them, named Bhimsena, and instigated him to kill her brother, who was opposed to the alliance. Another account is that a great battle accompanied by fearful loss of life was fought here. After the conflict the wounded and the dead were gathered together and placed so as to form an enormous funeral pile, which was then fired. These ashes, or whatever they are, effervesce when treated with dilute sulphuric acid, and thus show traces of carbonate of lime. Colonel Lawford thought the ashes were such as were found at funeral piles, and very dissimilar to those formed in lime-kilns. Dr. Benza thought it was limestone slab, but certainly not pumice-stone, or in any way of volcanic origin. "The stone is white and osseous-looking, and internally porous and reticulated." There are two smaller mounds at the foot of the Copper Mountain *.

## MISCELLANEA.

### NOTES ON EARLY-PRINTED TAMIL BOOKS.

Some little time ago when reading Fra Paolino Bartolomeo's *Voyage to the East Indies* the following passage attracted my notice, as indicating a circumstance in the history of printing in this country which, as far as I was aware, was unknown :—

"The art of printing, in all probability, never existed in India. * * * The first book printed in this country was the *Doctrina Christiana* of Giovanni Gonsalvez, a lay brother of the order of the Jesuits, who, as far as I know, first cast Tamulic characters, in the year 1577.† After this appeared in 1578 a book entitled *Flos Sanctorum*, which was followed by the Tamulic Dictionary of Father Antonio de Proenza, printed in the year 1679, at Ambalacate, on the coast of Malabar From that period the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar have printed many works, a catalogue of which may be found in *Alberti Fabricii Salutaris Lux Evangelii*, p. 395."

That the books mentioned as having been printed at Ambalacatta, in the Cochin territory, in the Tamil character, had a circulation in their time in the Tamil country, seems evident from the following extract from *Sartorius' Diary* for 1732, with which I fell in also in the course of reading. On a visit that this Danish missionary paid, in company with others from Tranquebar, to Paleiacatta [*Pulicat*, 23 miles N. of Madras], in February of that year, he states: "The Malabar Catechist

* pp. 295, 296.

† Conf. *Ind. Antiq.* vol. II. p. 98.

showed us a transcript of a Malabar [Tamil] book entitled *Christiano Vanakkam*, 'Christian Worship,' printed in 1579 at Cochin, in the 'College of the Mother of God,' for the use of the Christians on the Pearl-fishery Coast. And so, no doubt, was another Malabar book, which we have seen in the possession of a Romish Christian at Tranquebar, of which the title is: "Doctrina Christam, a maneira de Dialogo feita em Portugal pello P. Marcos Jorge, da Companhia da Jesu: Tresladada em lingua Malavar ou Tamul, pello P. Anrique Anriquez da mesma companhia. Em Cochin, no Collegio da Madre de Dios, a os quartoze de Novembro, de Anno de MDLXXIX." *

As transcripts began to be made so long ago as the early part of the last century, it is hardly possible to expect that any copy of these early-printed books may now be found, especially as the paper then used was not likely to be of a very durable kind.

Ziegenbalg, in the preface to his Tamil Grammar [*Grammatica Damulica*] which he printed at Halle in 1716, mentions that Tamil types had been cut at Amsterdam in 1678 for representing the names of some plants in the large work *Horti Indici Malabarici*, which appeared in six large volumes, but, whether from inexperience or carelessness, the characters were so dissimilar to those of the language, that he says the Tamils themselves did not know them to be Tamil. The attempt, however, made at Halle in 1710 to produce Tamil types seems to have been more successful for Ziegenbalg's Tamil Grammar was printed there in 1716, and the Tamil characters are represented pretty fairly in it, though there was great room for improvement. Fenger, in his "History of the Tranquebar Mission," thus records this attempt:—"The people there, though unacquainted with the Tamil language, succeeded in making some Tamil letters, which they hastily tried, and sent out to Tranquebar; where the first part of the New Testament, as well as other things, was printed with them. This sample, the very first thing ever printed in Tamil characters, was the Apostles' Creed: and the friends in Halle, when they despatched it with the printing-press, requested soon to be requited by a copy of the New Testament in Tamil" (p. 87). The translation of the New Testament into Tamil had been commenced by Ziegenbalg on Oct. 17, 1708, two years after his arrival in the country, and brought to completion on March 21, 1711. Meanwhile the supply of Tamil type from Halle enabled him to bring out the first part of the New Testament, containing the Gospels and the Acts, which was printed at Tranquebar in 1714. The other part, completing the New Testament, came out in 1715.

Tamil type continued to be cast in Halle for the purpose of aiding the Indian mission work. As we have already seen, Ziegenbalg's *Grammatica Damulica*, a small quarto of 128 pages, was printed there in 1716, which, though superseded by other modern grammars, is interesting as the first attempt to reduce the principles of the language to the rules of European science, and is valuable for the matter it contains. But the work was written in Latin, and never having been reprinted has become very scarce. Two other works were also printed at Halle in Tamil for the use of Native Christians in this country: one in 1749, the *Hortulus Paradisaicus* translated from the German of John Arndt, one of the most spiritual and searching writers of the Pietists as they were called, and printed in four parts in small 8vo, comprising 532 pages; and the other a translation of another popular German book by the same author, *de Vero Christianismo*, which appeared in 1751, and consists of 399 pages of the same size as the former. Both these books obtained wide popularity in this country, and copies of them were to be found some ten or twenty years ago in old Native Christian families, where they were treasured as heirlooms.

Founts of Tamil type were all this time also cut in India, and a long series of publications in the language was issued from the Tranquebar Press. As it is not intended to furnish a Bibliographical Index in this paper, I omit the mention of these.

In 1761 the Madras Government presented the Vepery missionaries with a Press taken at Pondicherry from the French, and in 1793 the Christian Knowledge Society in London sent out a Press to the Vepery Mission, and stores were continued to be furnished from England by the Society. The *Vepery Mission Press*—or as it is now better known as the *Christian Knowledge Society's Press*, Vepery, Madras—has from that period, with two intervals of cessation from 1810 to 1819 and again from 1861 to 1866, been in operation with varying degrees of activity, and is now the foremost agency in South India for the accurate and elegant printing of Christian books and tracts in the vernaculars.

C. E. K.

*Madras, April 21, 1873.*

NAKED PROCESSION.

At the Siñhastha jâtra, lately held at Nâsik, one of the religious or *quasi* religious ceremonies is a procession of naked devotees, men and women.

* *Notices of Madras and Cuddalore in the last Century from the Journals of the Earlier Missionaries*, p. 100. London: Longmans, 1858.

I believe a few fig-leaves are used to satisfy very sensitive feelings, but practically the people are naked or nearly so.—*Report by L. Ashburner, C. S. I.*

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THE COORGS.

Regarding the custom of polyandry said by Mr. Burnell * to be followed by the Coorgs, I feel constrained to state that its existence at any time is far from being proved. Whether polyandry may have occurred occasionally in former times, or may do so in these days, is of course a different question altogether. The Coorg custom of several nearly related families living together in the same house is certainly connected with its peculiar temptations. In bygone times, however, there was the custom of so-called "cloth-marriages." In these a man gave a cloth to a girl, and she accepting it became his wife without any further ceremonies; he might dismiss her at any time without being under the least obligation of providing either for her or the children born during the connection. This custom was abolished by one of the Lingavant Rájas, who, being unable to obtain as many girls for his harem as he wished, from wanton selfishness put a stop to it. The Rev. G. Richter in his Manual of Coorg (p. 41) says 'tiger-weddings' take place among the Coorgs. As this idea seems to spread, I take the liberty to mention that it has been wrongly inferred from the name given to a festivity, the name being n a r i - m a n g a l a. In translating m a n g a l a into English its possible meaning *marriage* was hastily adopted, whereas in this case it means nothing but *joyful occurrence;* n a r i - m a n g a l a —tiger-feast This last meaning of m a n g a l a has also as part of the Coorg compounds e t t ŭ m a n g a ḷ a, bullock-feast, and m a n e - m a n g a l a, house-feast.

*Merkara, 13th March* 1873. F. Kittel.

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ON ATTRACTION AND REPULSION. No. II.

*Translated by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E,*

*Mesnawy of Jellál-al-dyn Rúmy, 2nd Duftur.*

در جهان هر چیز چیزی جذب کرد
گرم گرمی را کشیده و سرد سرد

قسم باطل باطلانرا می کشد
باقیانرا می کشند اهل رشد

ناریان مر ناریانرا جاذبند
نوریان مر نوریانرا طالبند

صاف را هم صافیان طالب شوند
دردرا هم تیرهٔ گان جاذب بوده

زنگ را هم زنگیان باشند یار
روم را با رومیان افتاد کار

چشم چون بستی ترا تاسر گرفت
نورچشم از نور روزن می شگفت

تاسهٔ تو جذب نورچشم بود
تا بپیوندد بنور روز زود

چشم باز ار تا سر گیرد مر ترا
دانکه چشم دل ببستی بر گشا

آن تقاضای دو چشم دل شناس
کو همی جوید ضیای بیقیاس

چون فراق آن دو نوری ثبات
تا سر آوردت کشادی چشمهات

پس فراق آن دو نور پایدار
تاسر می آرد مرآنرا پاس دار

او چو میخواند مرا من بنگرم
لایق جذبم و یا بد پیکرم

All things attract each other in the world,
The heat allures the heat, and cold the cold,
A foolish portion fascinates the fools,
The well-directed the remainder lure;
The igneous attract the hell-destined,
The luminous draw on the sons of light;
Also the pure attract the immaculate,
Whilst the melancholy are courting pain;
The Zangi from the Zangi friendship seeks.
A Roman with a Roman gently deals.
With closèd eyes you are dismayed indeed
Because the light of day rejoiced the eye;
The eye's assimilation caused your grief,
It longèd quick to join the light of day.
If eye again be thus dismayed to you,
The heart's eye you have closed! Why not indulge
That heart-proclaiming bent of your two eyes
Which longs for infinite brilliancy?
When absence of those mundane fickle lights
Distressèd you, your eyes you opened!
Thus separation from eternal lights
Dismay will bring to you; then cherish them!
When He calls me I must investigate,
Am I to be attracted or repelled?

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* *Specimens of S. Indian Dialects,* No. 3, Kodagu, pref. p. iii.

# ON COPYING INSCRIPTIONS.

THE two great desiderata in Indian Archæology at the present time are—a connected history of Indian art, and a collection of the Inscriptions. So far as Architecture at least is concerned, the want, we believe, would soon be supplied by the only writer able to do full justice to the subject—to interpret correctly its history and development, and to read therein the record of the past,—were the materials only available. But they are not: nor is there much promise at present of their soon being forthcoming.

To the inscriptions, on the other hand, the attention of many labourers has been directed. Our knowledge of the early history of India is so extremely meagre, that those interested in it long since naturally gave their attention to the numerous existing records of this kind. Thus Lassen wrote fully twenty years ago,—"the only hope perhaps of replacing the want of documents and annals . . . and of filling up the many lacunæ in the history centres in the *Inscriptions*. Their high importance as a supplement to the history imperfectly transmitted to us, and as a means of fixing the eras of dynasties, was recognized and called attention to by him who laid the foundation of the knowledge of most branches of Indian Antiquities,—namely, Colebrooke, . . . who himself also edited and translated several inscriptions with his usual accuracy.* The learned Society, one of whose greatest ornaments he was, possesses in its *Transactions* most of the communications of this sort†; and several of its members have by these acquired imperishable merit in the investigation of Indian Antiquities. . . It is no slight to others if here I only specialize James Prinsep, who not only himself deciphered the oldest forms of writing, and edited more inscriptions than any one else, but who knew also how to incite his fellows to search for and communicate them." After enumerating some of the more remarkable, he justly adds, "as to the inscriptions collected, we are indebted for the knowledge and preservation of these ancient monuments of the country not so much to the care of Government as to the zeal and care of isolated individuals; who have hence acquired the merit of securing them from the destruction to which so many others have fallen a prey, and have thus contributed as far as they were able to their preservation. In order to utilize those collected for the purposes of science, it would be necessary that a scholar qualified by requisite knowledge should arrange and edit them, which however could only be accomplished were the Indian Government to allow a subsidy for the labour. That, however, will probably remain a *pium desiderium*, though such an obligation is much more incumbent on it than editing the cuneiform inscriptions was on the French Government, or the collecting and elaborating the Greek and Latin inscriptions on the Prussian Academy of Sciences."‡

The list of workers in this department is thus briefly summarized by Mr. A. C. Burnell§:—

"The Portuguese at Goa took some inscriptions on stone to their native country, but Sir Chas. Wilkins was the first to explain one (at Cintra), about the end of the last century. The earlier volumes of the *Asiatic Researches* contain several interpreted by Wilkins, Jones, and Colebrooke, and in the later volumes H. H. Wilson contributed many valuable articles on this subject. The *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* about forty years ago made (by the articles by J. Prinsep, Dr. Mill, and others) immense progress, and of later years the same Journal, the *Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society* and of the *Bombay Society*, have often done much to advance the study of the Sanskrit inscriptions of India, and the names of Mr. Norris, Professor Dowson, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Bayley, Dr. Bhâu Dâjî, and Bâbu Râjendralâl Mittra need scarcely be mentioned as most diligent and successful decipherers. In the South of India an immense number of inscriptions exist in the so-called Dravidian languages, many of which are not inferior in antiquity or interest to most of the Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions of the

* See *Asiat. Res.* vol. IX. p. 398, or *Misc. Essays*, vol. II. p. 238.

† In the *Asiat. Res.* vol. I. printed at Calcutta in 1788, five inscriptions are given, three of them translated by C. Wilkins; and the first mention is made of the Asoka inscriptions, at p. 379.

‡ Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. II. pp. 42 to 45.

§ *A few suggestions as to the best way of making and utilizing copies of Indian Inscriptions.* By A. C. Burnell, M.C.S., M.R.A.S. Madras, 1870. The contents of this well-considered little pamphlet are so deserving of attention, and of being made more widely known than they as yet seem to be, that the greater portion of it is now reproduced in these columns.

North; nor have they been neglected, though, with the exception of a few articles (in the *Madras Journal*) published by Sir W. Elliot, and containing the results of his own researches and those of the late F. W. Ellis, nothing has been, as yet, made public. Colonel Mackenzie, however, at the beginning of this century, made an immense collection of copies of inscriptions, and to the disinterested labour of Mr. C. P. Brown we owe the existence of copies of this collection, which, though purchased by Government for an enormous sum, had been neglected and suffered to rot from want of a little care. What remains of the originals, and all Mr. Brown's copies, are at Madras. Copies of inscriptions collected by Sir W. Elliot in the Canarese country were presented by him to the R. A. Society of London. Of late years General Cunningham has made large collections of copies of inscriptions in the North of India." Apart from these partial and local collections, an attempt was made about thirty years ago, by the late Mons. Jacquet, to commence a 'Corpus' of Indian Inscriptions, and, had not an untimely death interrupted his scheme, much might have been done."

To this he further adds,—"A large volume of photographs of inscriptions from Mysore and Dharwar has been published by Dr. Pigou and Colonel Barr, but unfortunately few of these are clearly legible, and many seem to be of small value. The book is also very costly. The same remarks hold good of Captain Tripe's photographs of the inscriptions at Tanjore."

To these latter may be added the quarto volume of "*Photographs of Inscriptions in the ancient Canarese Language* taken from Stone and Copper Śâsanas, and photographed for the Government of Mysore by Major H. Dixon," containing 151 photographs of inscriptions or parts of inscriptions, on 57 large quarto pages, but many of them are taken on so small a scale and so badly as to be almost without exception nearly useless.

The fact is—photographing inscriptions is a special branch of the art, and requires the use of a proper lens and a special mode of treatment, of which amateur photographers are generally ignorant: thus the art comes to be blamed through its professors.

"It is beyond doubt," remarks Mr. Burnell, "that the real work of collection and decipherment of Indian Inscriptions is as yet scarcely begun. Most also of what has already been done will certainly have to be done again." And, we may add, what has been done under the patronage or at the expense of Government during the last ten or twelve years should demand attention first, for it is the most unsatisfactory. So long as such work is entrusted to amateur photographers and official routine, it is only to be expected that the bulk of it will be unsatisfactory and disappointing.

Elsewhere in his pamphlet Mr. Burnell remarks "that even the best-known inscriptions in India have only been copied in the very roughest possible way may not be a generally known fact, but such is the case. The great inscription of Kapur-di-giri (near Peshawur), which is of surpassing interest, is only known by a badly executed impression on cloth wrongly pieced together. Mr. Edwin Norris's wonderful skill and acuteness have restored and deciphered it, but an estampage (made as below directed) would be still of the greatest value. The Aśoka inscriptions (except that at Girnâr, which was properly copied* nearly 30 years ago by General Le Grand Jacob and Professor Westergaard) have been equally neglected; one of these exists (I believe) near Ganjam.† These inscriptions are the great fact in early Indian History, and yet our knowledge of them is most imperfect.

"A single instance may show how much curious information even trivial inscriptions will give. The temple of Tirukkazhukkunram, some 36 miles S. of Madras, is well known, as few residents in the neighbourhood have not been there to see the kites come and be fed at noon. This curious usage (the temple is now devoted to the worship of Śiva) has never been explained. An inspection of the inscriptions there shows that the temple was once Jaina, and thus the practice becomes intelligible. However, on reading Târanâtha's *History of Indian Buddhism* (in Tibetan), I found this temple mentioned there as a famous Buddhist shrine by the name of Pakshitîrtha, or (in the Tibetan corresponding name) Bird-convent. This succes-

* Even this inscription ought to be copied again: there is more than a suspicion of some errors in the copy here referred to.—ED.

† See *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 219, 348.—ED.

sion of cults is of the greatest interest, and shows that modern Hinduism has been chiefly developed in South India."

Mr. Burnell's suggestions as to methods he thus states:—"What yet remains to be done, is to make available to the scientific public copies of all existing inscriptions; and this involves a uniform system of preparing such copies. Scattered as inscriptions are over the whole of India, it is at present chimerical to attempt to study them; to say nothing of the want of time for such work experienced by all students resident there. To make and collect copies is however a mechanical task, which may be easily done; and now that a little interest is awakened regarding the ancient civilization of the many races of India, a few suggestions as to the best way of doing so may not be thought inopportune, especially by those who see that a work of this kind if not soon done, can perhaps never be done at all. Inscriptions are daily being destroyed during repairs of temples, and by the country people taking stones from ruins. Copper śâsanas find their way to the melting-pot. The first question is—How to make the copies? Many ways have been tried; rubbings by heel-ball on paper, impressions on linen made by a pad daubed with printing-ink; sketch-drawings, photographs, &c. &c. Considerable experience* and a number of experiments have convinced me that all these methods are defective, and that only two ways are really trustworthy; one applicable to inscriptions on stone, and the other to those on metal.

"Firstly for inscriptions on stone, I recommend impressions on stout unsized paper, such as is now manufactured at Paris for the use of Egyptologists. The inscription must first of all be quite cleared of dust or mud or other obstructions, and this may be best done by a hard clothes-brush. The paper is then to be rapidly but uniformly wetted in a tub of water, and applied to the inscription and forced into the irregularities by repeated and forcible strokes with a hard brush—an ordinary clothes-brush is as good as any for the purpose. If the stone be clear of dust the paper adheres, and when dry falls off, forming (if at all well done) a perfect mould of the inscription. Paper large enough to cover most inscriptions is easily to be had; in the case of very large ones, it is necessary to lap over the edges of the sheets and apply a little gum and water or weak paste to them, and also to prevent those sheets first applied from falling, and thus spoiling the rest, a few poles or sticks leaning against the corners in large, or the gum used for joining, in small inscriptions, will be found enough. When properly dried, copies made in this way (in French, 'estampages'), may be rolled up or put in blank books without the slightest injury, and even will stand damp."

"The second process is applicable to inscriptions on plates of metal; I devised it several years ago and never found it fail. The plate or plates should be carefully cleaned with a dry brush, and the letters occasionally must be cleared out with a blunt graver. The native process of rubbing the plates with acid, and then putting them in the fire to loosen the incrustations, should never be resorted to, as it invariably injures them fatally. From the cleaned plate an impression (reverse) is to be next taken by passing a roller charged with ink over the plate, and then printing from it as from an ordinary copper-plate. From this impression another may be taken by means of an ordinary copper-plate press; and with a little practice a perfect facsimile may be thus obtained, the letters being white, and the rest of the plate appearing a dark grey. Photozincography and many other methods exist by which 'estampages' and facsimiles made by the last process may be multiplied to any extent."

The processes here suggested are most useful, and in *experienced* hands they yield very satisfactory* results. Copying by the eye, where the character and language are not familiar, and any of the letters indistinct, is most tedious and unsatisfactory; and as it is desirable to be able to copy inscriptions when no printing-press and few appliances are available,—some other methods may be noticed:—

1. When the surface of the stone or plate, between the letters, is perfectly smooth, as in the case of marble or polished granite, a rub-

* Cf. also the remarks of Prinsep and Mill, and recently of Dr. Bhâu Dâji, as to the great alterations required by improved transcripts of inscriptions long known and published. The great objection to photography as a means of reproducing inscriptions consists in the imperfections of the paper used, and the difficulty (or impossibility) of managing the light.

* But compare the lithographs of the Vallabhi Śâsanas, from copies made by the second process above, with the facsimiles that appear elsewhere in this journal.

bing with shoemaker's heel-ball will be found a most satisfactory and expeditious method. The paper should be *wove* or *printing* paper, not thick; and care should be taken to rub the paper well down upon the inscription before applying the heel-ball, which should be rubbed gently over it, first in a direction making a small angle with the lines, and then at right angles to the first. Of course the slightest movement of the paper during the process spoils the copy. The smaller the letters and the less deeply cut they are, the finer and softer must be the paper.

2. Another process, better adapted for rougher surfaces, is to press or gently beat down the paper,—which ought to be soft and very pliable, and may be slightly damped before applying it to the surface; then with a pad made of *patti* (cotton tape such as is used for bedsteads) wound tightly round a handle and covered with a piece of fine cotton, dab it over with *thin Indian ink. A little practice will enable* any one to make excellent copies in this way.

3. If an inscription is clearly cut in stone, a very good "estampage" may readily be obtained, in the manner described by Mr. Burnell, by means of the common whitey-brown coarse paper to be obtained in any native town. If the letters are large or deeply cut, and the wetted paper tears in beating it home, another wet sheet has only to be beat down over it, or even a third if thought desirable. When the inscription is in cameo, as most of the Muhammadan ones are, four or more thicknesses of paper may be required. When dry it can be peeled off, and forms a pretty stiff mould of the inscription.* Copper-plates may similarly be copied with a finer, thin, but tough paper, wetted, beat well in with a small hard brush, and the beating continued until the paper is quite dry. And when the plates have been much oxidized, as most of the Valabhi ones are, leaving a rough surface with but shallow traces of the letters, and Mr. Burnell's process would not give a good reverse impression,—paper-squeezes made in this way may often be found useful, especially if the letters are traced on the upper side of the squeeze with a fine black pencil. But to obtain perfect copies, in such cases,—and they are of frequent occurrence,—other and more laborious methods must be adopted, which need not be detailed, as only professional experts could put them in practice.

4. Small inscriptions may be copied (in inverse) by covering them with tin-foil and laying over it a coat of wax pressed well down, and backed with a piece of pasteboard or thin board. From this a cast in plaster of Paris for a *stereotype might be obtained.*

5. For inscriptions whether in stone or metal, there is another easy process:—Rub the inscription over with coarse chalk, or lime (pipeclay will not answer) and water, letting it settle as much as possible in the letters. When it is just dry, with a hard pad that will not search into the letters, rub off the white colouring from the surface; then copy on tracing cloth or paper fixed over it:—the white in the letters will render them perfectly legible through the tracing cloth. Inscriptions thus prepared *may also be photographed with a copying lens,* and the negative should be intensified in a bath of bichloride of mercury and washed with hydrosulphate of ammonia or a thin solution of hyposulphate of soda. For this process it would however be better to whiten only the surface and have the letters dark. Negatives so prepared are suited for zincographic printing.

The knowledge of these processes may be useful to private individuals desirous to obtain copies of inscriptions they may come across, but it is not to be expected that many should learn to use them with perfect success, *still less* that an amateur here and a dilettante there, in so vast a country as India, should contribute much to the formation of a Corpus inscriptionum Indicarum, such as any other government but an English one would long ago have set about. There seems to be only one feasible way of preparing such a body of inscriptions: the work must be entrusted to one skilled hand having the use of at least a portion of the resources of a lithographic or photozincographic office, one or two of the lads of which he could speedily train in all the processes required. Portable inscriptions, such as copper plates, could be copied and printed rapidly and at comparatively small expense. For the stone inscriptions, *estampages* should in the first

* This process is also applicable for taking moulds from sculptures in basso-rilievo. But see Dr. Forbes Watson's *Report on the Illustration of the Archaic Architecture of India*, pp. 39 and 45, and Mr. Lottin de-Laval's *Manual Complet de Lottino-plastique*, Paris, 1857.

place be got of all of which the value is not known; where these were good, if the inscription were worth publication, they would only require to be transferred and printed; where they were unsatisfactory, but the inscription of apparent interest, a trained hand could be sent to obtain a faithful facsimile by the process best suited to the circumstances of the case. It may be safely asserted that, had the money spent on inscriptions during the last ten years been judiciously employed in this way, we should now have had a body of inscriptions equal in execution to any ever published, and considerably more numerous than the total of those on which so much has been almost uselessly spent.

## THE EARLY VAISHNAVA POETS OF BENGÂL.

### II.—CHANḌÎ DÂS.

BY JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

Next in rank to Bidyâpati comes Chaṇḍî Dâs, who though older in age did not begin to write so early as his brother-poet. He was a Barendro Brahman, and was born in A.D. 1417 at Naḍûr, a village near the Thana of Sâkalipûr, in the present British District of Bîrbhûm in Western Bengal, which lies about forty miles to the north-west of the celebrated town of Nadiya (Nuddea). He was at first a Śâkta or worshipper of the Śakti or female procreative energy typified by the goddess Durgâ, wife of Śiva, one of whose names, Chaṇḍî, or the "enraged," he bears. The particular idol affected by this sect is termed Bâsuli, and was probably a non-Aryan divinity adopted by the Aryan colonies in Bengal. Her rude woodland temples are found still in the mountains and submontane jungles of Western Bengal, and all down the hill-ranges of Orissa, and I have even met with them on the Subanrekha, and along the coast of the Bay of Bengal. A fine Sanskrit name has been fitted to this wild forest divinity, and she is called by the Brahmans Viśâlâkshi, or the "large-eyed:" her statues represent her holding in her uplifted arms two elephants, from whose trunks water pours on to her head. In the rustic village shrines in her honour one sees masses of small figures of elephants made of earth, baked by the village potters and offered by women; heaps of these little figures, all more or less smashed and mutilated, surround the shrine, where stands a figure once perhaps distinguishable as that of a human being, but so smeared with oil and encrusted with repeated coatings of vermilion as to have lost all shape or recognizable details. One of these temples is said to be still standing in the village of Naḍûr, where our poet was born and lived. The date of his conversion to Vaishṇavism is not known, but he died in 1478, in the sixty-second year of his age. His conversion and subsequent conduct appears to have made his native place too hot to hold him, for he passed the latter years of his life at Châtera, a village far to the south in the present district of Bânkuṛa. After he became a Vaishṇava, he thought it necessary to provide himself with a Vaishṇavî, and selected for this purpose a woman named Râmî, of the *dhobi* or washerman caste, a proceeding which must have given grave offence to his orthodox kindred, and is remarkable as showing that the obliteration of the distinctions of caste, so characteristic of early Vaishṇavism, had come into existence before the times of Chaitanya, and that he, like so many other popular reformers, did not so much originate, as concentrate and elevate into doctrine, an idea which had long been vaguely floating and gaining force in the minds of his countrymen.

Chaṇḍî Dâs and his contemporary Bidyâpati were acquainted with each other, and the *Pada-kalpataru* contains some poems (2409-2415) descriptive of their meeting on the banks of the Ganges and singing songs in praise of Râdhâ and Krishṇa together. The style of the two poets is very much alike, but there is perhaps more sweetness and lilt in Bidyâpati. Favourable specimens of Chaṇḍî Dâs are the following:—

I.

*Krishṇa's Grief.**

Se je nâgara guṇadhâma
Japaye tohâri nâma,
Śunite tohâri bâta

* In the transliteration the guttural nasal is written ṅ, the palatal ñ, the cerebral ṇ, and the anuswâra ṁ. In old Bengâli the two former are of frequent occurrence, representing respectively ng and ny. The ordinary dental n is not marked.

Pulake bharaye gâta,
Abanata kari śira
Lochane jharaye nîra,
Jadi bâ puchhiye bâṇî,
Ulati karaye pâṇi,
Kahiye tohâri rîte
Ana nâ bujhabi chite,
Dhairaja nâhika tây,
Baṛu Chaṇḍî Dase gây. I. iv. 94.

The confidante *loquitur*.

That gay one who is the abode of virtue
Incessantly murmurs thy name,
On hearing a word of thee
His limbs are pervaded by a thrill,
Bending down lowly his head
Tears pour from his eyes,
If one should ask him a word
He waves (him) away with his hand,
If one should speak concerning thee
Thou wilt see there is nothing else in his mind;
There is no firmness (left) in him,
A serious matter Chaṇḍî Dâs sings

II.

(*The same.*)

E dhani, e dhani, bachana śun
Nidân dekhiye âinu pun;
Dekhite dekhite bâṛhala byâdhi,
Jata tata kari nâhiye śudhi,
Na bândhe chikur nâ pare chîr,
Nâ khây âhâr nâ piye nîr.
Sonaka baraṇ hoïla śyâm,
Soṅari soṅari tohâri nâm;
Nâ chihne mâuakh nimikh nâi,
Kâṭher putali rahuyâchhe châi.
Tulâ khâni dila nâsikâ mâjhe,
Tabe se bujhinu śwâsa âchhe.
Âchhaye śwâsa nâ rahe jîb,
Bilamba nâ kara âmâr dib!
Chandî Dâsa kahe biraha bâdhâ,
Kebal marame okhadha Râdhâ

---

Ah lady! ah lady! hear a word,
At length having seen (him) I have come again;
Looking, looking, (my) pain increased,
Whatever was done profited not.
He binds not his hair, he girds not his waist,
He eats not food, he drinks not water.
The colour of gold Śyâm has become,
Constantly remembering thy name.
He does not recognize any one, his eye does not wink,
He remains with fixed look like a doll of wood.
I placed a piece of wool to his nose,
Then only I perceived that he breathed.
There is breath, but there remains no life,
Delay not, my happiness depends on it!
Chaṇḍî Dâs saith (it is) the anguish of separation
In his heart, the only medicine is Radha.
I. iv. 98.

In this second example a ruthless modernization has taken place. The modern editor, ignorant of the older language, has substituted the forms in present use for those which he did not understand Thus in the seventh line he had written *sonâr*, which spoils the tune; it is necessary to read *sonaka*, which is almost certainly what Chaṇḍî Dâs really wrote, as a play upon the name śyâm, "black," and meaning that Krishṇa, though naturally black, had turned yellow from grief. So also in the line "Kâṭher putali rahuyâchhe châi" the singer can only bring the tune out rightly by singing the modern word *râhiyâchhe* as *rahese* or *rahisi*, which is a very recent vulgarism of the Bengâli of to-day. There can be no doubt that we ought to restore the line thus: "Kâṭhaka putali rahala châyi." In the next line the sense demands that *dila*, which, if anything, is a third person singular preterite, should be rejected for *dinu*, the old first person, as shown by *bujhinu* in the next line. The letters *l* and *n* are not distinguished in ordinary Bengâli manuscripts, and the error thus arose. There are several very singular and strictly old Bengali forms in this song, the presence of which is quite incompatible with the modernized forms which the editor has given to some of the verbs. Thus *soṅari* would not easily be known, without some explanation, as from the Sanskrit 'smaraṇa,' remembrance. The Bengâlis are unable to pronounce compound consonants like *sm*; they utter the *s* with a good deal of stress, leaving the *m* to make itself heard only as a slightly labial breath; the nasal portion of the *m* has here fixed itself, oddly enough, as a guttural, probably owing to the guttural *n* following. The Sanskrit verb *smr* has been made to furnish a participle, *smari*, which by the operation of the above process has become *soṅari*. Precisely parallel is the transition of *bhramara*, 'bee,' into *bhaṅar*. Another old word is *okhad*, Sanskrit *aushadha*, 'medicine,' in which the Hindi cus-

tom of representing ष by *kh* is seen; while, on the other hand, in the rejection of the aspirate and the putting *d* for *dh*, as also in the substitution of the labial vowel *u* for the *a* of the original Sanskrit, we see a distinct peculiarity of the modern Bengali (see my *Comp. Gram.* vol. I. p. 132).

After making every allowance, however, for the propensity to modernize, observable in the printed edition, it must be admitted that Chandî Dâs's language approaches nearer to the present Bengali than Bidyâpati's. This may be accounted for by the greater learning of the former. His poetry is inferior to Bidyâpati's in sweetness and vigour, but superior to it in learning and accuracy. He probably used intentionally all the new forms of the language which were then coming into fashion, and it must be remembered that, though a Brahman, he was no courtly poet like his contemporary, but a man of humble rank, and, after his conversion to the new creed, one who identified himself with the people, and lived in a rural village in a part of the country far removed from the abodes of great men. He appears to have mixed up with the common rustic speech of the day as many big Sanskrit words as he could, being thus one in that line of Sanskritizers whose influence has been so powerful on modern Bengali. As an additional complication to the obscure problem of the origin of this language, must also be adduced the consideration that the Vaishnava creed came to Bengal from the upper provinces, into which it had been introduced from the South by the followers of Râmânuja, especially Râmânand of Oudh, in 1350 A.D., and his disciple the celebrated Kabîr. The tenets of the sect had been popularized by the poems of this latter, and the equally celebrated Oudh poet Sûr Dâs, whose immense collection of poems, called the Sûr Sâgar, might almost be mistaken for the writings of Bidyâpati, so identical are they both in the language employed and in the sentiments expressed. It is therefore not improbable that the Vaishnava poets of Bengal intentionally employed Hindi and semi-Hindi words and phrases; and this suspicion, which is unfortunately too well-founded to be overlooked, throws a haze of doubt round Bidyâpati's style. This is the difficulty which confronts the student of the Indian languages at every step in reading an old author: he is never sure how far the style employed is really a faithful representation of the language spoken by the poet's countrymen and contemporaries. This doubt prevents us from using these old materials with confidence, and detracts immensely from the value of any deductions we may make from them. In the *Pada-kalpataru* are contained numerous poems in pure Sanskrit by the celebrated poet Jayadeva; and two of Chaitanya's principal disciples, Rûp and Sanâtan, also only wrote in Sanskrit. It would not however be correct to infer that Sanskrit was spoken in their time. These two men were to Brindaban what Layard was to Nineveh, its discoverers. They went to Mathurâ, and apparently guided by their own preconceived ideas only, fixed upon the sites of all places necessary to establish the Krishna-saga. They found out Braj and Govardhan and all the other places, and established temples and groves, and set on foot worship therein. They must certainly have been acquainted with the Hindi of these days to be able to do all that they did, and their habit of writing in Sanskrit is a mere learned caprice. But if they chose to write Sanskrit, Bidyâpati may equally well have chosen to write in Hindi, or what he took for Hindi; and the only reason therefore for assuming some of his words and forms to be the origin of modern Bengali forms is that we can trace the regular development of each type from his forms down to the modern ones.

It seems for the above reason unnecessary to delay longer over this poet, whose style is inferior to that of Bidyâpati, while his diction is less instructive. It was necessary to make some mention of him, on account of his reputation, but it is extremely difficult to find among his poems any that are fit for reproduction. One does not, it is true, write "virginibus puerisque," but even from a scientific point of view it is not advisable to plunge into obscenity unless there be some pearls in the dunghill worth extracting, and this I cannot say is the case with Chandî Dâs.

## WALKING THROUGH FIRE.

BY H. J. STOKES, M.C.S., NEGAPATAM.

The following are notes of evidence given at an inquest on a boy, aged fourteen, who lost his life on the 30th of April last from burns received in attempting to perform the ceremony of walking through fire. The practice of this ceremony is prohibited in this Presidency; yet it appears to have been maintained for many years past in the village Periyâṅguḍi, without having been discovered by the authorities. When the magistrate went to the spot, the place where the fire was kindled had been ploughed over, so as to conceal it. A close inspection, however, revealed the fire-pit, which was found to measure 27 feet long by 7½ broad. It was about a span deep. The situation was on an extensive open plain before the village deity Draupatî Amman's temple. The pit lay east and west; the image of the goddess was placed at the west end, and it was towards it that the worshipper walked along the length of the pit from east to west.

*Virappa Vândyân* states:—"I was one of the eight persons who carried the goddess Draupatî Amman to the place where the fire-treading took place. The fire-pit was a trench about two poles long, by two strides broad. Six bâbûl trees were cut into faggots and kindled. Those who trod on the fire were Nachchu, Pûjâri of Periyâṅguḍi; Chidambaram, Pûjâri of Angalamman temple at Achchutamangalam; Râmasâmi Pillei, Stânika of Draupati Amman of Periyâṅguḍi, and resident of Shenganûr; Sâminâda Padeyâchi of the same place; his brother Subrâya; Subbanâyakkan of Vâlkei; Muttyâlu his brother; Aryappan, dealer in oil; Nâgalinga Pillei; Muttusâmi Pillei of Maṇvêli; my brother Nâgappa Vândyân; Kollumalei, Pûjâri of Vâlkei; and the deceased, Pakkiri—in all thirteen persons. Of these Nachchu, the Pûjâri, went first into the pit at the east end, and walked through it to the west end, where he got out. So did the next Pûjari, Chidambaram, holding a small tabor in his hand. The Stânika (or superintendent of temple) came next, ringing a bell. Thus each of the persons above mentioned, except Pakkiri, walked through the fire, one beginning after the other had done. As each got up out of the trench, he went and walked through a second pit dug at the west end of the fire-pit, and filled with water. This is called the Pâl-Kuḷi or milk-pit. Last of all, Pakkiri got down into the trench like the rest. He had not made one pace, when his legs crossed, and he fell on his right side, and then rolled over on his left. Where he fell was near the edge of the trench, so one of us pulled him out by the hand. They got a pumpkin, and applied the juice of it to the wounds. Then his mother and sister carried him in a swinging-cot home. The moment he was pulled out he said he felt giddy, and fell down. He did not speak again. He looked quite well before he got into the trench. Like the rest who walked through the fire, he wore a cloth wrapped tight round his waist, and his breast and arms were daubed with sandal."

*Nâgappa Malavarâyan* states:—"I live in the next street to the temple of Draupati. When I was away in Mauritius I was for eight years ill with dyspepsia, and made a vow to the goddess of this temple to walk through fire if I got well. Four years ago I recovered, and last April I returned to my village from Mauritius. The landholders of Periyâṅguḍi, Vâlke, and Shenganûr supply the materials required for the ceremony. That day the fire was lit at noon; at two o'clock the fuel had burnt to embers. I had fasted all the day, and had bathed in the tank of the Vâlke Agrahâram. I got down into the fire at the east end, meditating on Draupatî, walked through to the west, and up the bank; then I went to the temple and got ashes, which I rubbed on me, and then went home. We went down to the fire to the sound of tom-toms, tabors, drums and bells at 5-30 P.M. There were two or three hundred people there."

*Nachchu Padeyâchi* states:—"I am Pûjâri of this temple of Draupati. I have walked through the fire every year for the last seven or eight years. I made no vow. It is my duty as Pûjâri to walk through the fire. I took the *Karakam* (an earthen pot) from the temple to the Agrahâram, where I bathed. Then we all came here with music. The tabor-player first, then the Stânikan (superintendent of temple), and then I went down into the fire, and walked across it. Then the others followed one by one."

*Abhirâmi* states:—"Pakkiri is my younger brother. My daughter, six years old, was ill with fever, and I vowed a 'Mâvilakku'* to the goddess. We went to Pakkiri's house, and he accompanied us to the fire-pit the day before yesterday in the evening. There was a great crowd. I stood at some distance and looked on. I did not see Pakkiri go into the pit, but I saw him when

* An offering of kneaded rice-flour in the midst of which a depression is made for oil or ghee to burn in, as in a lamp. The word means "flour-lamp."

he was brought from it. He was burnt all over. They applied the juice of a pumpkin to the burns. Meanwhile the news reached my mother, and she came to the spot. She and I put him in a cot and carried him home. We put cocoanut oil on his wounds. He died at 8 o'clock. He did not speak once. He had had an attack of jaundice, and we made a vow to Drôpati, saying 'Mother, if he recovers we shall tread on your fire.'"

*Periya Kuṭṭi* states:—"Pakkiri, who is lying here a corpse, is my son. He was attacked with jaundice; and I made a vow of treading fire for it. He got well. So he trod the fire last year and the year before. But this year his fate came upon him. I am blind of both eyes. I did not go with Pakkiri to the fire-treading. I went when I heard news that he had fallen in the fire and been burnt. I and my daughter carried him home. He died last night. I have no one else in the house but him."

The old blind woman carrying home her only son dying is a sad picture; and a case occurred a few years ago in this district of a young woman, with her infant, being fatally burned at one of these ceremonies. But such accidents seldom happen, and the custom is rapidly becoming obsolete.

It will be observed in this case that the fire was kindled at noon, but the ceremony of treading it did not commence till some five hours after, when the wood was all consumed, and there remained nothing but hot wood embers. These would hardly injure the tough skin of the sole of a labourer's foot, even had he not been preceded by at least three persons connected with the temple, in whose footsteps he doubtless trod devoutly. The incredulous say that these experienced persons use a preparation which protects their feet from the fire; and the oil extracted from the large green frog, which inhabits some tanks, is said to be used for this purpose.

There are various ways of celebrating this ceremony. I have myself seen the boys and girls at a fair in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country take a running leap through flames which rose out of a narrow pit. In some places the devotee merely jumps upon a flame produced by a handful or two of firewood; in others he rolls on heated embers. At Karnûl the ceremony is described as having taken place as follows in 1854:—"A pit is dug, of no great breadth or depth, and a fire lighted within it. The persons who engage in the ceremony are those who have vowed to perform it if successful in particular undertakings, or if they or any of their relatives should recover from any dangerous sickness. They form a circle round the pit, and commence walking slowly round it; as they get excited they move faster, and under the influence of the excitement one or other of the party jumps by turn into the pit, and out again on the other side, with great alacrity, some taking the precaution to have their clothes well saturated before doing so." In some places they run, and in others (as in the case which is the subject of this communication) they walk slowly over the embers.

The "Karakam" which is borne on the head of the Pûjâri is supposed to be supported there miraculously. It is filled with water and crowned with margosa leaves. The word is Sanskṛit.

The practice of fire-treading is connected in some places with a legend of Draupadî, the wife of the Pâṇḍavas. She is supposed to have had to enter the fire on account of the impurity she underwent from the touch of Kîchaka. The orthodox account tells only of an unsuccessful attempt to burn her with Kîchaka's body. There is probably some confusion in the popular mind between Draupadî and Sîtâ, who had to prove her purity by fire.

I have heard of a case in this district where, since Government set its face against the ancient practice, the people use flowers instead of fire, and tread on them devoutly in honour of the goddess. Could any reform have had a happier ending?

*Negapatam.*

## ON SOME BENGÂLI MANTRAS.

BY G. H. DAMANT, B.C.S., RANGPUR.

*Some time ago I found* amongst the books of a zamindâr a manuscript book, written by himself, containing a collection of *mantras*, astrological problems, and native prescriptions. The *mantras* are those used by the *ojhas* or wise men of the district; they are on a variety of subjects, such as for driving away evil spirits, for preventing anything evil from enterin[g]

house, for detecting a thief, for summoning the gods, for enchanting a person, for closing the mouths of snakes and dogs, and for curing snake-bite. The meaning is always obscure, and in many cases quite unintelligible, but some of them seem to have more connection than others and admit of translation. They are written in the worst possible Bengâli, with numerous provincial words, so that the task of translating them has been by no means an easy one. I have given rough translations of two as specimens.

The first seems to have been used to drive away evil spirits, and is as follows.—

Listen, Meri, my mother! attend on my meditation whilst I play my play.

I salute black Kâlî with her tawny locks;

From time to time my mother assumes divers dresses.

Listen, Meri! &c.

I salute the Dâkini of the Dâk quarter; the Mechini of the Mech quarter; I salute the Bhutani of the Bhutia quarter; the Kochini of the Koch quarter.

Listen, Meri! &c.

Thy father rode on an ass, thy mother on a she-ass. You cannot bear the sound of the name of Brahma.

Listen, Meri! &c.

The Dâkini repeats the name of Brahma, calling Brahma! Brahma!

The old Râkshasas say, Gosain, forbear to repeat the name of Brahma.

Listen, Meri! &c.

You cannot bear the influence of the name of Brahma. By repeating the name of Brahma, the great name, I moved the heavens. The seats of the gods moved in heaven.

Listen, Meri! &c.

From the race of Brahma you are sprung; with Brahma you live. Leave heaven and come down, goddess: appear in the sky.

Listen, Meri! &c.

Where do you linger, goddess? In what are you entangled? Cut the fastening, cut the knot, and come quickly.

Listen, Meri! &c.

The name of Brahma is pure, his body is a cypher. Brahmachâri, club-bearing! come running swiftly.

Come, Brahmachâri! three times in my meditation I have called thee, praying with reverence. With my dread invocation I have shaken and moved the circle of the heavens. Come! I have called many times. Make no answer but break thy doors, goddess, and come.

I cannot doubt that the "Meri" invoked in this *mantra* is our "Mary"—the allusion to riding on an ass seems to prove it satisfactorily. I presume the name must have been picked up from some Roman Catholic Missionary.*

It is curious to note how the mountain tribes the Mech, Kochh, and Bhutiyas are regarded as a species of evil spirit and put in the same category with a Dâkini. The word I have translated "pure" is *niranjan*: it appears to mean here 'without colouring matter,' 'pure essence;' but I know of no parallel.

The next *mantra* is one used by snake-charmers. It is supposed that when a person is suffering from snake-bite it is necessary to discover what kind of snake has bitten him before he can be properly treated. The snake-charmers use a peculiar kind of cowrie for this purpose, called *gâṭiyâ*: it is distinguished from the common kind by its wrinkled shell. This cowrie is supposed to move under the influence of the *mantra* quoted below, and to go to the place where the snake is. The *mantra* is as follows:—

The bird speaks, listening to the voice of his mate.

He has flown away to the city of Kamaksha (Kamrup).

The bird, &c.

He has flown away to the southern city

The bird, &c.

He has flown away to the eastern city.

The bird, &c.

He has flown away to the western city.

Leaving all sadness, he mounts up to heaven

When he reached heaven he drank poison;

When he had drunk six *chiṭṭâks* of poison,

Tumbling, falling, he falls on the ground:

Falling on the ground he flutters;

He returns to the city whence he came.

Like a golden doll he rolls in the dust:

He walks on foot but cannot go forward;

He walks with his hands but cannot move;

He makes lamentation and beats his forehead;

* But conf. *Ind. Ant.* ante, p. 109, and the Maru-devi of the Jains —ED

Being without resource, what does he then?
He sent a letter to Bishari.
Bishari! Bishari! he calls many times.
Whilst he was calling, Padmâvatî thought on him.
Hearing his cry, what does Padmâ then?
She took a sword and silver stick in her hand, and golden sandals on her feet,
And goes slowly to the river of *Netanâ*.
Netanâ! Netanâ! she calls many times.
Netanâ was astonished when she heard,
And began to put on her eight ornaments,
On her leg anklets, on her feet a ring,
Bracelets on her arms, on her neck a *hansuli*
In her nose a nose-ring, on her forehead vermilion,
And slowly she went to the presence of Takshak.
Listen, listen, Takshak, snake! why do you sit still?
Come quickly and save the boy, he has been bitten by a snake.
Hearing this, what does Takshak, snake?
Slowly, slowly he goes to the village of Nâkindar.
Nâkindar! Nâkindar! he calls many times.
Whilst he was calling, Nâkindar thought on him,
And was astonished when he saw him.
Listen, lis en, Takshak, *Nâg* snake! to you I speak.
If you bite me I will call for help to Gaṇeśa and Kârtik—
He pierces stone, he pierces brick, he pierces everything.
He came into the presence of Nâkindar and his wife.
Listen, Nâkindar! to thee I speak:
Sleep on a golden bed, Nâkindar, thy feet on a silver bed.
Thy body, Nâkindar, trembles at the bed-side.
Listen, listen, Nâkindar! you must die.
Go to the right hand, Nâkindar, go to the left:
On all sides, Nâkindar, you must say farewell.
Bite his head under the tongue.
Go then, go, *gâṭiyâ* cowrie, I grant you the boon;
Seize the black snake and bring him before me.

The words translated "you must die" do not accurately give the meaning of the original, which is *kâr prâne jâo*, meaning: What form of life will you assume after death?

Padmâ or Padmâvatî is used in this district as a synonym for Bisharî.

Nâkindar is said to have been the youngest son of a banker who quarrelled with Mânasâ, the goddess of snakes. The goddess in anger said that all his sons should die of snake-bite, and accordingly each of them was killed by a snake on the night of his marriage. For a long time the father of Nâkindar refused to allow him to marry, but at last he consented and built a room made entirely of iron, so that no snake could enter. On the marriage night Nâkindar and his bride Boulla were sleeping in this iron room on a bed made of gold and silver, when a small snake came through a crack in the wall and killed him. After he was dead, his wife Boulla put his body in a boat and started off down-stream. After she had travelled a long time, she met a washerman who washed the clothes of the gods; under his guidance she went to heaven, where she obtained some *amrita*, with which she brought her husband to life, but while he was in the boat his knee had been gnawed by a fish, so that, though he recovered his life, he was always lame.

## PAPERS ON ŚATRUNJAYA AND THE JAINS.

### *III.—Translation from Lassen's Alterthumskunde, IV, 755 seqq.*

*By E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.*

The views hitherto entertained on the origin and development of the Jaina sect differ considerably from each other. Wilson assumes that this religious doctrine either originated so late as the decline of Buddhism, in the beginning of the 8th century,* or that it manifested itself during the 2nd century in the Dakhan; and with the latter view that scholar's earliest opinion coincided†. Benfey thought, at least formerly, that the Jaina doctrine arose only

* *Mackenzie Collection*, I. p. 182.
† *Ibid.* Introduction I. p. lxvii. and his Preface to the 1st edition of his *Sanscrit Dictionary*, p. xxxiv.

out of the struggles of the Buddhists with the Brahmans,* so late as the 10th century. According to James Todd,† in the time of the glory of the Vallabhi dynasty, or during the 6th century, three hundred bells of the *Jaina* temples in their capital of Vallabhipura invited the pious to assemble.

Entirely contradictory to these views are those of *Colebrooke* and of *J. Stevenson*. The first assumes that the last *Jina*, Vîra, was the teacher of the founder of Buddhism.‡ The second agrees essentially with this view, and asserts that Gautama or Buddha had, by the superior force of his intellect, entirely superseded the system of the *Jainas*, until the fading light of the *Jainas* again recovered a weak glimmer wherewith it reappeared in the firmament of Western India.§ Accordingly he makes the *Jaina* doctrine older than Buddhism, and lets it step forth again, after the extrusion of Buddhism.

Among the testimonies to the existence of *Jaina* doctrine which do not originate among its adherents, the inscriptions of the Châlukya dynasty of Kalyâni have the widest bearing, because they show that during the reign of Pulakeśi, whose dominion was extensive, from about 485 till 510, the *Jainas* were very influential.‖ Now, as some time must have elapsed before they could spread themselves from their homes in Northern India to the Dakhan and acquire influence there, it may be assumed that they arose somewhat earlier. Later testimonies of this kind are naturally of less value, but may here be adduced, because it appears from them that this religion enjoyed considerable prominence afterwards also. Varâha Mihira opposes the *Jinas* to *Śâkya*, and *Buddha* to *Arhatâm deva*, and specially points to the nudity of the *Jainas*.¶ According to this testimony the *Jainas* before the end of the 5th century differed from the *Bauddhas*. In the *Panchatantra*—which collection of fables is well known to have been translated into the *Huzvaresh* language during the reign of the Sasanian Khosru Anushirvân, and the *composition whereof must at all events be* assumed before A. D. 500—by the name *Jina* and *Jinâs*, the *Jainas* only, and not the Buddhists, must be meant.** So far as the testimonies of classic authors are concerned, such passages as those in which the Γυμνοσοφισταί are mentioned cannot at all be taken into account here, because this name designates Brahmanic ascetics and philosophers so called, not because of their total nudity, but only because of the scantiness of their attire. After this elimination, only the gloss of *Hesychios*, who lived before the end of the 5th century, remains, *i. e.* *Γέννοι, οἱ Γυμνοσοφισταί.*

It is a mistake to assert that the Buddhist school of the Sammatiyas was not different from the *Jainas*.† It suffices, in order to demonstrate the inadmissibility of this assertion, to mention that the *Sammatiyas* founded their doctrines upon the *Hînayâna-Sûtra*, which kind of literature is altogether foreign to the *Jainas*.

The only information of the Chinese pilgrim which certainly relates to the *Jainas* is the statement that the *Jaina* sect, which he calls Śvetavâsa, and elsewhere Śvetâmbara, was in Takshaśilâ.‡

After the origin of the *Jaina* religion, the most important point to be investigated concerns the time of the last year of the twenty-fourth *Tîrthankara*, Mahâvîra or Vîra; in order

* *Altes Indien*, p. 160 of the special issue.

† *Travels in Western India*, p 269.

‡ *On the Philosophy of the Hindus*, pt. v.—*On Indian Sectaries* in his *Misc. Essays*, I. p. 380 *seqq.* In a preceding Dissertation: *Observations on the Sect of Jains*, *ibid.* II. p 191 *seqq.* he gives no opinion concerning the time of the origin of this sect.

§ See the Preface to his edition of *The Kalpa-Sûtra and Nava Tatwa, two works illustrative of the Jain Religion and Philosophy, translated from the Mâgadhî*, p. xiii.

‖ See *Ind. Alt.* IV. p 97 *seqq.*

¶ *A. Weber's Verzeichniss der Sanskrit-Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, p. 247, and *Reinaud's Mémoire &c. sur l'Inde*, p 121 and p. 122.

** The passage in question occurs in the ed. of Kosegarten p. 334 *seqq.* in the 5th book of that work. The scene of this tale is placed in Pâṭaliputra, erroneously stated to be situated in Dakshinâpatha.

† This assertion has been made by A. Weber in his dissertation *Ueber das Śatruñjaya Mâhâtmyam, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Jaina*, p. 9 *seqq.* The opinion that Śilâditya the Vallabhi king was an adherent of the *Jaina* doctrine is just as untenable: it entirely contradicts the data of Hiwen Thsang, and the seven Buddhas worshipped by that monarch according to III. p. 514, note 8, and IV. p. 543, and cannot pass as an argument in favour of that supposition. When Weber asserts that this Śilâditya was the king of the same name of Kanyâkubja he overlooks the express testimony of the Chinese pilgrim, I. p 203, that this Śilâditya lived 60 years before his visit to Mahârâshtra; that immediately afterwards Brahmapura and Kiṭa the countries subjugated by him, are mentioned, and that the word *aujourd'hui* occurs in quite another passage, p. 670.

‡ See *Ind. Alt.* IV. p. 670.

to appreciate the data in the *Śatruñjaya Māhātmya*, on this point, first of all, the time of the composition of the book, and its credibility, have to be subjected to examination.

Its author, Dhaneśvara, is represented as a contemporary and teacher of the Vallabhi king Śilâditya; he is called "the moon of the lunar race:" he instructed this ruler of the town of Vallabhi in the purifying *Jina* doctrine, and induced him to expel the *Bauddhas* from the country, and to establish a number of *Chaityas* near the *Tīrthas*. Śilâditya lived in the 477th year of Vikramarka, purified the law and reigned till 286.* In this passage it is incorrect to say that he expelled the *Bauddhas*, since it is certain that he was a very zealous adherent of the religion of Śâkyasiñha; he cannot in any case have persecuted the Buddhists, although there is nothing to oppose the supposition that many *Jainas* lived also in his kingdom, and that they were protected by him. If further, as is proper, the epoch of Vikramâditya be taken as a basis, he would have reigned as early as 420, which is contradictory of the age of the reign of this monarch obtained from inscriptions. Calculated according to the era of Śâlivâhana his reign falls about 555, which is nearer the mark.

The time of the composition of the book in question is rendered still more uncertain by the last and prophetical portion of it. King Kumârapâla can scarcely have been other than the Châlukya who was the protector of the well-known Hemachandra and of the *Jainas* in general, and who began his reign in the year 1144.† The Vâstupâla mentioned at the same time with this monarch belongs to a race zealously addicted to the *Jaina* doctrine—the Châlukyas at Chandrâvati, who administered that province in the 12th century as vassals and prime ministers.‡

Further, the later composition of the book of Dhaneśvara is confirmed by the idea he propounds about Kalkin, the 10th future incarnation of Vishnu, which indeed is already mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata*, but the development thereof pertains to the much later period of the *Purâṇas*§. Of this *avatâra* the following circumstances are reported:—On account of the preponderance of the *Duhshamâ*, *i.e.* the evil age, after the death of the entirely unknown Bhâvada, the power of the *Mudgalas* will forcibly, like a current of the ocean, inundate the earth and seize it; cows, corn, riches, children, women, men of low, middle, and high place in Saurâshtra, Lâta, and other countries, will be taken away by the Mudgalas. They will assemble the castes pursuing their usual occupations, and will arrive in the country distributing great riches.

As a foreign nation is evidently meant here,‖ I do not hesitate to put Dhaneśvara's statements about Kalkin also into this category. He will be born 1914 years after the death of Vîra as the son of a *Mlechha*, and will bear the three names Kalkin, Chaturvaktra, and Rudra,—this latter must be the proper reading for Rudva. He will destroy the temples of Muśalin or Balarâma and Krishna in Mathurâ, and many disasters will happen in the country. After the lapse of 36 years Kalkin will become king and dig up the golden *stûpas* of King Nanda; in order to obtain treasures he will cause the whole to be dug through. On this occasion there will, according to the tale, appear a cow of stone, named *Lagnadevî*, whereon many inhabitants will leave the town. Then the angry Kalkin will persecute the *Jainas*, but will be prevented by the tutelary goddess from doing mischief. An inundation of 17 days will compel him, with many believers and unbelievers, to abandon Pâtaliputra, which town he will rebuild by the aid of Nanda's treasures, and in which prosperity will prevail for 50 years. Towards the end of his dominion he will become wicked and cause the *Jainas* to be persecuted by heretics. Then Śakra or

* *Śatruñjayamâhâtmya* XIV., v. 281 *seqq.* p. 109. The number 286 here is either a misprint, or a useless statement. According to *Ind. Alt.* III. p. 1119 this Śilâditya reigned from the year 545 till 605.

† See *Ind. Alt.* III. p. 567, and *Śatruñjayamâhâtmya*, XIV. v. 287 *seqq.* p. 109.

‡ See *Ind. Alt.* III. p. 574. The name is spelt Vastupâla.

§ *Śatrunjayamâhâtmya* XIV. v. 105 167, p. 98, and v 291 *seqq.* p. 110. See *Ind. Alt.* IV. p. 561 *seqq.*

‖ Mudgala as a proper name in Sanskrit is the son of the old Indian king Heryaśva and the ancestor of a race; a Muni, whose spouse was called Indrasenâ according to the *Śabdakalpadruma*, under the word. That the *Mongols* can scarcely be meant by this name has been shown by Weber, p. 41, note 3.

Indra, assuming the form of a Brahman, will take the part of the persecuted, and Kalkin will die in his 87th year. His son and successor Datta will be instructed in the *Jaina doctrine* by Śakra himself, and will, under the guidance of Prâtipada, build *chaityas* for many *Arhats.* He will erect also many sanctuaries; among others also on Mount Śatruñjaya in Surâshṭra, and in Aryan and non-Aryan Indian countries he will everywhere cause temples to be built for the *Jainas*, according to the instructions of his *guru* or spiritual teacher.

Now so far as the inducement to the above two tales is concerned, the raid of the Mudgalas into Surâshṭra, Lâṭa, and the adjoining countries is referable only to the invasion of Mahmûd the Ghaznivide in the years 1025 and 1026, during which he plundered the rich temple of Somanâtha, in the peninsula of Gujarât, and on his return march reached also the capital, Analavâḍâ,* —especially as this event is placed before the time of Kumârapâla. The name *Mudgala* is most correctly explained from the Sanskrit word *mudgala*, hammer, and understood to mean the smashing power of the foreign invaders. It is difficult to discover the basis of the second narrative, because several miracles and incredible events are mixed up with it, *e. g.* the disinterment of the *stûpa* of King Nanda, and the appearance of the stone-cow *Lagnadevî.* Further, the ancient capital Pâṭaliputra had long ceased to exist at the time to which I think the reign of Kalkin must be referred; and the reign of Datta also over Aryan and non-Aryan India is evidently a fiction. If this tale be divested of its fabulous additions: Kalkin persecuted the Jainas but thereby lost his life, whilst his son Datta zealously protected them. According to the chronology of the *Śatruñjayamâhâtmya*, Kalkin was born 1914 years after the death of Vîra; this event is placed 947 years before the reign of Śîlâdityaḥ.† As, according to the statement of Dhaneśvara, this monarch began his reign A. D. 555, the appearance of Kalkin falls under the year 1522,‡ *i. e.* at a time when the history of inner India contains no information whatever about the reign of a dynasty favourable to the *Jaina doctrine.* Accordingly I do not hesitate in the least to consider the tale about the acts of Kalkin and of his son Datta as inventions of Dhaneśvara, whose intention it was, by means of them, to open out to his co-religionists the vista of a happy future. To this also point the words with which the narrative closes: "During the reign of his son Datta prosperity and plenty will reign everywhere, the rulers will be just, the ministers benevolent, and the people will observe the law."

After the preceding examination of the prophetic portion of the *Śatruñjayamâhâtmya*, I consider myself justified in placing the composition of this book in the age after the invasions of Mahmûd of Ghazni; in favour of this view I also point to the destruction of the temple of Balarâma and Krishṇa at Mathurâ, attributed to Kalkin, because Mahmûd in 1017 actually demolished the celebrated temple of Krishṇa which was situated there.§ If this view is incontrovertible, as I believe it to be, the work in question must either have two authors, or, if it has only one, he can at the earliest, have written only in the first half of the 11th century; but, after all, the uniformity of the clear and simple style of both portions of this book, composed in *ślokas*, militates against the assumption of two authors.‖ I leave it unde-

* See *Ind. Alt.* III. p. 558 *seqq.* The above explanation of the name has been proposed by A. Weber, p. 41, note 2.

† Namely, according to XIV. v. 101 *seqq.* p. 92, Panchamâra, the pupil of Vîra, died 3 years and 8½ months after the demise of his teacher, and Vikramârka or Vikramâditya lived 466 years 1½ months after him, but Śilâditya, according to above, p. 195, 477 years after him. The numbers give 946 years and 10 months, or nearly 947 years. The passage about the age of Vikramâditya is literally as follows: "3 years and 8½ months after the death of Vîra, the law-purifying Panchamâra will appear; 466 years and 1½ months afterwards Vikramârka will, according to the instruction of Siddhasenâ, govern the earth according to the *Jina* doctrine, and superseding our (*i.e.* the *Jaina*) era will propagate his own.

‡ Time of the building of some of the larger temples at Śatruñjaya.—ED.

§ See *Ind. Alt.* III. 517.

‖ For this reason A. Weber compares (*passim*, p. 14) the style with that of *Bhaṭṭikâvya*, the author whereof was, according to *Ind. Alt.* III. p. 512, a contemporary of Śridharasena the first; here, however, he overlooks that Somadeva, who lived much later under Harsha, a king of Kaśmir, uses just as simple and clear language. The same observes (*passim*, p. 16) that the author of the work in question makes use of several words which elsewhere at least are rare. The connection *smarámyasmi* which occurs X. 153. sins directly against classic usage, because *asmi* is a superfluous addition. The comparison with the formation of the auxiliary future of the conditional and of the four first forms of the aorist does not suit, because here the auxiliary verb is fused with the thema into a single form, the formation whereof philology alone has discovered. Similarly the examples cited in Boehtlingk-Roth's *Sanskrit Wörterbuche*, I. p. 536, do not belong to this, because they are forms of the participial future in *-ta*, which forms are followed by many tenses of the auxiliary verb.

cided indeed whether Dhanesvara was the author of the *Śatruñjayamâhâtmya*, or whether a later writer has made use of his name in writing the history of his sect; I prefer, however, the second supposition, because in the passages where Dhaneśvara appears as the teacher of Śilâditya he is mentioned in the third person.* After this estimate of the value of the *Śatruñjayamâhâtmya*, I am unable also to place much faith in the time of the death of Vîra narrated in it. According to it he died 947 years before the first year of Śilâditya's reign, which event took place according to that book A.D. 555.† Accordingly Vîra would have died 392 B.C. This decision would place the *Jaina* sect back in too early an age, as any disinterested person can easily see. According to other data, this man, who is so prominent in the traditions of the *Jainas*, departed this life 980 years before A.D. 411; in which year Bhadrabâhu published his *Kalpasûtra*, that is, during the reign of Dhruvasena.‡ According to this determination the death of Vîra must have taken place 569 B.C. But according to the inscriptions Dhruvasena reigned from about 632 till 650, so that that celebrated Tîrthaṅkara must have died in 358 B.C.§ This conclusion also would make the beginning of the separation of the *Jainas* from the *Bauddhas* too early, and it must be reserved to later discoveries to ascertain accurately this period. Approximately, I propose to place the first beginnings of the *Jaina* doctrine about the 1st or 2nd century after Christ. In this it must not be overlooked that to Mahâvîra a large share in the propagation of the religious doctrine represented by him must also be assigned; he had most probably a real precursor, the 23rd *Jina*, i.e. Pârśvanâtha, and is also called Vardhamâna.||

After this, of course, merely approximative determination of the beginning of the *Jaina* doctrine, I proceed to set forth the most important arguments for their Buddhist origin.

For this origin, first of all, two names vouched for by them testify, *i. e. Jaina* and *Arhata*, the former being a derivation from an oft-used name of *Buddha*, i.e. *Jina*, and the latter designates not merely one of the highest degrees of the Buddhist hierarchy, but also Buddha himself.¶ Further, the *Jainas* assume 24 *Jinas*, in which particular they agree with the Buddhists, who also specially point out just as many *Buddhas*.* That the names are different among the *Jainas* does not invalidate the comparison. Of the other names of *Jina* only two more need be pointed out here, *i. e. Sarvajna*, omniscient, and *Sugata*, which are applied also to Buddha. On the other hand, the *Jainas* have attempted an approach to the Brahmans by attributing to their Supreme Being the name *Tîrthaṅkara*; it designated merely the preparer of a *tîrtha*, or holy place of pilgrimage, whilst the Buddhists applied to their antagonists the name *Tîrthya* and *Tîrthika*.

A second coincidence between the *Jainas* and the *Bauddhas* manifests itself in the circumstance that the former pay divine homage also to mortal men, namely, to their teachers, and erect statues to them in their temples; this is specially the case† with the 23rd *Jina* or *Tîrthaṅkara* Pârśvanâtha, as will afterwards appear. This coincidence is no doubt an appropriation on the part of the *Jainas*. The same holds good also—and this is a third agreement between the two religions—of the great value which the *Jainas* attribute to the *ahinsâ*, i.e. non-lesion of all living beings. Some of their *Yatis* or pious men go so far in this respect that they sweep the streets in which they walk with a broom

* See above, p. 195.

† See above, p. 195. From the reasons adduced above, it follows that I cannot agree with the calculation proposed by A. Weber (*passim*, p. 12), according to which Vîra died 947 years before 593 A.D., *i. e.* 349. I shall again below return to a second determination of this event.

‡ J. Stevenson's preface to his edition of this book, p. ix. Hitherto this book is the oldest in the literature of the *Jainas*, the age of which can be accurately ascertained.

§ On the time of the reign of this sovereign, see *Ind. Ant.* III. pp. 520, 521.

|| A short account of his life occurs in Wilson's *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, in *As. Res.* XVII. p. 251 *seqq.* As is usual in similar narratives, here also fictions are commingled with the truth.

¶ On this degree see *Ind. Alt.* II. p. 541, and Boehtlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit Wörterbuche* under the word *arhat*.

* See Colebrooke (*passim*) in his *Misc. Essays*, II. p. 207, Wilson (*passim*) in *As. Res.* XVII. p. 250, and J. Foley's *Notes on the Buddha from Cingalese authorities*, and in *J. of the As. S. of Beng.* V. p. 321. The 24 *Bauddhas* are considered the predecessors of the historical *Buddha*. A list of the 24 *Jinas* or *Tîrthankaras*, with notices of their acts and duration of their lives, occurs in Colebrooke's *Misc. Ess.* II. p. 207 *seqq.* and Wilson *As. Res.* XVII. p. 220. [And a more extended account in the second of these papers, *supra*, p. 134.]

† It is scarcely necessary to correct this mistake, founded on the somewhat loose statements of early writers. At Śatruñjaya, Adinâtha or Rishabhadeva is probably most frequently represented, and he, together with Nemi-nâtha, and Mahâvîra appear to be general favourites in Gujarat and Rajputana.—Ed.

lest they should kill an insect.* In Surat a richly endowed hospital exists in which sick and disabled animals are nursed with the same care as if they were men.†

Fourthly, the *Jainas*, following the example of the *Bauddhas*, have invented monstrous periods, and have in this respect even excelled their predecessors. Their larger periods are called *Avasarpiṇî* and *Utsarpiṇî*; each contains 2,000,000,000,000 years.‡ Another period has obtained the name *sâgara* or sea, and consists of 1,000,000,000,000,000 years. Each of the two periods is divided into six smaller periods; in the first the happiness, duration of life, stature, &c. of men continually decreases until they descend to the lowest degree of misery, and during the period called *utsarpiṇî* gradually again reach the highest degree of perfection. These periods the *Jainas* have partly filled out with the stories of the ancient epic dynasties of the Pândavas, of Krishna, and of Prasenajit, a king of Sravastî famed in the oldest Buddhist history, where in they have sometimes indulged in unimportant alterations of the usual accounts.§

In a similar manner the Buddhists have remodelled the history of the ancient Sûryavaṁsa or solar race; they place King Mahâsammata at the head of the first large period of the world, and allow after him 28 dynasties to reign in various parts of Upper India down to Ikshvâku; these periods are called *Asankhyeya*, i. e. numberless, and from those dynasties the later ones are derived; from Mahâsammata to Ikshvâku 252,539 or perhaps 140,300 successors are counted.||

These agreements between the *Jainas* and the *Bauddhas* will suffice to establish the point that the former have branched off from the latter. Their deviations from their predecessors are chiefly in the domains of philosophy and of cosmography, with which their system of gods is most closely connected. But before considering these differences between the *Jainas* and the *Bauddhas*, I consider it proper to insert a brief report on the literature of the former, because from this it will appear that in this respect the *Jainas* have attached themselves to the Brahmans.¶

The *Jainas* possess a number of *Purâṇas*, which chiefly contain legends of the *Tîrthankaras*, and present only exceptionally such as occur in Brahmanic writings of the same name. The most important work is attributed to the Jina Sûri Achârya, whose age cannot be determined quite accurately; the statement that he was a contemporary of King Vikramâditya is worthless, because the origin of the *Jaina* doctrine cannot be pushed so far back. The tradition said to be current in Southern India makes the author with greater propri.ty to have been the spiritual preceptor of Prince Amoghavarsha, who resided at Kânchi during the sixth century. As this kind of works does not exist among Buddhists, the *Jainas* have borrowed the title and one of the subjects of these writings from the Brahmans.*

The books called *Siddhânta* and *Âgama* partly take the place of the *Vedas* of the Brahmans, which the *Jainas* as well as the *Bauddhas* despise. The first title, as is well known, designates a book of instruction, wherein a scientific system, especially an astronomical one, is demonstrated by arguments.† The title *Âgama* means also, among Brahmans, doctrines or instructions which have come down by tradition; among Buddhists four collections of writings, which, according to the correct conception, relate to the *Sûtras*, and treat of discipline and cognate subjects, are also called by this name.‡ The three significations attributed to this title coincide in the general traditional doctrine or

* Accordingly an English physician did a very unwelcome service to a *Yati* by convincing him by means of a microscope that he was, in spite of this precaution, killing invisible animalculæ.

† There are similar institutions in Bombay, Bharoch, and elsewhere.—ED.

‡ *Colebrooke, Misc. Essays*, II. p. 276 *seqq.* These data are taken from the *Abhidhânachintâmani* of Hemachandra, and occur in the edition of O. Boehtlingk and Rieu, II. v. 162 *seqq.* p. 15. *Avasarpiṇî*, "down-stepping," and *Utsarpiṇî*, "up-stepping;" these expressions refer probably to the decrease and increase of happiness during these periods. [See also above, p. 135.]

§ This appears from extracts of the *Satrunjayamâhâtmya* by A. Weber, *passim*, p. 20, p. 31 *seqq.* and p. 35 *seqq.* From the mention by Hemachandra, III. v. 625 *seqq.* p. 127 *seqq.*, of Daśaratha, of his son Râma and his foe, of the giant-king Râvana, of the other enemies of Vishnu, as well as of several kings of the old Sûryavaṁśa or solar race, the conclusion may be drawn that in other writings also of the *Jainas*, the history of this dynasty is narrated.

|| See the references to this, *Ind. Alt.* I. p. 478, note 1.

¶ Of the literature of the *Jainas*, Wilson has treated most in detail, *As. Res.* XVII. p. 240 *seqq.*

* A similar kind of writings are the *Charitaras*, in which legends and miraculous histories of the *Tîrthankaras* are narrated.

† See on this, *Ind. Alt.* II. p. 1130 *seqq.*

‡ See *Ind. Alt.* IV. p. 643 and note 1.

instruction, and this title does not imply a nearer relation of the *Jainas* to the Brahmans than to their predecessors. The case is quite different with the two next titles *Anga* and *Upânga*, which seem, according to Hemachandra, to designate the sacred scriptures strictly so called of his sect.* The first word signifies member, and among the Brahmanic Hindus designates six writings pertaining to the *Vedas* and explaining them.† *Upânga*, i. e. lateral or subordinate member, is the title of four works completing the books of the Brahmans. As these titles are wanting among the *Bauddhas*, it is evident that the *Jainas* have in this case imitated the Brahmans.

The preceding writings are considered as derived from the oral instruction of M a h â v î r a and of his disciple G a u t a m a; ‡ whether correctly, may be very questionable. The *Jainas* moreover possess a class of books, called *Pûrva*, because they are said to have been composed by the *Ganadhara*§ before the *Angas*. As a more detailed treatment of the writings just mentioned would be out of place here, I content myself with having noticed their existence.

The *Jainas* have followed their predecessors in this respect that they call their sacred language *Mâgadhî*, though it does not entirely agree with the language so called by the authors of *Prâkrita* grammars, but more with the *Sauraseni*, which, according to previous researches, is the basis of the *Pâli* language.|| The reason for this choice may have been one of two,—*i. e.* either the example of the Buddhists, or the circumstance that Southern Bihár was just that portion of Northern India from which the *Jaina* doctrine was first propagated; my reasons for this opinion I shall submit further on. Besides *Mâgadhî*, the writers of this sect also use the sacred language of the Brahmans, and there are but few Indian vernaculars in which no *Jaina* writings exist.¶

After the above explanation, no doubt can remain that the *Jainas* are descendants from the *Bauddhas*, but that in some points they considered it advantageous to approach the Brahmans, probably in order thereby to escape being persecuted by them. So far as the philosophical doctrines of the *Jainas* are concerned, their chief points are the following.** And here I shall pay special attention to that part of their doctrines which may serve to determine more closely the relation of the *Jainas* to the Buddhists.

*Jaina* philosophers comprise all things in *two* supreme categories, named *jîva* and *ajîva*. The first is intelligent and feeling; it consists of parts but is eternal. In a stricter sense, in this system of instruction *jîva* designates the soul, which is subject to three states; it is firstly *nityasiddha*, *i. e.* always perfect, or *yogasiddha*, *i. e.* perfected by immersion in self-contemplation, like the *A r h a t s* or *J i n a s*; it is secondly *mukta* or *muktâtmâ*, *i. e.* liberated by a strict observance of the ordinances of the sect; it is thirdly *baddha* or *baddhâtmâ*, *i. e.* fettered by acts, and as yet abiding in a state which precedes the last deliverance. The second, *ajîva*, is everything without a soul, without life and sensation; it is the object of enjoyment on the part of *jîva*, which enjoys. In a stricter sense of the word, *ajîva* means the four

* The following twelve *Angas* are enumerated: *Âchârânga*, which book treats of sacred usages; *Sautrakritânga*, a work on the sacred instructions; *Sthânânga*, treats of the organs of sense and the conditions of life; in the *Samavayânga* the *padârthas* or categories are represented; the *Bhâgavatyânga* is a description of ceremonies and of the divine service; the *Jnâtâdharmakathâ* represents the knowledge communicated by holy persons; the *Upâsakadaśâ* imparts instruction on the manner of living for lay people or *Srâvakas*, and the *Antakriddaśâ* on the acts of the *Tîrthankaras*; the *Anuttaropapâtika* treats of the last deliverance or salvation and of the future births of the *Tîrthankaras*; the *Praśnavyâkarana* is, as the title implies, a grammar of questions which probably relate to the law-book of the *Jainas*; the title of the last book is *Vipâkaśruta*, and represents the fruits of actions. Of the *Upângas* none are mentioned by name, and the title of the books supplementing both these kinds of works may here be passed over in silence, except the 12th, called *Dhrishtavâda*, which consists of 5 parts and treats of moral and religious acts.

† These, as is known, are *Vyâkarana*, grammar; *Sikshâ*, doctrine of accents; *Chhandas*, prosody; *Nirukta*, explanation of words; *Kalpa*, ritual; and *Jyotisha*, the Vedic calendar. On the *Upângas* various statements occur which have been collected in the *Sanskrit Wörterbuche* of O. Boehtlingk and R. Roth under that word. As such the *Dhanurveda*, archery, i.e. science of war, and the *Âyurveda*, i.e. science of medicine, is also adduced; otherwise, however, these pass for *Upavedas* or subordinate *Vedas*. Also the *Upanishads* are counted among the *Upângas*. The statement seems to be the most correct according to which the *Purânas*, *Nyâyas*, *Mimânsâs*, and *Dharmaśâstras* are such because in it the number four is expressly mentioned.

‡ Wilson, *As. Res.* XVII. p. 246, where in the note the passage in question is communicated from the 3rd chapter of the *Mahâvîracharitra*.

§ Wilson, *As. Res.* XVII. p. 246, and Hemachandra, II. v. 240 p. 40. According to him, I. v. 31, p. 7, *Ganadhara* means the president of an assembly, probably of an assembly of *Arhant Vîras*.

|| See my *Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ*, *Pref.* p. 43, and *Ind. Alt.* II. p. 480 *seq.* See also J. Ste[venson's] remarks in his edition of the *Kalpasûtra*, p. 131 *seq.*

¶ Wilson, *As. Res.* XVII. p. 242. Such is especially with the vernaculars of Southern India.

** Colebrooke, in his *Misc. Ess.* I. p. 381 *seq.*

elements, earth, water, fire, air, and everything immoveable, *e. g.* mountains. The *Jainas* further assume six substances, viz :—*jîva*, soul; *dharma*, right or virtue; *adharma*, sin which permeates the world and effects that the soul must remain with the body; *pudgala*, matter, which possesses colour, odour, taste, and tangibility, such as wood, fire, water, and earth; *kâla*, time, which is past, present, and future; and *âkâsa*, infinite space. According to their view, bodies consist of aggregates and atoms. The *Jaina* philosophers, like all Hindu philosophers, believe that the soul is fettered by works, and that man must endeavour to free himself from them. They adduce four causes as obstacles to the liberation of the soul: viz: *pâpa* or sin; the five *âśravas* or hindrances of the soul from obtaining holy and divine wisdom; *âśrava*, *i. e.* the impulse of the incorporated soul to occupy itself with physical objects; and *samvara*, *i. e.* the cause of this obstacle.* In another passage eight kinds of interruptions to the progress of the soul towards liberation are enumerated, namely, *jnânâvaraṇiya*, *i. e.* the false idea that cognition is ineffectual, and that liberation does not result from perfect knowledge; *darśanavaraṇiya*, or the mistake that liberation is not attainable by the study of the doctrine of the *Arhats* or *Jinas*; *mohaṇiya*, or doubt whether the ways of the Tirthaṅkaras or *Jinas* are irresistible and free from errors; *antarâya*, or the obstruction of the endeavours of those who are engaged in seeking the highest liberation. The four other interruptions are:—*vedaṇiya*, or individual consciousness, the conviction that the highest liberation is attainable; *nâmika*, or consciousness of possessing a determined personality; *gotrika*, the consciousness of being a descendant of one of *Jina's* disciples; lastly, *âyushka*, or the consciousness that one has to live during a determined time. These spiritual states are conceived in an inverted order; the four first of them designate birth and progress in the circumstances of personal life; and the four last designate progress in perception. The highest liberation or *moksha* is attainable only through the highest cognition or by perfect virtue.

In this system a syncretism meets us to which Buddhism, the Vaiśeshika and Sânkhya philosophy have contributed. The doctrine that by a perfect cognition and strict observance of the teaching of a religious or philosophical sect the liberation of the soul from its fetters may be attained, is Buddhistic, or, more accurately, almost universally Indian.† The opinion that matter is eternal, and that there are only four elements, is Buddhistic.‡ The idea that all things are composed of atoms belongs to the Vaiśeshika school, although this doctrine had been more developed by Kaṇâda than by the *Jainas*. This philosopher, moreover, considered time as a special category.§ Kapila teaches that by four states the liberation of the spirit is impeded, and by four others promoted; he arranges them, however, in a logical manner, so that the progress from the lowest state to the highest, *i.e.* to that of *dharma* or virtue, is well established, whilst such is less the case in the arrangement of the *Jainas*.‖ The sect now under discussion borrowed from that philosopher probably also the idea of an ethereal body with senses formed of ideal elements, wherewith the soul is invested.¶

(*To be continued.*)

## STONE AND WOODEN MONUMENTS IN WESTERN KHÂNDESH.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C. S.

In a former correspondence (*Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 321) I alluded to the monuments erected by the tribes of Western Khândesh, similar to those referred in Gondwâna to the Gaulî period. The following notes contain what I have since been able to observe on the subject.

* Colebrooke, *passim*, in his *Misc. Essays*, I. p. 382, where *âśrava* is explained through *âsravayati purusham*, and Wilson, *passim*, *As. Res.* XVII. p. 266.

† See *Ind. Alt.* III. p. 428, and Note 2.

‡ Colebrooke, *passim*, in his *Misc. Essays*, II. p. 194, that the Bauddhas as well as the *Jainas* have borrowed this view from the Sânkhya philosophy, and I. p. 391.

§ *Ibid.* I. p. 271 and p. 391.

‖ See on this *Ind. Alt.* III p. 328, and also Îśvarakrishna's *Sânkhyakârikâ*, v. 41 *seqq.*

¶ See on this *Ind. Alt.* III. p. 421. This remark ... to Colebrooke in his *Misc. Essays*, II. p. 194. The *Jainas* assume that the soul is, during its various migrations, invested with a coarser body called *audârika*, which remains as long as beings are compelled to live in the world, or with a body called *vaikârika*, which, according to the various circumstances of the being, assumes various forms. They further distinguish a finer body called *âhârika*, which arises, according to their view, from the head of a divine sage. These three bodies are the external ones, and within them there are two finer ones; the one called *kârmaṇa* is the seat of the passions and feelings; the innermost, called *taijasa*, is still finer, never changes, and consists of spiritual forces. This body corresponds to the *sûkshma* or *lingaśarîra* of Kapila, which subsists through all transmigrations till the final liberation of the spirit.

They are of various shapes and sizes, the largest about 8 feet high above ground, square, finished with a round head, and ornamented with figures in relief on all sides. Others are long slabs, and some mere flat stones erected much as they were found. A great many are of wood, invariably teak, which seems to last a wonderful time. It is difficult to get at the precise age of such remains; but I have seen many teak monuments of which the name had entirely passed away, yet which were still in fair preservation. They are always in the shape of a post about half as thick as it is wide, with a round head. The *Thilâris*, or shepherds, merely dab a little red paint on the spot where a man happened actually to die. The monuments are generally cenotaphs, and erected in groups in a favourite spot near the village, perhaps near a temple. I was fortunate lately in getting a pretty full explanation of such a group from a Pâṭil. No. 1 was a flat stone 7 ft. by 1 ft. 6 in. by 5 in. "This," quoth my informant, "is Bûla Pâṭil, who died about 60 years ago. Here he is on his horse, and here he is driving in his cart. This *was* his stone (pointing to another of the same class but broader, and with only a mounted figure on it), but it was broken; so I made and set up the other some seven years since." As far as the execution of the carving, or appearance, of the stone went, the one looked as old as the other. "This," said the Pâṭil, "is my ancestor Vithobâ, and this is fire over his head, because he was burned in the *vâḍâ* that you were looking at now. The Band-wallas did that, two hundred years ago, in the days of the Śâhu Râjâs. This is Mahâdev Pâṭil. He was going to Umbarpâte, and a tiger came out and pulled him off his horse and ate him." These two stones were of the same class as the first—long rough slabs. The burnt pâṭil was represented on foot, with flames over his head; the others on caparisoned horses. It is to be remarked that a man who never in his lifetime owned anything more warlike than a "*bail*" is often represented on his monument as a gallant cavalier. Another stone in the same place represented a Teli who had left no family; wherefore, as the pâṭil explained, his mother spent his remaining estate on giving him a good stone. It was about seven years old, four or five feet above ground, square with a round head, of the class first mentioned. There is a remarkable group of stones, to the number of about a dozen, at a spot on the Dhulia and Surat Road about two miles west of the village of Dahiwel. It commemorates a fight that took place there in the "days of trouble" about 75 years ago, respecting the cause and conclusion of which there are two sides to the story. The Kunbis and Musalmâns say that the Bhîlls broke out and began plundering the country, and were met and defeated at this spot by a detachment of the Peshwâ's troops from the post at Sarâî, below the Kondaî Bârî Ghât. The Bhîll version is that "certain Musalmâns came up out of the Gaikwâḍî to loot; and Sabhâji, Konkanî Pâṭil of Malangaum, called together the Gâwids and the Konkanîs and Naîks, and gave them battle and beat them. Sabhâji, in any case, was killed in the skirmish, and his is the largest of the group of monuments. It is about 8 feet above ground and 18 inches square, of a single stone. On each side of it in an even line, the smallest outside, are the cenotaphs of the others slain on the Bhîll side. All the Bhîlls and Konkaṇîs make pilgrimage to this place in the middle of April, and build a *mânḍvâ*, or tabernacle of boughs, over the stones, and slay goats and fowls in honour of Sabhâji, winding up the proceedings by getting "most abnormal drunk." There is a stone of the same class at the head of the Kondaî Bârî pass, said to have been erected in memory of a Râjput warrior slain the same day—on which side does not appear. Also there is one at the Bâbul Dhara pass, about which I could get no information; but similar rites are observed at both by the village Bhîlls, although there is no pilgrimage to them.

In explanation of the caste terms used above, it should be explained that the Gâwids or Mâwachas, and Konkanîs, are races inhabiting Western Khândesh, and very similar to Bhîlls with whom they are generally confounded They however keep up a distinction; the Gâwids consider themselves superior to the Konkanîs, and the latter to the Bhîll Naîks, or pure Bhîlls; and this relation is admitted by the last. The Gâwids and Konkanîs, moreover, are more given to agriculture (such as it is) than the Bhîll Naîks. They bury their dead; in some instances all the dead man's [illegible] is buried with him.

Various figures are carved b[illegible]

deceased. In the case of a man killed by a tiger the tiger is always carved above his victim. These monuments are very common, but generally of old date. I never saw a new one. They are sometimes erected on the spot of the death, but more often in the village group. In one case certain Bhîlls petitioned me in respect of a Mhowa tree, which they said their ancestors had planted "where one of our people was slain by a tiger." There was no stone or other monument besides the Mhowa tree, which was about 50 years old. The snake is used both as an ornament and to indicate death by snake-bite; the latter is rare, and in such cases the snake is shown uncoiled, and under the man's foot. Other common ornaments are the pea-fowl, antelope, the sun in the moon's arms (almost universal), and fighting men; all very rude. The boldest attempt at sculpture that I have seen was that of Bûla Pâṭîl in his cart; and in that case the artist was so sore put to it for perspective that he cut one bullock walking on his yokefellow's back, and one wheel before the other. The open hand is the emblem of a *satî*, but is very rare. Women's memorial-stones are seldom seen together with those of the men, but cluster apart round some *pîpal*-tree or the like. In some cases one stone commemorates several persons; *e. g.* at the village of Dongrâlâ I asked a Bhîll the meaning of a large and very old-looking stone with five curious figures on it, about which I rather expected a good story. "Oh!" quoth he, "those are my brothers. That's *Viṭhyâ*, and that's *Khaṇḍyâ*, &c., and I gave a man a rupee a head to carve them."

## ARCHÆOLOGY IN NORTH TINNEVELLI.

*Extract from a letter from the Rev. J. F. Kearns to the Collector of Tinnevelli.*

(*Proceedings of Madras Government, 18th November* 1872.)

I have a few observations to offer with reference to some portions of Mr. Boswell's letter. (*See Indian Antiquary*, vol. I. page 372.)

With reference to "inscriptions," I quite agree with him that no time should be lost in obtaining correct copies of all that exist, for it is only too true that time is fast effacing some very valuable ones.* In this zilla (Tinnevelli) there is a rock temple, Kalugumalei, covered with *Jaina* figures and inscriptions; some of the latter I had copied many years ago and presented them to the Madras Literary Society. These inscriptions have been, by competent scholars, pronounced the oldest specimens of the Tamil language hitherto discovered. The Tamil character of the inscription is as different as possible from the Tamil character of to-day, but the germ of the present character is contained in it. I think that all the inscriptions on this temple should be carefully copied.

In a field close to Nagalapuram, in Ottapedaram taluqa, there is a colossal Jaina image such as Mr. Boswell describes† in his letter. This figure ought to be preserved in some Museum. There is a small Jaina image in the village of Kolatur, and it is worshipped by the natives, who apparently do not know what it is. There is another in the ancient village of Kolkhei, near to Sawyer-puram.

I have opened and examined many cinerary urns in cromlechs, notably in Kourtalam, but I have not discovered stone implements in any. There were many iron implements and exquisite pottery in them. The neighbourhood of the Jaina image at Nagalapuram abounds with these urns.

Mr. Boswell remarks, "I have seen many Buddhist temples converted into temples of Vishṇu; but I do not know of any re-dedicated to Śiva." The old Jaina temple, already alluded to, at Kalugumalei is dedicated to the god Subramanya, Siva's youngest son. Perhaps there is more contained in this fact than is apparent. According to the oldest legends, Śubramanya is the god of *war*, and that the Jainas in the south were cruelly exterminated by the Śaivites is a matter of history. In the re-dedication of a Jaina temple to Subramanya, Śiva's youngest son, are we to infer that the measures were taken to extirpate Jainism?

Mr. Boswell refers‡ to what are called "*Kolle Kallu*," and he states on Mr. Walhouse's authority that there is one "within a mile of Mangalor." The descriptions which Mr. Walhouse gives of the figures on the stone closely resemble those which in this zilla are found in places where *Sati* had been performed, and further information respecting them seems desirable. By whom were those stones called *Kolle Kallu?* By immigrants

* Vide ante, p. 185. † *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 374*b*. ‡ *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p 372*a*.

or by the aborigines? An answer to these questions would lead to further interesting investigations.

I have seen many Venetian coins in this zilla, but they are rapidly disappearing; the natives, valuing them for the extreme purity of the gold, convert them into jewels.

I have designated the images on the rock "Jaina," and not Buddhistic, and my reason for so doing is that each inscription designates the image above it a "Tirru Meni," the usual term for a *Jaina saint*.

*Puthiamputhar, 23rd January 1872.*

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## REVIEWS.

NARMA KOŚA (નર્મકોશ): A Dictionary of the Gujarâti Language: by Narmadâ Śankara.

The author of this dictionary has been for many years well known to Gujarâtis as a writer of both prose and poetry. He has a knowledge of English, is a diligent student, an enterprising author, and has made successful efforts to give his countrymen the benefit of his studies. He now appears as a lexicographer, and presents to the students of Gujarâti a goodly quarto of 619 pages, double columns and close print.

The book has been long promised and earnestly expected. Years ago we had several instalments in parts, which gave us up to the word *jethí madha* (જેઠીમધ). Yet the present work is not a continuation of these parts. The old matter has been recast and the work completed on a slightly abridged scale. To keep the work within prescribed bounds, many words and forms of words ([illegible]) have been omitted. The author informs us that not only all proper names, but many generic or class names of animals and plants, and also technical terms, have been excluded—omissions greatly to be regretted. Yet some agricultural terms have been retained, and some rustic words have been given as examples of a class. Of Sanskrit words, and words of foreign origin, only those are given which are in common use. He has also endeavoured to include words used by the older writers.

We must thank the author for giving us this information. We know what to look for, and must not be disappointed when we miss in the dictionary words we may occasionally meet with in reading and conversation. No doubt the student will regret many of these omissions; for we naturally go to a dictionary for rare words and uncommon forms of words. Yet, both for the number of words illustrated and for the fulness of the meanings given, this dictionary leaves all its predecessors far behind. It will at once take its place as a most valuable help to the Gujarâti student. Foreigners will be troubled at first by finding that the explanations are given in Gujarâti, but this trouble will ultimately facilitate their progress.

We cannot help regretting that the author has not seen fit to introduce a little philology into his book. The source whence a word, or a leading word, has been derived is indeed indicated, but nothing more; no attempt is made to show the connection of words one with another, nor to exhibit the historical and logical relations of the various meanings of words. He has, indeed, taken pains to give us fully the meanings of words, but the arrangement of these meanings might have been different and better. We hope the author will, with his characteristic energy, turn his attention to this matter in preparing any future edition of his valuable book.

In two particulars he adopts rather a peculiar system of orthography. As Gujarâti is commonly written, *anuswâr* uniformly represents the five nasal *sparśa* consonants ઙ, ઞ, ણ, ન, મ. Narmada Śankara discards the anuswâr and uses the consonants: for [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], &c. he writes [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], &c. Whatever may be said in favour of this, we fancy the convenience of the common mode will carry the day. But a greater innovation is the introduction of a point under a letter to represent a light *h* or aspiration after the letter so marked. He gives a list of some seven hundred words, or more, in which this point is introduced. We fear the author rather overrides his hobby, but he has a good excuse for proposing this orthography. The Gujarâtis have not yet fixed upon a uniform way of representing *h* in the body or at the end of a word. They sometimes omit it altogether, sometimes insert it with or without the vowel of the preceding letter. Thus we have [illegible] &c. These words our lexicographer proposes to write [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], &c. Time will show whether this will be generally received. There is this to be said for it, it helps to show the syllabification of a word: [illegible], for instance, seems to be a word of three syllables, but is considered to be of only two; so also [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], are counted as words of only two syllables.

The author in his preface and introduction gives us some interesting information. Passing by several autobiographical notices, we remark that

he has taken the trouble to count and classify the words he has placed in his dictionary. There are 25,268 words explained. Other words introduced in the course of explanation raise the total to 25,855. These are classified as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Sanskrit, pure or slightly changed...... | 5,831 |
| Do. more changed (apabhraṅśa अपभ्रंश) ........................ | 17,066 |
| Foreign words ........................ | 2,958 |
| | 25,855 |

In every hundred words there are—

| | |
|---|---|
| Sanskrit, pure or slightly changed... | 23 |
| Do. more changed (apabhraṅśa) | 66 |
| Foreign ........................ | 11 |
| | 100 |

Of the foreign words there are from—

| | |
|---|---|
| Persian and Arabic .................... | 8 |
| English ........................ | 1 |
| Others ........................ | 2 |
| | 11 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Substantives number .................... | 17,350 |
| Pronouns ........................ | 47 |
| Adjectives ........................ | 3,746 |
| Verbs ........................ | 2,218 |
| Verbals (kṛidanta कृदन्त) .................... | 569 |
| Particles (avyaya अव्यय) .................... | 1,338 |
| | 25,268 |

We hope the author will be liberally rewarded by the public. Every Gujarâti scholar will find it to his advantage to add the Narma Kośa to his library.

The book has been printed partly in Bhâvanagar, and partly at the Mission Press, Surat. The printing in the latter establishment is evidently of a superior character.

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Supplement to a Classical Dictionary of India illustrative of the Mythology, Philosophy, Literature, Antiquities, Arts, Manners, Customs, &c. of the Hindus, by John Garrett, Director of Public Instruction in Mysore, Editor of the Bhagavat Gita in Sanskrit and Canarese, &c. &c. 8vo pp. 160,—Madras: Higginbotham & Co. 1873.

This Supplement is intended to supply the defects of Mr. Garrett's Classical Dictionary of India, published about two years ago. Among the principal new articles are those on Festivals, Castes, Aboriginal tribes, &c. There are also many additions to articles in the Dictionary. The work is principally a compilation, the books that have supplied most materials being H. H. Wilson's *Works*, Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Sherring's *Tribes and Castes of India*, Dubois's *Manners and Customs of the People of India*, *The Indian Antiquary*, Frederika Richardson's *Iliad of the East*, and Goldstucker's contributions to Chambers's *Encyclopædia*; but it is to be regretted that the compiler did not avail himself more fully of the European literature of his subject. The continental Orientalists are only referred to through translations, though the writings of Burnouf, Polier, Lassen, Weber, Benfey, Zenker, and others would afford great masses of information on any of the subjects treated of. It is unfortunate too that Mr. Garrett sometimes fails to make the best use of the materials at his disposal: the most glaring instance of this is probably his account of the Mahâvanśo (p. 74), which consists simply of an incident related in chapter VII. of the work, and given by Prof. Weber in a long note on his Essay on the Râmâyaṇa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. pp. 173, 174).

Yet with all its defects—arising chiefly from its being the work of a single individual, instead of the combined production of different writers—Mr. Garrett's Dictionary is a highly important work, and, upon the whole, exceedingly creditable to the industry of a single labourer. It will form a suitable basis for any more elaborate and complete work that may hereafter be attempted. It is most desirable that we should possess a comprehensive and trustworthy Dictionary, which should be a real help and guide to every student of Hindu literature and antiquities. The materials are abundant, and they are still accumulating. And even in such vernacular works as Narmada Śankar's *Narmakathâ Kośa* much important information will be found. But no work of this nature can be successfully carried out without the co-operation of many scholars, under the direction of a competent editor, each furnishing contributions in the department which he has made the subject of special study. And we feel sure that any one who will undertake such editorship will gladly acknowledge how deeply he is indebted to Mr. Garrett for the valuable labours by which he has prepared the way for our possessing an adequate Classical Dictionary of India.

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Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han, or the Central and Western Rajpoot States of India; by Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod. 2nd Edition. 2 vols. royal 8vo (pp. 724 and 719). Madras: Higginbotham & Co. 1873.

The first edition of Tod's Rajâsthân appeared in 1829 and 1832, and has been long out of print and excessively dear; Messrs. Higginbotham & Co.'s reprint is therefore most welcome. It is well got up, in fine clear type, the notes in even a larger size of type than in the original colossal work.

We miss, however, the beautiful plates of the latter, omitted apparently at the suggestion of Colonel Keatinge, as being "very inaccurate",—a character which, as applied to the views, is in most cases, unfortunately, only too correct; still it is somewhat awkward when the reader comes to page 8 and reads,—"To render this more distinct, I present a profile of the tract described from Abu to Kotra," &c., and to find that this section of the country has been condemned to omission with the artistic pictures. At p. 221, the author says he "exhibits the abode of the fair of Ceylon"—meaning the palace of Padmani,—but it is not to be seen; and again at p. 576 we read of "the Jain temple before the reader, and a sketch of the fortress [of Komalmer] itself, both finished on the spot," and yet neither of them is before the reader. And so in other cases. This of course is one of the results of the want of editing: another is the uncorrected errata. The author himself had pointed out a few of those in volume I. but even of them only one has been corrected; and on page 25, where, by a misprint of 'or' for 'on,' the original had "Maheswar, or the Nerbudda river," the reprint has "Maheśwas, or the Nerbudda river," while at p. 51 we have "perpetua larchon," exactly as in the quarto.

But no writer is more in need of careful editing than Tod: his book is as readable as his opinions are often rash and fanciful. His facts—where he confines himself to facts—are interesting and important, and are fortunately so numerous as to give his work a high value in spite of his very illegitimate and misleading etymologies, on which he frequently hangs whole theories of ethnology. His imagination is never at a loss: from a few names having each a syllable or so alike, he can reconstruct whole chapters of lost history.

In Chapter II. he cites (p. 28) the *Agni Purâna* for 'the genealogies of the Surya and Indu (*moon*) races,'—but they are not found there. A little further on, he makes the Pândavas the sons of Vyasu by Pandea (p. 29); he would make his 'Barusar the son of Chandragupta' the same as the 'Abisares' of the Greek writers (p. 38); Rajagriha is 'the modern Râjmahâl' (p. 39); 'Dushkhanta,' as he names Dushyanta, is 'the father of Śakuntalâ, married to Bharat' (p. 40); Tanjore he makes the probable capital of 'the *Regio Pandiona*' of Ptolemy; *Un-deś*, the country of the Shawl goat or Tibet, he makes *An-deś*, in order to identify it with Anga-deśa (p. 41); Valmika (as he calls Valmiki) and Vyasu 'were cotemporaries' (p. 42); Marco Polo was at Kashgar 'in the sixth century' (p. 56); the Jaxartes is the same as the Jihoon (p. 57); *madhu* means 'a bee' in Sanskrit, and the name of the drink extracted from the Mahuâ tree is derived from *madhu* (p. 66); 'Siv-râtî' is the same as 'Sacrant' (Sankrant) and means 'father night'; the *ficus religiosa* 'presents a perfect resemblance to the poplar of Germany and Italy, a species of which is the aspen' (p. 73); *Larikê* of Ptolemy was Kâthiâvâd, and took its name from the *Silar* tribe (p. 104); and so on,—endless inaccuracies rendering Tod most untrustworthy as a guide. And even in what came under his own eye he sometimes sacrifices truth to effect: thus, describing an old temple at Komalmer (vol. I. p. 577) he says,—"The extreme want of decoration best attests its antiquity, entitling us to attribute it to that period when Sampriti Râja, of the family of Chandragupta, was paramount sovereign over all these regions (200 years B.C.). . . The proportions and forms of the columns are especially distinct from the other temples, being slight and tapering instead of massive, the general characteristic of Hindu architecture; while the projecting cornices, which would absolutely deform shafts less slight, are peculiarly indicative of the *Takshac* architect. . . It is curious to contemplate the possibility, nay the probability, that the Jain temple now before the reader may have been designed by Grecian artists, or that the taste of the artists among the Râjputs may have been modelled after the Grecian." Yet after all this and much more confident assertion, no competent critic looking at the plate "before the reader" in the first edition, would be disposed to relegate the temple to an earlier age than about A.D. 1500; and indeed it bears this inscription upon it, which shows moreover that it never was a *Jaina* temple,—

॥ श्री माहेश्वरपार्वतीभ्यां नमः ॥

महाराजाधिराज राणि श्री संग्राम देवजेठी

बाविराणा हलजलाप इलादेवि श्री मदे शि

मुठचा संवत् १५७१ वर्षे पोसवदि ११ आपा

ठ उदकेद्रव्याणि ॥ ऊ ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

showing clearly enough that the temple was scarcely more than three centuries old when he saw it, dating only from the reign of Rânâ Sangrâm, A.D. 1514. Yet with all its errors and defects, Tod's work *is* one of sterling value, and well worthy of careful study; and whilst some will regret the want of references in this new edition to later and more trustworthy writers, and the correction of errors, or, perhaps, that the wheat has not to some extent been separated from the chaff by the judicious omission of the greater portion of the merely fanciful speculations of the author,—all interested in it will feel grateful to the publishers for bringing so convenient and careful a reprint within their reach.

## CORRESPONDENCE, &c.

### PROFESSOR WEBER ON PATAÑJALI, &c.

Sir,—Let me offer you my thanks for having given to your readers a translation of my lucubrations on the date of Patañjali.* True, I should have liked to see it given *in full*, with all the copious annotations, and also with my treatment of that important passage from the *Vákyapadíyam* about the melancholy fate that befell the *Mahábháshya* for some time. But as your space is limited, I easily conceive that you could not well afford to devote more of it to this discussion. Doing it, you have, *dishṭyá*, elicited from Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar some very able and pertinent remarks, and I am glad to acknowledge the scholarly skill displayed by him in handling the subject.

He begins by saying that he "hardly shares in the regret" I had expressed with regard to his not having been aware of the fact that I had ten years ago treated the same subject, as his "facts were new, and his conclusions not affected by anything" I had said formerly, and I beg therefore to inquire first somewhat deeper into the merits of this rather blunt rebuff.

The example: "iha **Pushpamitraṁ** yâjayâmah" is no doubt *new*, as it was neither noticed by Goldstücker nor by myself, but the question is, does it really convey *that* meaning which Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar gives to it—"that *at the time* Patañjali *wrote* there *lived* a person Pushpamitra, and a great sacrifice was *being* performed for him and under his orders"? The whole passage, rendered by him somewhat obscurely, is to be translated as follows. *Páṇini* (III. 2, 123): *laṭ* (the present tense) is used when something is going on;—*Kâtyâyana:* they should be taught with regard to the not-being-finished (*i.e.* continuation) of an action going forward (*i.e.* to use *laṭ* also when an action going forward is not yet finished, merely stopped), as it is not going on;—*Patañjali:* "they should . . . . action" (*i.e.* to use it also in the following cases): here we study—*ihá 'dhîmahe,* here we stay—*iha vasâmaḥ;* here we sacrifice for Pushpamitra—*iha Pushpamitraṁ yâjayâmaḥ.* What is the reason? It is not clear (wants to be stated expressly), "as it is not going on; "—*Kaiyaṭa:* "here we study," so (one is to say as long as) the study is going forward, begun, not yet finished; for when they are not studying, being engaged in eating and other like things, the use of the word "we study" seems not proper,—therefore an express statement is required. The meaning of this is: the present tense may be used as well of short actions which are really going on at the very moment of speaking, as of prolonged actions which are for a certain time in the course of going on and not yet finished, though they may be interrupted for a time by other business, such as studying a certain system, staying at a given place, *sacrificing for Pushpamitra.* Are we now really obliged to draw from this last example Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar's conclusion that this sacrificing for Pushpamitra was "not yet finished"—*at the time Patañjali wrote,* was "still going on"? If we did not know anything of an individual of the name of Pushpamitra, we should no doubt take the word simply as a common proper name in the sense of Gajus, Calpurnius, Sempronius, like Vishṇumitra (see *Mahábháshya*, p. 233, ed. Ballantyne). It is therefore of the highest importance that we get from another passage Patanjali's precise notion (and this fact was adduced first by myself), that the **Pushpamitra** spoken of by him was really a *king*, and a noted king too, as it seems, as distinguished as **Chandragupta**, no doubt the Σανδρόκοττος of the Greeks, along with whom he is mentioned,—distinguished, as this example, "*iha Pushpamitram yâjayâmaḥ,*" as well as a similar one happily brought forward by Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar (p. 69), shows, especially also for his *sacrifices.* And this agrees well with what we know from other sources of a king of that name,† as the tradition of the Buddhists affirms,‡ that he was a staunch friend of the Brahmans; and of his *aśvamedha* even Kâlidâsa takes notice in one of his dramas. This dynasty is called in the Purâṇas that of the *Śuṅgás,* a name which recurs under the Brahmanic families and teachers of the *Sûtra*-period, in the *Sâṅkháyana, Âśvaláyána,* and *Nidána Sútras,* as well as in Pâṇini (IV. 1, 117), and which has probably accrued to Pushpamitra, its founder, from his spiritual affiliation by one of his *gurus* (just as Śâkyamuni is called Gautama for a similar reason, see *Ind. Stud.* X. 73), or from the sacrificial cus-

* There is one passage in which the translator, who has done his work in other respects to my full satisfaction, has missed my meaning: I refer to the passage on page 63*a* about Kaiyyaṭa, whom I do *not* call "contemporary *of* the author of the Trikâṇḍaśesha and *of* Hemachandra," but "supported by the author of the Trikâṇḍaśesha and by Hemachandra" (*dem sich noch* der Verfasser des Trikâṇḍaśesha und Hemachandra zugesellen).

† As I am informed by Prof. Bühler that the Jainas spell the name as *Pupphamitta,* I join now too in reading it thus, though the other form given by the northern Buddhists, *Pushyamitra,* as a *nákshatra* name, would seem to merit the preference in a royal name.

‡ According to the Aśoka-Avadâna (*Burnouf, Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhism,* I. 431, 432), he offered for each head of a Śramaṇa a hundred dînâras, and got for this his persecution from the Buddhists the nickname—*munihata,* "*celui qui a mis à mort les solitaires.*" He is considered there as the *last* of the race of the Mauryas (!).

tom not to use the king's ancestral pedigree, but only that of his *purohita* (*purohitapravareṇâ 'brâhmaṇasya*, ibid. X. 79). To speak of his sacrifices in the way Patañjali does, appears thus as a most natural thing for any Brahmanic writer who lived at a time when their fame was still fresh enough to be thankfully remembered, but seems to me far from implying with any strictness that the writer was *contemporaneous* with him. "There would result a very curious biography of Patañjali if all the examples which he draws from common life, and which are given by him in the *first* person, were to be considered as throwing light on his own personal experiences."* Both passages on the sacrifices of Pushpamitra are highly welcome as a bit of history of that king, but with regard to Patañjali's age, in my opinion, they add nothing more to the fact, already known previously (since 1861), that he did not live before Pushpamitra's time, but that they convey the notion that the memory of this king was still cherished by the Brahmans.

We come now to the second point, the two passages adduced by Goldstücker: "aruṇad Yavanaḥ Sâketam," and, "aruṇad Yavano Mâdhyamikân." Only the first of them was noticed by Bhâṇḍârkar in his first article (*Ind. Ant.* I. p. 302); but his silence on the second, far from implying that he did not coincide with the interpretation of it given by Goldstücker, would seem to show, on the contrary, that he acquiesced in it, not being yet aware of all the difficulties of the case. When therefore he now proclaims that the conclusions at which he arrived at that time are "not affected by anything" I have said in my critique on Goldstücker, he is enabled to say so only from my having meanwhile drawn his attention to Professor Kern's opinion on the M â d h y a m i k â s, which too, though contained in an English book published in India, 1864, had remained to him as unknown as my own lucubrations written in German in 1861. For so long as, with Goldstücker, he considered the Mâdhyamikâs to be the Bauddha school of that name, it appears to me quite *impossible* that he *could* have stood by his conclusions in spite of all I had brought forward with regard to their relation to Nâgârjuna, and Nâgârjuna's relation to Abhimanyu, and that they should not have been anyhow affected by them. Without the fresh light thrown upon the passage, in question, when interpreted according to Kern's view, that the Mâdhyamikâs are *not* the Bauddha sect, but a people in Middle India, its interpretation would still remain beset by all those difficulties, from which Bhâṇḍârkar has now, to be sure, made a very good case against me, but which were almost all of them already pointed out by myself too, stating at the same time that, as I readily acknowledged, my rather forced attempts to explain them away rested "on the double assumption that the reading *mâdhyamikâs* is correct, and that the name of the school did not exist until after its foundation by N â g â r j u n a." There was no other explanation at hand at the time when I wrote. By Kern's interpretation, the aspect of the whole question is indeed very much changed, though I still hesitate to consider it as settled, and hold to the opinion that it "requires further elucidation."

I come now to the facts adduced by Bhâṇḍârkar at pp. 69-71. The first of them—the third mention of Pushpamitra's name—I have already spoken of. In his remarks on Patañjali's native place he quotes a very remarkable passage from the *Mahâbhâshya*, which no doubt refers to S â k e t a as lying between the place of *the speaker* and Pâṭaliputra. Sâketa, Bhâṇḍârkar takes to be Ayodhyâ, and proceeds: "Patañjali's *native place* therefore must have been somewhere to the north-west by west of Oudh." Now there is a town and district of the name of G o ṇ ḍ a, 20 miles to the north-west of it. Goṇḍa represents a modern corruption of the Prakrit Goṇaḍḍa, Sanskr. Gonarda, contained in G o n a r d î y a, a surname of Patañjali. G o ṇ ḍ a therefore is the native place of the great grammarian. This conclusion, though very ingenious and clever indeed, seems to me still surrounded by very grave difficulties. First there

* *Ind. Stud.* V. 159, in the following note, left out in the translation on p. 63,—"When Goldstücker regards the example given in the *Mahâbhâshya*, III. 2, 114 (which occurs also in I. 1, 44, Ballantyne, p. 538): 'abhijânâsi devadatta K a ś m î r e s h u vatsyâmaḥ, tatra saktûn pâsyâmaḥ (odanam bhokshyâmahe, p. 639), K a ś m î r â n agachhâma, tatra saktûn apibâma (odanam abhuñjmahi, p. 538)' as 'information' which Patañjali has given us 'of his having temporarily resided in Kashmir,' and adds:—'This circumstance throws some light on the interest which certain kings of this country took in the preservation of the Great Commentary,'—I do not understand either how so perfectly general an example can determine any conclusion whatever regarding events in the personal history of Patañjali, or how such a journey as his into Kashmir, for the purpose of there drinking saktûn (*beer?* surapishṭâni, *Taitt. S.*, ed. Roer, I. p. 627), or of eating odana (*pap*)—vaso lakshaṇaṁ bhojanaṁ lakshyam, says the Calcutta Scholiast,—can have exercised any possible influence on the *interest* which Abhimanyu and, 600 years later, Jayâpîḍa showed in the *Mahâbhâshya*. It could not indeed be inferred from this example, with any kind of certainty, that Patañjali did not himself live in Kashmir. In fact, quite a curious biography of Patañjali might be constructed, if all his examples of this nature, taken from common life, which are expressed in the *first* person, were to be regarded at the same time in the light of personal experiences. The name Devadatta, corresponding to the Roman Caius, sufficiently testifies to the perfectly general character of the above example."

† In one point, however, he overstates them, when he says it is a mere supposition, not supported by any reliable authority, "that Kanishka persecuted the Buddhists before he himself became a convert;" this is no " [illegible] mine all, as he calls it still another time, since I [illegible] the testimony of Hiwen Thsang, I. 107 [illegible]

is a passage in the *Mahâbhâshya*: 'Mathurâyâh Pâtaliputram *pûrvam*,' which gives us just the opposite direction, as it implies that Pâtaliputra was situated *between* the *speaker* and Mathurâ: the speaker therefore must have lived to the east of the former. It is true that Bhândârkar overcomes this difficulty by translating these words by "Pâtaliputra is to the east of Mathurâ," but I doubt very much the correctness of his translation of *pûrvam* in *this* case, as Patañjali states it expressly as his purport to give an example, where *pûrva* stands in the sense of *vyavahita*, *i.e.* of distance (*not* of direction). How are we now to account for two so contradictory statements? "na hyeko Devadatto yugapat Srughno Mathurâyâm cha sambhavati." One might resort to taking them as a proof that Patañjali had visited different parts of India while he was writing the *Mahâbhâshya*, and that one passage comes from a time when he lived to the west, the other from a time when he lived to the east of Pâtaliputra, as there may have been, according to Bhândârkar himself (in his first article, vol. I. p. 301), also a time when he lived *in* this town. Or, we might take one or the other passage as one of those which have crept into his work under the remodelling which it underwent by Chandrâchâryâdibhih (p. 58). Or we may waive that question altogether. Thus much remains: we cannot rely on either of them for attaining to certainty about Patañjali's *dwelling-place*, far less, as Bhâṇḍârkar takes it, about his *native* place. The only support for this latter supposition is his explanation of the name of Gonda by Gonarda; but in giving it he has failed to give attention to the statement of the Kârika (though he mentions it) which adduced Gonardîya as an instance of a place situated in the *east*. This statement appears fatal to his view, as a district situated to the north-west of Oudh cannot well be said, in a work written in Benares, to be situated *prâcham deśe*. Finally, even the correctness of his identification of Sâketa, as mentioned in this passage of the *Mahâbhâshya* with Oudh, may be as much called in question, as the other passage, adduced already, by Goldstucker: "Arunad Yavanah Sâketam," as there are two or three other towns of that name, any one of which has, *prima vista*, the same right to be the Sâketa of either of these two passages of the *Mahâbhâshya* as Oudh has.*

To proceed, Bhâṇḍârkar's remark "on the native country of Kâtyâyana would be very conclusive but for one rather serious drawback—there is, so far as I can see, no cogency in taking the words "yathâ laukikavaidikeshu" as a *vârttika*; they are a simple example quoted by Patañjali from the speech of the Dâkshiṇâtya, as he refers to it in other places, for (Ballantyne p. 937) "asticha loke sarasîśabdasya pravrittih, *dakshiṇâpathe* hi mahânti sarânsi sarasya ity uchhyante." We know from the *Vâkyapadîyam* that the *Mahâbhâshya* remained for some time preserved in books only (Stenzler in *Ind. Stud.* V. 448) amongst the Dâkshinâtya, a tradition which no doubt renders the assumption probable that we may thus have to account for some such allusions.

For taking the word *âchâryadeśîya* in the sense of "âchârya the younger," as Bhândârkar proposes (p. 96), I can find no authority. Either we must take it like (sabrahmachârî) taddeśyah (*Mahâbhâr.* XII. 6305) as "countryman of the âchârya' (though no doubt âchâryasadeśîyo would be more correct), or it conveys the idea of a certain *inferiority* in *rank* (ishad asamâptau, Pâṇ. V. 3, 67); and with Goldstucker, I doubt very much, whether Kaiyyata, who supports in general Patañjali's views against Kâtyâyana, would have called him by such an epithet, reserving the title of âchârya to the latter.

With regard to my opinion "that the word *âchârya* in such expressions as *paśyati tu âchâryah*, as occurring in the *Mahâbhâshya*, applies to Patañjali. I think Bhândârkar right in correcting it in the instances given, in others I am still doubtful; the question appears not yet ripe for being finally settled.

In the passage about the Mauryas I must leave it to others to decide if Patañjali's words do really imply it as his opinion that Pâṇini himself, in referring to images that were saleable, had in his eye such as those that had come down from the

* In my Note, *Ind. Stud.* V. 154, I remarked that—'this is open to question. For there were several places called Sâketa. Köppen (I. 112, 113) adduces very forcible reasons for the opinion that the Sâketa (Sâketu, according to Hardy) mentioned so frequently in the life of Buddha cannot be Ayodhyâ, as Lassen assumes (II. 65). And Lassen himself shows (III. 199, 200) that just as little can the Ptolemaic Sageda, Σάγηδα μητρόπολις in the country of the 'Αδεισαθροι, who dwell μέχρι τοῦ Οὐξέντου ὄρους (Ptolem. VII. 1. 71), be Ayodhyâ. According to the view of H. Kiepert, which, in answer to my inquiry, he has most kindly communicated, in an attempt to adapt the statements of Ptolemy to our present geography, the position of Sageda on the Ptolemaic map would fall southward from Palimbothra, in the direction of the Vindhya and the south of India, probably in the upper regions of the Sonâ, still northward from Amarakantaka, and by no means so far southward into the Dakhan as Lassen assumes it to be; perhaps it lay even on the northern slope of the Vindhya. Finally, Ptolemy mentions another Sageda (the text has Sagada, see Lassen, II. 240), which however lies in further India, and consequently does not concern us here. On the whole, there is none of the places mentioned bearing the name Sâketa that lies *nearer* the kingdom of Kanishka than the one which corresponds to the modern Oudh: and as to the thing itself, consequently, it matters little to which of them we refer the quotation from Patañjali.'

Mauryas. I never said more than this, and Bhâṇḍârkar goes too far when he says "Prof. Weber *infers* that Pâṇini in making his rule *had* in his eye," &c. My words are: "According to the view of Patañjali;" "Patañjali is undoubtedly of opinion;" "Be this as it *may*, the notice is in itself an exceedingly curious one."—Now with regard to this very curious and odd statement itself, I venture to throw it out as a mere suggestion whether it may not perhaps refer to a first attempt at gold coinage made by the Mauryas (in imitation of the Greek coins). It is true no Maurya coin has been discovered as yet, so far as I know, but this may be mere chance; the real difficulty is how to bring Patañjali's words into harmony with such an interpretation, the more so as in *his* time no doubt gold coins were already rather common.

When a thing is called at the same time P a r o k s h a m *and* p r a y o k t u r d a r ś a n a v i s h a y a m, we can render the first only by "what is *no more* to be seen," the second by "what *has been* seen by the speaker, or could *have been* seen by him." The imperfect is used always, *paroksha*, when a thing is *no more* to be seen, but it may be either *lokavijnâta*, notorious, or *prayoktur darśanavishaya*, belonging to the personal experience of the speaker, or even to both together.

In thus concluding what I had to say in my defence, I beg to repeat my acknowledgment of Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar's critical spirit, of which he has given ample proof already in an elaborate review of Haug's Aitareya-Brahmaṇa (1864), of which he now acknowledges himself the author, and which I embodied in the ninth volume of my *Indische Studien*, on account of its intrinsic merits, without knowing at all from whom it came. "It is the first time," I said in introducing it, "as far as we know, that a born Hindu has subjected with courage and independence the work of a European Sanskrit scholar to a searching critique, and this moreover in a manner which shows him quite competent and fully prepared to do it." He has given a new instance of his sagacity on the present occasion, and in congratulating him as a most welcome fellow-labourer in our common studies, I beg to express my hope that he may continue still for a time to make the critical ransacking of the *Mahâbhâshya* his special department; as he has succeeded already in drawing from it some very important details, he will not fail doubtless to find more of them. Combined efforts are necessary to wield this huge mass, which, in spite of the Benares edition, as well as of the forthcoming photolithographed edition, prepared in London under Goldstücker's care, will still defy for a while many attempts to break through its hard crust. It is a great pi[ty] that from the colossal dimensions of Ballantyne's edition we are now reduced to the other extreme, viz. to having nothing except a mere transcript of a manuscript, without any indications and helps of an editorial character. The text of the *Mahâbhâshya*, in all three editions, is *prima vista* a quite undiscernible *mixtum compositum* of Pâṇini's vârttika and bhâshya; and the bhâshya, again, is itself composed in a most unwieldy and unsettled way, stuffed to suffocation with objections, counter-objections, repetitions, examples and counter-examples. And with regard especially to the latter, we ought never to lose sight of the circumstances under which, according to the testimonies of the *Vâkyapadîyam* and the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, the work was finally arranged in its present form, and of the many chances that rendered it liable to changes and interpolations, under the treatment it may have experienced.

I beg to add some remarks on another subject: In *The Academy* (No. 68, March 15, p. 118) I gave a short statement of my real views on the relation of Vâlmîki to the Homeric *saga*-cycle, by reproducing pertinent passages from Mr. Boyd's translation of my Essay on the Râmâyaṇa, as contained in your pages. A correspondent of *The Academy* had (No. 65, p. 58) drawn the attention of its readers to the patriotic indignation of some learned Hindus against its results, at the same time himself stating its purport in terms which I could not consider as a true representation of my views. I had not then seen the review of my Essay by Kâśinâth Trimbak Telang, and could judge of it only from the notice given by the writer in *The Academy*. By the courtesy of the author I have since received it, and take this opportunity to state that—far from "laying *particular* stress on the total want of correspondence in the delineation of the various characters introduced *in the two poems*," as he was said to do in *The Academy*, and which would have exposed him too, to the charge of "fighting against windmills;" which I direct against all who state it as *my theory* "that the Râmâyaṇa of Vâlmîki is *simply an Indian translation of Homer's Iliad*"—he has indeed "endeavoured to refute my arguments one by one," without at all giving so prominent a part to that particular point. Though prejudiced, as he honestly allows, by his national feelings, he proves a faithful inquirer after truth; and if he has not, in *my* opinion, succeeded in anyways changing the aspect of the question—partly because he too puts it wrongly,* and partly because he has written

* The title of his review is:—"Was the Râmâyaṇa copied from Homer?" I never thought of maintaining so much as that.

apparently in great haste †, and without sufficient acquaintance with the present state of scientific research on several of the topics touched on or discussed in my Essay—still his review contains some very valuable hints and communications, especially from the *Mahâbhâshya*, for which we are thankful to him and to Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar, to whose aid he several times states that he is indebted.

*Berlin, 18th April* 1873. A. WEBER.

*Note.*

Might not **Sagada**, the metropolis of the **Adeisathroi**, near the hills of **Uxentus**, be **Sâgara**, near the sources of the **Daśârṇa** (*Dosan*), 200 miles E.N.E. of **Ujjain**? Spruner places it about 50 miles W.N.W of Warangol.—ED.

GENITIVE POST-POSITIONS.

*To the Editor, Indian Antiquary.*

SIR,—In the April number of the *Indian Antiquary* (p. 121) appeared a letter from Dr. Pischel with criticisms on my theory of the Gaurian genitive post-positions. I now request the favour of your inserting the following reply.

As regards the remark regarding the Prâkrit of the plays being founded on the *sûtra* of Vararuchi, I regret its somewhat careless expression, as it seems to have scandalized my critic so much. Many Prâkrit scholars, and all those who combine a knowledge of the modern Indian vernaculars with that of Prâkrit (*e. g.* Beames in his *Comp. Gram.* passim), hold that the colloquial or vulgar Prâkrit differed, and perhaps considerably, from the literary Prâkrit used in the plays, and grammarized, so to speak, by Vararuchi and his successors. These two Prâkrits cannot have been without influence upon one another; hence in the plays forms are found which are not noticed, especially in the earlier grammars, and which probably were introduced from the vulgar Prâkrit. Still, generally speaking, the literary Prâkrit remained stationary, while the colloquial Prâkrit changed and developed. Those who wrote Prâkrit (in dramas and otherwise) must have *learned* the literary Prâkrit, and must have learned it from the Prâkrit grammars. This is what was meant. The question is too large a one to be fully stated here. Perhaps Dr. Pischel takes a different view of it; but that is no reason why my view should be incorrect. What the colloquial Prâkrit must have been, cannot be determined from the Prâkrits of the dramas and grammars only, but also, and often more truly, from the modern vernaculars. Now the old and, at present, poetical and vulgar Hindî past part. *kînâ* (or *kinâ*) postulates some Prâkrit form like *kiṇṇo* or *kaṇṇo*, or even *kaṇo* (for old Hindi appears to recognise a verbal base *kana*). That the base *kaṇa* is restricted to verse by Prâkrit grammars is not opposed to my theory, as my critic seems to imagine, but is in favour of it; and that is the reason why I referred to it. It is a well-known fact, of which Hindi affords examples in abundance, that the colloquial has many forms which by the literary language are restricted to poetry. That the past part. pass. of the base *kaṇa* is not met with in any Prâkrit work (of which, by the way, we know only very few as yet) is no proof, that it cannot be formed and did not exist in the spoken language. However, what I maintain *is* that the *Hindî* genitive post-positions are derived from a Prâkrit equivalent of the Sanskrit past part. *kṛita*; as to the rest, I merely expressed an opinion, and gave some reasons for it, that they are identical with the Hindî ones. This requires further proof: but my own further investigations have rather confirmed me in my view. My critic thinks that "it is easy to prove" that the Bangâlî and Oṛiyâ genitive post-positions are not derived from the Prâkrit *keraka*. But he has not produced his proof. For his statements as to the use of *keraka* in Prâkrit, whether true or not, have no particular bearing on the question whether the Bangâlî *er* is a curtailment of *keraka* or not. The only argument that I can discover among his criticisms is that "the word *keraka* is far too modern to undergo so vast and rapid a change as to be curtailed to simple *er*" The fact is that *keraka* occurs in the sense of a genitive post-position so early as in the *Mrichchhakaṭikâ*, which is generally supposed to have been written in the beginning of the Christian era; and of the oldest Bangâlî there is next to no literature; so that the argument has no leg to stand upon.—I may take this opportunity, however, to state that since writing my third essay I have modified my view so far (for in such a novel inquiry it is especially true that *dies diem docet*) that I now consider the Bangâlî *er* not to be a curtailment of the Prâkrit *keraka*, but of *kera*; because otherwise the Bangâlî post-position would be pronounced *era*, and not *er*.—My critic says that I maintain that the genitive of *santâna* was originally *santâna-keraka*. I maintain no such thing If he had followed the drift of my argument more attentively, he would have seen that I merely wished to trace the probable steps by which *keraka* in conjunction with the final *ă* of a noun becomes curtailed into *er*. For this purpose any noun with a final quiescent *ă* would do. I took *santâna* because it was ready to hand, being the paradigm in the excellent Ban

† The August part of the *Indian Antiquary* contained the conclusion of Mr. Boyd's translation, and Mr. Kâśinâth read his paper on the 2nd September.

gálí Grammar of Sama Churn Sircar. For the purpose imputed by my critic I should have chosen a word like *bágher*, which, no doubt, may have actually been once *bághakera*. But it should not have needed explanation to see that after *kera* had once been curtailed to *er* and established as a genitive post-position, it would be added also to Sanskritic and foreign nouns in *ă*, the genitive of which can, of course, only *ideally* be said to have once had the supposed Prâkrit form.—Dr. Pischel further says that I might as well say *santána kerake* or *kerakena* or *kerakassa*, etc. So I might; indeed so I do. But unfortunately he has overlooked two considerations—first, that it would be too tedious to decline a noun through all cases whenever you quote it, and that hence it has been always customary to quote an adj. noun in the nom. case sing. masc.; secondly, that all Bangâlî adjectives have dropped all case, number, and gender terminations; and that therefore, in whatever case *keraka* be quoted, it would equally assume the shape *er* in Bangâlî.

Again, my critic is very severe on me for saying that *keraka* only occurs about 14 times in the *Mrichchhakaṭikâ*. Now suppose my statement be incorrect, to err is but human; and even my critic is not above it: he says that "*keraka* in the more modern dialects is always changed to *kelaka*;" but the Hindî has *kerâ*, etc. In regard to the particular point of how often *keraka* occurs, my critic has overlooked the fact that I quoted from another edition of the *Mrichchhakaṭikâ* (viz. Calc. 1829) than he. The two editions evidently differ considerably. His edition, no doubt, is the better one. According to my Calc. edn. the word *keraka* occurs about 10 times, not as a genitive post-position or pleonastically, but as a *dative* post-position (like Sanskrit *krite*). All these instances I excluded as irrelevant to my purpose. Thus of Dr. Pischel's 38 there remain only about 28. Of these, I own, some escaped me, and I am indebted to Dr. Pischel for pointing them out. On the other hand, I intentionally expressed myself guardedly, "*about* fourteen." Moreover, I wonder it did not occur to my critic that the more examples of *keraka* as a genitive post-position can be shown to exist, the more it makes for my theory. For this peculiar use of *keraka* must have been very common and marked in the colloquial, to have been so frequently introduced into the drama. As regards the two instances from the *Śakuntalâ*, the first is a false one; for *kelaka* is there used to express the *dative*; and the second is a doubtful reading (according to M. Williams). The instance from *Hâla*, likewise, is a false one. Those from the *Mâlavikâ*, *Mudrarâkshasa*, and *Mâlatî* are true ones; but the two first plays I could not examine.

As to the word *pakelaka*, having only the Calc. edition to consult, I was obliged to trust to it. If the reading is erroneous, the error is not mine. But to say that the error invalidates my deductions as to the meaning of *keraka* is absurd. The meaning of *keraka* (*own, peculiar to*, or as Lassen says, *pertinens ad*, and as Dr. Pischel himself, *belonging to*), is beyond dispute, whether my suggestion as to how it came by that meaning be true or not.

Again, my critic says that there is not the slightest reason for my supposition that the use of the word *keraka* is slang. Yet, with singular consistency, a little further on he himself says "there is nothing extraordinary in the pleonastic use of *keraka*; people of lower condition like a fuller and more individual sort of speech, and to emphasise their own dear selves." I think it will be generally admitted that this amply justifies my supposition; and it is merely what I said myself in other words in the essay. My critic seems to imagine that all Brâhmans must be educated or respectable men, and that policemen may never affect to talk high language. At any rate, a general phenomenon cannot be invalidated by one or two contrary cases which admit of being explained in many ways.

As regards the base-form *kerika*, it is contained in the regular feminine *kerikâ*; but it seems to occur occasionally also in the other genders: *e. g. Mrichchh.* 122, 15, *mama kelikâiṁ* in the acc. plur. neuter (as quoted by Dr. Pischel; Calc. edn. has *kelakâiṁ*). It is mentioned by Lassen (*Inst. Prak.* pp. 422, 423), who seems to mistrust the form, but, I think, unjustly; for other words of the same form occur; *e. g. sotthiaṁ* (= *svastikaṁ* for *svastakam*); the regular *ettio* (= *iyantika*, not *iyatika*, for *iyantaka*), beside *ettao* (*Śak.* p. 61, ed. M. Williams); see also Dr. J. Muir, *Sansk. Texts*, vol. II. p. 122; Weber, *Bhagavati*, p. 438. These forms are generally explained by an affix *ika*, but such instances seem to point rather to the conclusion that the form in *ika* is a corruption of that in *aka*.

As regards the identification of *keraka* with Sansk. *krita*, it is an old traditional one of the Paṇḍits. Dr. Pischel says that Prof. Lassen has proved beyond all doubt "that this interpretation cannot be accepted," and that his identification of it with the Sansk. *kârya* "has been adopted by Prof. Weber as in accordance with the laws of the Prâkrit language." Now in his *Inst. Prak.* p. 118, Prof. Lassen, after having stated the usual interpretation, gives two reasons (which I shall notice presently) which he thinks stand in its way and concludes by saying "hence I am inclined to

believe *kera* to be rather a corruption of *kârya*."* So Prof. Lassen is not quite so positive as my critic represents. Prof. Weber (*Hâla*, p. 38), treating of the changes of *â* into *e*, says that it changes so sometimes under the influence of a following *y*, as *sejjâ* (*sayyâ*); *achchhera* (*âścharya*); *maha keram* (*mama krite*). This does not show that he is more positive than Prof. Lassen. The fact is that they are both too cautious and too well-informed scholars to commit themselves to such a dogmatic statement on insufficient data. I do not know on what grounds Prof. Hoefer may have supported the traditional interpretation, as unfortunately I am not able to refer to his work. But that it is the true interpretation the modern vernaculars conclusively prove. In Marâthi the equivalent of *krita* is *kelâ*, and in the Low-Hindi it is *kailâ* (or *karalâ* or *kailâ*). Now *kelâ* or *kailâ* are contractions or modifications of the Prâkrit *kelao* (or *kelo*), or *kerao* (or *kero*); and it follows that the Prâkrit *kerao* or *kero* are also equivalents of the Sanskrit *kritaka* or *krita*. The interchange of *r* and *l* is so common that it needs no remark. Its extreme frequency in the modern vernaculars shows that in colloquial Prâkrit it must have been even more frequent than in literary Prâkrit. The *l* of *kelao* is a substitute for *ḍ*, and *ḍ* again for the Sanskrit *t*; namely, *krita* becomes *kaḍa*, and *kaḍa* becomes *kela* or *kelaa*. This disposes of one of the two difficulties of Prof. Lassen, which was the *r* in *keraka* in the place of the Sanskrit *t*. This assumes that the form *kelao* is the earlier one; but even if the other form *kerao* be thought the earlier, the *r* can be explained by the help of the modern vernaculars. The Low-Hindi has still a past part. *karâ* for Sanskrit *krita* (just as *marâ* for *mrita*, *dharâ* for *dhrita*, etc). Here we have *r* in the place of the Sanskrit *t*, however it may have originated. For my own part I am inclined to believe the origin to be this. In Prâkrit, roots in *ṛi* not uncommonly form the past part. pass. with the connecting vowel *i* (comp. Lassen, *Inst. Prakrit.* p. 363); thus *bhṛi* has *bharita*, *dhṛi* has *dharita*, etc. (I give the full phonetic ground-forms). Thus *kṛi* would form *karita*, that is, in Prâkrit *kario* (or *kariao*), which is actually preserved in the old-Hindî form *karyau* (*e. g. Chand*, XXVII. 60), and in Modern Hindî is contracted to *karâ*. Now the Prâkrit forms *kario* or *kariao* would easily explain the forms *kero* or *kerao*, by the translation of the vowel *i* into the preceding syllable; just as *achchhario* contracts into *achchhero*. This disposes of the second difficulty of Prof. Lassen (p. 118), which is that the vowel *a* changes to *e* only under the influence of a following *i* or *y*. The difficulty, however, may not be so absolute as Lassen seems to have thought. In some instances such an influence is doubtful. The supposition is, therefore, quite allowable, that the Prâkrit past part. form *kalo* (in *Mṛichchh.* Calc. edn. for *kaḍo*) might be the original of the form *kelao* or *kerao*. This was my theory formerly, which was briefly stated by me on p. 133. Nevertheless my critic insinuates that I made the *e* of *kelaka* to be a modification of the Sanskrit *ṛi*; and then he proceeds to knock down the man of straw of his own creation. (And, by the way, what are we to think of a Prâkrit form *kela*, to which my critic thinks *krita* might change?) Further on Dr. Pischel says that I "believe that in some examples *keraka* has become a sort of affix; if this be true, it ought not to be inflected, as it really is," like all other adj. nouns. Now the substance of what I said was this, that in some instances *keraka* has no (predicative) meaning, but merely *determines the case* of another noun, and that *in this respect* it had become like an affix (see p. 130). Now this is altogether a different thing from what Dr. Pischel attributes to me. That *keraka* is an adj. noun and treated as such, I know very well; in fact, it is the whole drift of my second essay to prove that the Hind. genitive post-positions are curtailments of such an adj. noun (see p. 125).

Again, Dr. Pischel adduces a number of other words, as *kajjaṁ*, *kichchaṁ*, etc., which he says are used exactly in the same way as I say *keraṁ* or *kerakaṁ* is. This is again a misunderstanding. What I maintain is, that *keraka* is used very often *pleonastically*, or to form a periphrastical *genitive*, as *amhakerao* for *amhânaṁ*. Now the words instanced by Dr. Pischel are *not* used *pleonastically*; for if omitted in the sentences quoted, the sense of the latter would be incomplete or none at all; and, moreover, they are used to form a periphrastical *dative*, not a *genitive*. These means of forming a periphrastic dative are well known. *Keraṁ* is one of them. But *keraṁ* in this particular use was irrelevant to my purpose. Dr. Pischel will find it discussed in a future paper on the dative post-positions, which I shall try to show can be traced back to it.

As regard the three words *ṇija*, *gada*, *saṇḍha*, they are never used *pleonastically*, certainly not in the instances quoted by Dr. Pischel; *e. g.* if *gadena* were left out in the phrase *taggadena ahilâseṇa*, its sense would become doubtful; it might mean both "by his desire for her" or "by her desire." Again if *ṇiam* be omitted in the sentence

* "*Hinc kéra-ka a kârya potius depravatum crediderim*"—Curiously, though no doubt wrongly, M. Williams, in his *Skt.* p. 289, concludes from Lassen's words that he adhered to the usual derivation of *keraka* from the Sanskr. *krita*.

*gham niam gehash gamissam*, it would be doubtful whose house was meant. With *keraka* it is very different; in many instances it is absolutely superfluous; as in *kassa kerakaiṁ edaṁ pavahaṇaṁ*, 'whose is that carriage'? which is absolutely identical with *kassa edaṁ pavahaṇaṁ*.

I am indebted to Dr. Pischel for pointing out the inaccuracy in the word *bhramarkao*, which of course ought to be *bhamarako*. It is inexplicable to me how it escaped me. Such slips will happen to most writers.

DR. A. T. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

*Benares, May* 1873.

SRI HARSHA, AUTHOR OF THE NAISHADHA.

As a slight contribution to the discussion that has arisen regarding the date of the poet Śrī Harsha, it may be interesting to note the place assigned him by the Hindu bard Chand, writing at the end of the 12th century after Christ. At the commencement of his great epic poem, the *Prithirāj Rāsa*, he gives a list of the most eminent writers, his predecessors, with brief allusions to their principal works. The catalogue includes only eight names, which are evidently arranged in what is intended to be chronological order. First comes is the great mythical *würgis*, Seshnāg, the author of the universe; second, Vishṇu, who revealed the *Veda*; third, Vyāsa, the composer of the *Mahābhārat*; fourth, Sukadeva, who recited the *Śrī Bhāgavat*; fifth, Śrī Harsha, author of the *Naishadha*; sixth Kalidāsa, to whom is ascribed the popular work, in mixed verse and prose, entitled the *Bhojaprabandha**; seventh, Dandamāli, without reference to any special work, though doubtless the *Dasa-Kumāra-Charita* is intended; and eighth and last, Jayadeva, who wrote the *Gītā Govinda*.

From this it is clear that Chand regarded the *Naishadha* as a poem of considerable antiquity; and writing in the twelfth century he is presumably so far a better authority than Rāja Śekhara, who wrote in the fourteenth. Mr. Beames has attempted a translation of the passage to which I refer (reprinted in the *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 318), but it is not very accurate; and he has omitted as unintelligible the line in which Śrī Harsha's name occurs, adding in a note that he does not know what the allusion is. The couplet is:

नरंरूप पंचम श्री हर्ष सारं
नलैराय कंठं दिनें सुद्ध सारं ॥

which may be thus literally done into English:

Sri Harsha fifth, preeminent in arts of poesy,
Who on King Nala's neck let fall the wreath of victory—

an appropriate reference to the *Naishadha*, which concludes with the description of Damayanti's Svayamvara.

F. S. GROWSE.

*Mathurā, May* 11, 1873.

DISCOVERY OF DIES.

A Soni at Umreth, a town in the Kaira Zilla, was charged with receiving stolen property. The police in searching his house found four dies: two of them Muhammadan, impressions alone of which have been forwarded to us. They are from 0·98 to 1 inch in diameter. The legend on the obverse one, as read by Professor Blochmann, is—

شاه عالم بادشاه غازي

*Shāh 'Ālam Pādishāh i Ghāzī;*

on the one for the reverse is

ضرب سنه ۴۸ جلوس ميمنت مانوس

*Struck in the year* 48 *of the auspicious accession.*

As Prof. Blochmann remarks, they represent "a coarse type of modern Shāh 'Ālams as still struck by native princes, chiefly in Rajputana. As Shāh 'Ālam was the last (historical) Mughul emperor, his name is continued on coins."

The other two when first found were so encrusted with rust and dirt, it was not clear there was any engraving on them, but a little washing and brushing revealed figures and legends. We are enabled to print those directly from the dies themselves.





They represent clumsy imitations of the impress on Venetian sequins. The legend round the Madonna ought to be—

REGIS · ISTE · DVCA ·
SIT · T · X · PE · DAT · Q · TV ·

That down behind the Apostle on the other side of genuine coins is—

S · M · VENET ·

And behind the 'Doge' ought to be his name; one before us reads 'PET · GRIMANI.' Prof. Blochmann mentions a forged one in the Calcutta Mint cabinets, reading IOAN · CORNEL · and a genu-

* No allusion to this work can be traced in Mr. Beames' translation, who renders the line meaning simply 'who composed the chronicle of King Bhoja' by 'who firmly bound the dyke of threefold enjoyment.'

ing one having LVDOV·MANIA· and the usual DVX at the top of the staff.

The man in whose house these dies were found refuses to give any account of them: he says he was ignorant of their existence till the police rummaged them out. It appears probable that both pairs of dies have been cut for making counterfeit coin.—ED.

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## PERSIAN STANZAS ON ATTRACTION AND REPULSION.—No. III.

*Translated by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.*

*From the Mesnawy of Jellál-al-dyn Rúmy.—3rd Duftur.*

حکمت حق در قضا و در قدر
کرده ما را عاشقان یکدگر
جمله اجزاي جهان زان حکم پیش
جفت جفت و عاشقان جفت خویش
هست هر جفتي زعالم جفت خواه
راست همچون کهربا و برگ کاه
آسمان گوید زمین را مرحبا
با توام چون آهن و آهن ربا
آسمان مرد و زمین زن در خرد
هر چه آن انداخت این میپرورد
چون نماند گرمیش بفرستد او
چون نماند تریش نم بدهد او
برج خاکي جزو ارضي را مدد
برج آبي تریش اندر دهد
برج بادي ابر سوي او برد
تا بخارات و خم را بر درد
برج آتش گرمي خورشید ازو
همچو تابه سرخ ز آتش پشت و رو
هست سرگردان فلک اندر زمن
همچو مردان گرد مکسب بهر زن
وین زمین که بانویها مي کند
بر ولادت و رضاعش مي تند
میل اندر مرد و زن حق زان نهاد
تا بقا یابد جهان زین اتحاد

The wisdom of the Lord by fate destined
To mutual love this family—mankind,
All beings must, obeying that command,
Reciprocal, as loving couples, stand;
Each couple in this world a pair must want
Exact as amber with a blade of grass.
The firmament salutes the earth beneath,
"I unto thee as iron to the magnet am!"
The sky is man, and earth his fitting spouse.
Whate'er the sky throws off, the earth receives;
When she no heat possesses, he it sends,
When she no moisture has, dew he presents.
The spheric sign of earth will earth bestow,
The aqueous sign humidity will bring,
The sign of wind will fleeting clouds afford—
Absorbing noxious vapours of the land;
The element of fire will heat produce,
Which issues from the flaming disc—the sun.
The heaven still rotates for the earth—
Like the husband for his wife providing.
This earth a faithful housewife represents,
Who toileth for the offspring she begat;
The Lord implanted love in man and wife,
This unison endues the world with life!

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## NÂGÂ MONUMENTS.

The Nâgâs set up large stones on roads in and about their villages: these are often of great size, 10 to 12 feet high. This is done by individuals, when living, to perpetuate their own memory, and that of the feast that is given to all who take a part in carrying in and setting them up. These large stones are sometimes set up like a dolmen, supported below by three or more stones; but I never observed any slabs that were thus raised more than two feet or so. Some of the villages are very large—600 to 800 houses, and villages of 200 are common, and this number, I should say, was the average.—*Major Godwin-Austin, in "Ocean Highways," May 1873.*

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### *Queries.*

Two questions I should like to ask any of the readers of the *Indian Antiquary* possessed of the information:—

1. What is the origin of the division into Right and Left hand Castes in South India? And can a list be had of each division?

2. Why do the Panchala wear the sacred thread like the Brahmans: what gave rise to the custom?

F. J. LEEPER

*Tranquebar, 7th June 1873.*

# STORY OF RÂNÎ PINGLA.

BY MAJOR JOHN W. WATSON, ACTING POLITICAL SUPERINTENDENT, PAHLANPUR.

THE last sovereign of Chandrâvati of the Parmâr dynasty was named Hûn. One day Râja Hûn went to the forest to hunt, and there was a native Pârdhi also lying in wait for game. Shortly after a black cobra bit the Pârdhi, who died immediately from the effects of the bite. The Râja however sat still watching what might happen. After a little while, the wife of the Pârdhi came in search of her husband, and found him thus lying dead. She wept and bewailed him much, then collecting wood made a pile to burn the body: when the corpse was being burned she cut off pieces of her own flesh and threw them on the pile; finally she climbed on the pile and embracing her husband's corpse became a *sati*. The King witnessed all this, and was struck with the devotion of the woman, and on his return home related the circumstance to his Queen, whose name was Rânî Pinglâ, the daughter of Râja Somachandra, and said to her that he had never seen or heard of a *sati* like the Pârdhi's wife. Rânî Pinglâ replied that the woman hardly deserved to be called a *sati*, that she was simply a *suraî*, or a brave or desperate character, who had destroyed herself on the spur of the moment, and that a real *sati* was one who, on hearing even of her husband's death, would bathe, put his turban on her bosom, and heave a sigh which would end in instant death. the soul escaping through an aperture caused by the bursting of the skull. The Râja rejoined that if there were any true *sati* in the world, it must be Rânî Pinglâ herself. From this the Queen considered within herself that the King might one ... test her virtue as a *sati*. Some time after this occurrence, her spiritual preceptor, Guru Datâtriya, paid her a visit. Rânî Pinglâ implored him, saying, "Reverend Sir, give me such a thing that by virtue of it I may be enabled to know of the death of my husband, even though it should happen far away from Chandrâvati." The Guru gave her a seed of the Âsso Pâl tree, and said, "Sow that in your *chook* (yard), and in a short time it will grow into a plant. Whenever you wish to ascertain whether your husband be dead or alive, you should bathe, and then, approaching the plant, put the question to it; should your husband be alive, water will ooze out of its leaves; but if he be dead the leaves will wither and fall off." Rânî Pinglâ received the seed with gratitude, and sowed it in her yard.

A few months after this, Râja Hûn left Chandrâvati to subdue a refractory Mehvâsi village, and determined to send from thence a false intimation of his death to the Rânî to test her virtue as a *sati*. He desired his Sirdârs to be the medium of this communication, but they all indignantly refused, saying that it would be a black deed. At last a Rabâri agreed to carry the tidings, and the King gave him his own turban to deliver to the Queen, desiring him to tell her at the last that the news was false. The Rabâri then mounted his camel and taking the king's turban went to Chandrâvati. At this time Rânî Pinglâ and her maidens were in a balcony of the palace; the Queen saw the Rabâri afar off and intuitively felt that her death was near. She said to her maidens, "The day of my death has come." Her maidens endeavoured to comfort her, but, she pointed to the camel now approaching nearer and nearer, and said, "There is the messenger of the fatal tidings." Just then the Rabâri arrived, and began to call out, "Alas! Alas! Râja Hûn is slain!" He then handed over the King's turban to one of the attendants for delivery to Rânî Pinglâ, to whom it was at once conveyed. Rânî Pinglâ wept bitterly, she then bathed and approached the Âsso Pâl plant and asked it whether her husband were alive or dead: water oozed out of the leaves, thereby satisfying her that Râja Hûn was alive. She however thought thus within herself: If I do not die, I shall lose the love of my husband, whereas if I become a *sati*, I shall not only reign with him in Svarga, but shall be re-united to him in my next birth on the earth; further, were I not to die, I should shame my father, Râja Somachandra. She then addressed the Âsso Pâl tree thus—

आसुप नहीयँन मरणुं,
वणमुआ केम लगेन प्रेमलुं,
अवसन आवे नव मरुं,
तो लजे राजा सोमचंदर.

You forbid my death, O Âsso Pâl!
But without dying how can I regain my beloved?
If I die not when the time has come for death,
Râja Somachandra will be shamed.

So thinking, Rânî Pinglâ determined to die, and putting her husband's turban on her bosom embraced it, heaved a sigh, and immediately expired. The Rabâri, touched by the devotion of Rânî Pinglâ, called out that the Râja was alive, and that his news was false, but it was too late, Rânî Pinglâ having breathed her last. Her maidens now placed her corpse, still in death embracing her husband's turban, on a magnificent funeral pile and set fire to it.

Some time after the Rabâri had been despatched by the king, Râja Hûn repented of what he had done, and laying relays of swift horses galloped to Chandrâvati. As he drew near the city he saw the smoke of the pyre, and meeting a girl asked her what it was. The damsel replied as follows:—

सोनावरणी चेहे फळे, रूपावर्णो धुंहं,
नावलिआ नारी नारी जले, जाहां घर जातो तुं,

The flames arising from the pyre glitter like gold,
And the smoke assumes a silvery shade:
Husband! thy wife is burning,
Whose house thou wast wont to frequent.

On hearing this unexpected and heartrending news, the King was overwhelmed with grief, and, dismounting, commenced wandering round the pyre. His ministers and nobles endeavoured to comfort him but it availed nothing. Thus Râja Hûn remained for many days. One day Guru Gorakhnâth arrived at the place and said to Râja Hûn, "Why are you thus wandering in a *shumshân*" (place of cremation)? Râja Hûn replied that he had lost his incomparable wife Rânî Pinglâ. Just then a *dibi* or earthen waterpot of the Guru's fell on the ground and broke, and the Guru commenced bitterly lamenting over its loss, and wandering round the place where the fragments had fallen, groaning and weeping. Râja Hûn was very much surprised at seeing so great a sage so much distressed at the loss of so trifling a thing as a waterpot, and thus addressed the Guru: "Mahârâj! I wander in this place because I have suffered an irreparable loss in the death of my virtuous Rânî, but your loss consists simply of an earthen pot, which I can make good a thousandfold." The Guru replied that he also could in his turn restore the deceased Rânî to life. The King was overjoyed at this, and the Guru sprinkled water over the ashes of the Queen. No sooner was this done, than twenty-five women appeared, all exactly resembling Rânî Pinglâ. The Guru then desired Râja Hûn to recognize his wife and take her home. The King however was unable to do so, as all the women were exactly alike. The Guru then sprinkled water on them all, and all but the true Pinglâ disappeared. The King then said that he had now no wish to return to the world again, but that he earnestly desired to become Guru Gorakhnâth's disciple. Guru Gorakhnâth endeavoured to dissuade the Râja from his purpose by contrasting the easy luxurious life of a king with the wandering life of an ascetic, but the Râja remained immoveable. The Guru then sprinkled water over Rânî Pinglâ, who, after casting a reproachful glance at Râja Hûn from her beautiful eyes, disappeared, and Râja Hûn followed Gorakhnâth Guru as his faithful disciple.

The tradition adds that the Parmâr dynasty of Chandrâvati ended with Râja Hûn. Chohan Sheshmâlji, seeing the country without a Râja and in a disorganized state, attacked Chandrâvati and plundered the city, annexing the Parmâr principality to his Pargana of Mâwal.

## LIST OF WEAPONS USED IN THE DAKHAN AND KHANDESH.

By W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C. S.

### I. Spears.

Bhâla (M.)*: The long horseman's-spear.

Barchî (M.): Short pike used by footmen; generally has a spiked butt and long narrow square head, with no edge.

Haldâ? (M.): A broad hunting-spear used by the Thâkûrs of the Sahyâdrî hills.

### II. Swords.

Suraî (M.): The sword straight for two-thirds of its length, then curved.

Âhîr (M.): The curve commences from the grasp.

Phirangi (M. lit. 'The Portuguese'): A cut-and-thrust straight blade; either imported

* M. = Marâṭhî; H. = Hindustânî.

from Europe by the Portuguese, or else made in imitation of such imported swords. Generally it has three channelled grooves. Grant Duff and Meadows Taylor have both mentioned that the importation was considerable, and that Râja Sivaji's sword *Bhavânî* was a Genoa blade.*

Paṭṭâ (H.): The long thin blade with gauntlet guard and grip at right angles to the blade; used by professional swordsmen.

The hilt (kabjâ) of the first three varieties is often surmounted by a spur; useful both for guarding the arm, and for a grasp for the left hand in a two-handed stroke. The blades most esteemed are those of Lâhor, in the Panjâb.

III. Daggers.

Jambiya (H.): Originally introduced by the Arabs. Short, crooked at an angle, double-edged, with a central rib. Often silver-hilted and worn three in a sheath.

Kaṭâr (M.): Has a cross grip and guard of two bars reaching halfway to the elbow; corresponds to the Paṭṭâ among swords. Is a common cognizance among Râjput and Marâthâ families, and is, like the Paṭṭâ, originally a Hindû weapon.

Mâḍû (M.): The stiletto of the Khândesh Bhîls and other wild tribes, also a favourite weapon with Hindû religious beggars. It consists of a pair of horns of the gazelle (chinkâra) set parallel, but with the steel-tipped points in opposite directions, and joined by two transverse bars. Is sometimes used in the left hand of a swordsman for guarding.

Vinchû (M. 'the scorpion') is a dagger, shaped something like one side of a pair of shears, and worn without a sheath, but concealed in the sleeve. I have one a foot long and double-edged; but the commonest form is not more than half that size, and is stiletto-bladed; *i. e.* has no edge.

Chûrî (M.) is the commonest native knife, with a knucklebone hilt, and slight curve in the edge; introduced by the Muhammadans. The Afghân knife and Turkish ataghan are of the same class.

Wâgnak (M.) is an Oriental version of the knuckle-duster, three or four steel claws on a frame, worn concealed between the fingers. This and the vinchû were used by Râja Sivaji in the murder of the Bijâpur general Afzul Khân.

There is a sort of brown-bill (Pharsi) used by village watchmen and Mawâsis in Khândesh; the blade is usually about a foot long and three inches wide, and fastened by two straps of iron to a bamboo shaft five feet long.

I have seen the mace and war-axe only in the armouries of great men. The axe sometimes has a pistol-barrel in the shaft.

A common weapon among Hindustanîs and Musalmâns is a long steel rod with three or four small rings sliding on it. These, slipping forward as the weapon descends, add force to the blow, which is far more severe than might be supposed from the slender appearance of the weapon. It is also a good guard against sword-cuts.

The bow (Kamân, H.) is still used as a weapon of offence by the Khândesh Bhîls, and I have known men to be killed with it. It is of bamboo, with string of the same, and two or three spare strings are carried on the bow itself, half-strung and ready if the first should break. I do not think any other race in this Presidency uses the bow much; and even among the Bhîls archery is out of fashion. At the Dhulia athletic sports of 1872, no passable archer could be brought forward from the Bhîl Corps or villages around. They have a peculiar arrow for shooting fish, with a long one-barbed head which easily comes off the shaft, to which however it is attached by a coil of twine. The shaft floats and is recovered by the Bhîl, who thereupon hauls in his fish by the line. The arrows used for other game are made of bamboo about 28 inches long, with two feathers and a flat two-edged head about three inches long, set *into* the shaft (not *on* it, as with us), and secured with waxed thread. The well-known pellet-bow is used throughout Western India. I never knew poisoned arrows to be used, but once knew a sword to be poisoned with milk-bush.

The sling is, to the best of my knowledge, never used as a weapon; but devoted both in the Dakhan and Khândesh to the scaring of birds from the fields.

Perhaps the most popular of all native weapons is the Lohangî or Longî Kaṭî, or iron-bound bamboo; specially affected by Râmusîs and village watchmen. I have one weighing six pounds, which was the property of a Kolî dakait called Bagunya Naik, who used to carry this in his left hand and a sheathless "paṭṭâ" in his right when "on service;" "and then he wouldn't mind what four men said to him," as my informant put it. Bagunya, however, disdained

* Grant Duff, *Hist. of the Mahrattas*, vol. I. p. 238.

ordinarily to use either his right hand or his trenchant blade: but was content upon common occasions to rely on the club in his left, with which he actually knocked down two men in the affray that caused his final apprehension.

The matchlock is in common use throughout the Presidency, and, as far as I am aware, there is no variety in its appearance or mechanism, although some barrels are made of Damascus twist, and some are rifled. The bore is invariably small, and the bullets used are frequently of iron. The best I have seen belonged to the Râja Ratansing Jâdurao of Malegaum, near Baramatî, and were said to be *Rúmi*.

## INSCRIPTIONS ON A CANNON AT RANGPUR.

BY G. H. DAMANT, B C S.

Amongst a number of old cannons lying in front of the kachari at Rangpur is one made of brass with a dragon's mouth carved at the muzzle; it bears two inscriptions, one in Persian and the other in Sanscrit, and has the word 'Bundoola' written on it in English characters. The Persian inscription is as follows:—

در عهد سلطنت شهنشاه جهان پناه نورالدین
جهانگیر بادشاه غازی و ایام صاحب صوبگی خانزاد
خان فیروز جنگ × و حکومت مدارالمهامی اخوند
مولانا مرشد × و داروغگی حکیم حیدر علی ×
و امین ملک بنگ بندهٔ پیر محمد و سری
هریهرداس × کاریگر سرمانانهه × ساخت جهانگیرنگر
سنه ۱۰۲۱ یکضرب توپ برنجی جهانگیری × وزن
جهانگیری معهٔ دنباله

۶۱۹ ٥۱۱۴ صم ۱۱۱ در عمل سید احمد

معروض دارشاه

The meaning appears to be:—"During the reign of the king of kings, protector of the world, Nuruddin Jahângir Bâdshah Ghâzi, when the Khânzad Khân Firoz Jang was Subadâr, and Akhand Moulana Murshid was Minister, and Hakim Haidar Ali Darogha, and Pir Muhammad and Srî Harihardas Amins of Bengal, this cannon was made of Jahângiri brass in Jahângirnagar by Surmanâth in the year 1021. The weight of the cannon with its carriage, by Jahângiri weight, is 619, 5113, ۱۱۱. The master of the ordnance was Sayyid Ahmad."

Jahangirnagar is either Gaur or Dhâkâ, most probably the latter. The figures given as the weight I cannot interpret, and should be glad of any information on the subject. The Sanskrit inscription is in Bengali characters of an old type, approaching the Devanagari, and is very much worn and difficult to make out, but Bâbu Rajendralâla Mitra has kindly given me the following transliteration and translation:—

*Śri śri svarga Nârâyaṇa deva saubhâre śvara gadâdhara siṁhena yavanaṁ jitvâ turâka hâryyâ me iman saṁprâptaṁ Śake* 1604:—

I, Śri Śrî Svarga Nârâyaṇa Deva, lord of Saubhâra, Gadâdhara Siṁha, having conquered the Yavanas and destroyed the Turâks, obtained this in the Śâk year 1604 = A.D. 1683.

He says Svarga Nârâyaṇa Deva is a common title of the kings of Asâm, and that Gadâdhara was reigning in A.D 1683.

The history of the gun appears to be—that it was made in Dhâkâ by the Musalmâns in the reign of Jahângir and placed in one of their frontier posts, Rangamatiya probably, from whence it was taken by the Asâmese in A.D. 1683. Lastly the Burmese general Bundoola conquered Asâm in 1822, and probably this gun was amongst his captures; and in 1825 Asâm was recaptured by Colonel Richards, who took two hundred pieces of cannon from Rangpur, the capital of Asâm: it must have been about this time that the word "Bundoola" was written on the gun. The gun was brought to the kachari in 1862, after the mutiny, when the zamindârs were disarmed.

## THE NALADIYAR.

BY THE REV. F. J LEEPER, TRANQUEBAR.

The Naladiyar is one of the few original works we have in Tamil. It contains altogether forty chapters, of ten stanzas each, on moral subjects. The origin of the name is thus told in the introduction of Father Beschi's Shen Tamil Grammar:—"Eight thousand poets visited the

court of a certain prince, who, being a lover of the Muses, treated them with kindness and received them into favour; this excited the envy of the bards who already enjoyed the royal patronage, and in a short time they succeeded so completely in their attempt to prejudice their master against the new comers that the latter found it necessary to consult their safety by flight, and, without taking leave of their host, decamped in the dead of night. Previous to their departure each poet wrote a *venba* on a scroll, which he deposited under his pillow When this was made known, the king, who still listened to the counsels of the envious poets, ordered the scrolls to be collected and thrown into a river, when four hundred of them were observed to ascend, for the space of four feet, *naladi*, against the stream. The king, moved by this miraculous occurrence, directed that these scrolls should be preserved, and they were accordingly formed into a work, which from the foregoing circumstance received the name of Naladiyar." I append a few chapters as specimens of the work.

Chapter 1.—*Unstable Wealth.*

1. Even those who have eaten of every variety of food of six flavours laid before them by their wives with anxious attention, not taking a second portion from any dish, may yet become poor and go and beg somewhere for pottage. Verily riches are but seeming, not to be considered as actually existing.

2. When by blameless means thou hast acquired great wealth, then eat with others rice imported by oxen, for wealth never remaineth in the centre with anyone, but changes its position like a cart-wheel.

3. Even those who have marched as generals, mounted on the back of an elephant and shaded by the umbrella, when the effect of evil deeds works their ruin, will suffer a change of state, and, while their wives are enjoyed by their foes, will fall for ever.

4. Understand that these things are unstable which thou deemest stable. Therefore do quickly the duties in thy power to perform if thou wouldst do them at all, for the days of life are gone, are gone, and even now death is come, is come.

5. Those who give alms at once without keeping it back, when anything, however small, has come into their hands, and do not say, Oh, this can be given hereafter, will escape from the forest path in which the cruel but just Yama drags those whom he has bound fast with the rope.

6. The day appointed passes not its bourne; there are none in this world who, escaping it and passing by, have leaped over death and lived. Be liberal, then, ye who have laid up abundant and exceeding wealth. Your funeral drum may beat to-morrow.

7. Death devours your days, using the sun from which they originate as the measure by which he metes them. Practise therefore virtue and be compassionate, for such as do not act thus, though they are born, must be esteemed as unborn.

8. Men of but small attainments in virtue, not considering their natural tendency, say, We are wealthy. The greatest wealth may be utterly destroyed and vanish, like a flash of lightning darting in the night from a thunder-cloud.

9. If a man will not eat sufficiently, will not dress becomingly, does nothing worthy of commendation, will not wipe away the distress of relatives, who are with difficulty to be obtained, and is not liberal, but keeps his wealth to himself, of such a one it must surely be supposed that he is lost.

10. They who, vexing their own bodies by stinting them in food and raiment, perform not acts of that goodly charity which never faileth, but avariciously hoard up what they have gathered together, will lose it all. O Lord of the mountain land which toucheth the sky! the bees which are driven from the honey they have collected bear witness.

Chapter 2.—*Unstable Youth.*

1. Those who are truly wise, mindful that grey hairs will come, have become ascetics in youth. Those who rejoice in unstable youth, never free from vice, leaning on a staff will rise up with difficulty.

2. The bonds of friendship are broken, wives have become cold in love, or few, the cords of love are loosened. Consider the matter well. What profit is there in the married state? Oh, it is come, the wail of distress, as when a ship founders!

3. Those foolish men who give themselves up to lust and cling to the marriage state until their body is an object of disgust to all, their teeth falling out, their gait unsteady, and com-

pelled to lean for support on a staff, while they are indistinct in speech, walk not in the path of virtue, which is a fortress to its possessor.

4. To those men who conceive useless desires towards her who is ready to die, stooping, staggering, shaking her head, leaning on a staff and stumbling, shall trouble come; when the staff she holds in her hand becomes her mother's, *i.e.* when she exchanges her own staff for her mother's, on account of age

5. She who was my mother, having borne me in this world, had departed seeking a mother for herself; if this be the case also with her mother, one mother seeking after another mother, then is this world wretched indeed.

6. Unstable joy like that of a sheep, which when the fragrant garland, thick with leaves, is waved in front of it, in the hands of the priest in the horrid place where he exorcises devils, eats thereof as though it were fodder, such joy wise men have not.

7. Since the season of youth is like the ripe fruit, which being loosed falls from the trees in the cool grove, desire ye not greatly the damsel, saying she has eyes like a lance, for she will hereafter stoop in her gait and have to use a staff in lieu of her eyes.

8. How old are you? What is the state of your teeth? Do you eat twice a day? Thus with one question after another do they inquire about the state of the body. The wise, who understand its nature, care not about it.

9. Say not, We will look to virtue bye-and-bye, we are young; but do good while you have wealth, without concealing it. Not only does the ripe fruit which has come to maturity, but strong green fruit also falls down during a storm.

10. Truly relentless death wanders about seeking after men Oh, take ye the shoulder wallet betimes and be ready. He even thrusts forth the fœtus and takes away the child amidst the cries of its mother. So it is well always to remember his subtlety.

Chapter 3.—*The unstable body.*

1. Even of the lords of the umbrella held over the head of the elephant, like the moon when seen over the hills, none are left in this world without its being proclaimed upon earth that they have died.

2. The orb of shining light rises as the measure of the day of life without one day's omission. Therefore perform your duty before the day of life be finished. No person will abide in the earth beyond it.

3. The mind of the excellent will urge them along the path of safety by the suggestion that the marriage drum that is beaten in their house may that very day become the funeral drum for the inmates and sound accordingly.

4. Once they go and beat the drum, they beat a little and beat it again; behold how brave it is. And in beating it the third time, they rise and cover up the corpse and take the funeral fire, the dying carrying the dead.

5. To him who though he has seen the relatives assemble together and with loud lamentations take the corpse and convey it to the burning-place, does nevertheless marry, and say to himself this is happiness, It is, It is the funeral drum speaking out in warning tones

6. When the soul which carries *the skin bag*, *i. e.* the body, to experience joy and sorrow, and dwelling in it operates secretly but perfectly, has left the body, what does it matter whether it be dragged about with a rope, or be buried in some carefully selected place, or whether it be cast into any hole dug in the centre, or whether it is left to be contemned by all?

7. Who are they upon this wide world who can be compared with the men of profound wisdom, who look upon the body as nothing more than a thing which is like the bubbles caused by the falling rain, appearing for a moment and then vanishing; and who say, We are the persons who will remove this evil of births?

8. Let those who have got a vigorous body enjoy the benefit which is to be derived from it; for the body is like a cloud which quivers on the mountain—it appears for a time and almost directly vanishes.

9. Practise virtue even now, acknowledging the instability of the body, which is like the drop of dew on the point of grass; for it is daily said, This very moment he stood, he sat down, he reclined, and amidst the cries of relations he died.

10. Men come into the world unasked for, appear in the house as relations and quietly depart, as the bird which goes far off, its nest-tree being forsaken, leaving their body without saying a word to relatives

Chapter 4.—*The source of the power of virtue.*

1. Those who, relying on penance done in a former birth, do *not* exercise penance now, will be greatly afflicted, for they shall stand at the threshold, not being allowed to enter, and looking in will say, How flourishing is this family! *i.e.* they shall be homeless.

2. Say not, foolish heart, While here let us pursue our interests and forget virtue; for although thou mayest live long and prosper, say, what wilt thou do when the days of thy life are past?

3. When the ignorant receives the fruit of former evil deeds, he sighs bitterly and grieves within himself. The wise, reflecting that it is the destined consequence of their sins, hasten to pass the limit of metempsychosis and to depart from it.

4. Having obtained a human body, so difficult of attainment, so act as to procure great merit by it, for in the next birth charity will profit thee as the juice of the sugarcane when pressed, while thy body will decay like the refuse cane.

5. Those who have pressed the cane and extracted the sugar will not be grieved when they see the flame arising from the refuse cane while burning; nor will they who have acquired the merit arising from the mortification of the body mourn when death approaches.

6. Think not whether it will be this day, or that day, or what day, but, reflecting that death even now stands behind thee, eschew evil, and as far as possible practise the good prescribed to thee by the excellent.

7. Since upon inquiry it will be found that the benefits that arise from being born in human shape are great and various, it is proper to practise virtue in order to obtain heavenly bliss, and to walk circumspectly, avoiding evil desires.

8. The seed of the banyan tree, though exceedingly small, grows into a large tree and affords abundant shade; in like manner, however small may be the benefit of a virtuous act, it covers as it were the face of heaven.

9. Although they daily see the passing away of days, yet they think not of it, and daily rejoice over the present day, as if it would last for ever, for they do not consider the past day to be one day added to the portion of their life that has expired.

10. Shall I put away the precious jewel of honour, and by the ignoble practice of mendicancy shall I live? I will do so if this body can endure permanently though fed by meanness.

Chapter 5.—*The impure body.*

1. Do they look on a perishable body, *i. e.* the wise? and are they loud in praise of woman's beauty? If only a piece of skin, small as the wing of a fly, be grazed on the body, a stick will be required to drive away the crows.

2. Since the beauty of the body consists in a covering which hides its inward filth, a covering of skin in which are many orifices, encourage not these sensual desires which are excited by this external covering of the body, which hides its filth. It is proper to look upon it as the inside of a (dirty) bag.

3. The ancients noticing that by the process of eating, the body always emits a stench, and on account of this bundle of dry and worthless sticks, (*i. e.* the body), chewed betel, crowned the head with many flowers, and adorned the body with meretricious ornaments. Is the inward filth thereby done away with?

4. Shall I forsake asceticism because the senseless crowd would excite me, saying, Woman's eye is like the lotus in clear water, the Gyal fish, and the battle-spear? I will conduct myself as one who sees that the nature of the eye is like a palmyra nut, from which the pulp has been taken and the water poured out.

5. Shall I forsake asceticism because foolish, vain, and despicable persons trouble me, saying foolish things about teeth white as pearls or the jessamine buds? No; I will conduct myself as if I saw the jawbone fallen from the head in the burning-ground, in the presence of all men.

6. Tell me what is the nature of the damsel adorned with cool garlands, who is composed of flesh and fat, which are placed in the skin with the sinews which bind together the bowels and marrow, the blood and the bones.

7. By reason of the beautiful skin causing it to appear lovely to the eye, and which is the external covering of the body, which is like a pot ejecting liquid fæces and seething filth abominable, from nine orifices which ooze out with excrementitious matter, the foolish will say of this body, Oh, thou who hast wide shoulders! Oh, thou who art adorned with bracelets! &c. &c.

8. Have they not seen the power

both cook and hen, close to the carcase, overturning and pecking at the stinking vehicle, the axle (*i.e.* life) being broken—they who, not comprehending the true nature of the body, commend it because they see it adorned with sandal powder and garlands ?

9. The skulls of the dead appearing with deep and hollow eyes, that alarm the minds of those who see them, look at the living and working, will abundantly testify and say, Stand in the way of virtue, this is the nature of the body.

10. The whitened skull of the dead will correct the faults of the proud, alarming and mocking at them. Those whose faults are corrected by seeing the skulls, acknowledge that such is the quality of the body; they will not therefore be anxious to hold themselves as things that have any real existence.

CHAPTER 6.—*Asceticism.*

1. Like as when a lamp is brought into a room darkness disappears, so sin cannot stand before the effects of former good deeds. And like as darkness approaches and spreads over the room when the oil in the lamp is decreasing, so when the effect of the good deeds is exhausted, the effect of evil deeds will take its place.

2. Those who are preëminent in learning, knowing that youth is unstable and that sickness, old age, and death are certainties, perform their duty now. There are no men so foolish as those, or fools so foolish as those who rave about the indestructible treatises of grammar and astrology.

3. Those who are greatly wise, seeing that, on careful examination, all such things as youth, complexion, form, dignity, and strength, are unstable, will without delay endeavour to save themselves by becoming ascetics.

4. The poor, though they endure many days' affliction, will desire one day's pleasure; the self-controlled, knowing the changeableness of domestic happiness, and having regard to its attendant misery, have renounced the domestic state.

5. Youth is gone in vain, and now old age with sickness comes. Therefore, oh my soul! take courage and rise up with me without hesitation—wilt thou not go? Let us walk in the way of asceticism or virtue.

6. Since it is a hard thing for a husband to part with his wife, though she may neither have borne children, nor have a good disposition,—therefore on account of the misery which matrimony causes, the wise have long ago called it *kerdy*,—that is, the thing to be eschewed.

7. Those earnest men who, when troubles hard to be borne and enough to prostrate the mind come upon them, to frustrate the austerities which they have resolutely undertaken, put them aside, and, confining themselves stedfastly, observe their rules, are ascetics indeed.

8. It is the duty of the excellent not only to forgive despite, but also to pity those who, on account of the despite they have done them, will in the next birth fall into the fire of hell.

9. He who has power to observe the rule of virtue which he has laid down, and to keep himself undisturbed by the five organs of sense from which arise lust and desire—or the body, mouth, nose, ears, and eyes—shall unfailingly obtain beatitude.

10. The mean, though they see afflictions come thronging upon them, never think of asceticism, and long only for gratification; but the excellent, though pleasures come crowding in upon them, having regard to their attendant miseries, cherish not the desire of any pleasure.

CHAPTER 7.—*Placidity.*

1. Let the respectful honour, and let despising tramplers trample: good is the freedom from abusive anger in those who know that all is as the treading of a fly upon their heads.

2. Will those renounce their precious life of indestructible excellence, not caring to preserve it when they find any cause of offence (or when their penance is hindered), who, not removing from the place in which they stand, are able perseveringly to complete their penance, even when they experience great reproach.

3. As the angry words which a man speaks, opening his mouth unguardedly, continually burn him, so those who possess that knowledge which arises from oral instruction and incessant search after truth will never be angry and utter burning words of fury.

4. The excellent will not be hot and angry when their inferiors oppose them and utter bad words. The base, turning it over in their minds will speak of it and chafe in the hearing of everybody in the place, and jump with rage and knock their heads against a post.

5. The self-control exhibited by youth is self-control indeed. Liberality manifested by one

who has no increasing riches is liberality that is profitable for all things. The patience shown by one who has the power and ability to oppress others is patience indeed.

6. They who are noble will, in the sight of all men, take patiently and regret the evil words that issue from the mouth of the vulgar like stones that are thrown, being influenced by the consideration of their high birth, as the cobra quickly closes its hood when ashes are thrown upon it.

7 To be unresisting to those who would oppose them as enemies, the wise call not imbecility. When others have impatiently opposed *them and done them evil, it is good if they do* not evil in return.

8. The wrath of the vulgar will continue to spread though it run on a long time; the anger of the excellent in disposition will cool of itself, like the heat of boiling water.

9. Having done them a kindness they mind it not; do them never so much unkindness they will do what is kind; but to do unjustly, even through inadvertence, is not proper for those who are born in a high family.

10. There are none here who, though they see a dog snap angrily at them, will in return snap at the dog again with their mouth. When baseborn persons mischievously utter base things, will the noble repeat such words with their *mouths in return?*

*(To be continued.)*

## TUMULI IN THE SALEM DISTRICT.

BY THE REV. MAURICE PHILLIPS, L.M.S.

*A Report prepared for the Madras Government.*

I. The Tumuli found in the Salem District may be classified either according to their contents, into—(1) Tumuli without bones and urns; (2) Tumuli with urns but without bones; and (3) Tumuli with bones and urns; or, according to their internal structure, into—(1) Cromlechs and (2) Cairns. Cromlechs* are those tumuli the inside of which is formed by four perpendicular stone slabs in the shape of a cist or a box. Cairns are those which have no internal lining of stone. They consist of two classes: (A) *Cairns* in which large earthen urns baked in fire, containing human bones, small urns, and ornaments, are found—which urns appear to have been intended to incase the chamber instead of perpendicular stones; and (B) Cairns whose chambers have no artificial covering.

These classes of tumuli do not differ in general outward appearance. They present themselves to the eye as mounds of earth and small stones, of various sizes, circular in shape, and often surrounded with circles of large stones. They measure from 8 to 20 feet in diameter and from 1 to 4 feet in height. Very often in the stone circles, four large stones opposite the four points are seen towering above the others; and in the case of cromlechs the entrance is from the east.

After clearing away the mound and stones, it is found generally, but not invariably, that the mouth of the tumulus is covered with a stone slab varying in size from 2 feet long by 2 feet broad, and 4 inches thick, to 9 feet long, 6 feet broad, and 14 inches thick. Forty men with strong wooden levers failed to raise one of the largest stones. Fire had to be kept under it for hours till it broke, before it could be removed.

When the top-stone is removed the presence or absence of the border formed by the edges of the four perpendicular stones which form the cist, shows whether it is a cromlech or a cairn. If a cromlech, the fine sandy earth within the chamber must be carefully removed till the flat-bottomed stone appears, and if there be any objects in it they will be found resting on that stone. The chambers vary much in size. Some of them are as small as 3 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 feet deep; and others are as large as 5 feet long, 3½ feet wide, and 4 feet deep. Cromlechs generally contain small urns and iron implements, but no bones except very small pieces which appear charred. If it be a cairn, then the dimensions of the pit are shown either by the appearance of the mouth of a large urn (Class A), or by the difference between the earth with which the pit is filled and that from which it is dug (Class B). These large urns invariably contain

* Cromlech is from the Keltic *crom* 'crooked' or curved, and *lech* a stone, "and therefore," as Mr. Fergusson observes, "wholly inapplicable to the monuments in question." See his *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 44. Conf. also Capt. Mackenzie's paper, *ante*, p. 7.—Ed.

human bones and small vessels, and very often some iron implements and ornaments. I do not think that any one of them is large enough to contain the body of a full-grown man, though placed in a sitting posture, with the legs and thighs drawn up, and the head bent downwards between the knees, as is sometimes found in tumuli in Europe. If, therefore, full-grown men were buried in them, as probably they were,—for the small swords found in many of them lead us naturally to conclude that they must have been used by the deceased warrior, —I think the body must have been either cut up or partly burnt before interment. The position of the bones in layers, one upon the other, seems to indicate the same conclusion. Remnants of this mode of burying were visible 80 years ago among the Kukis, or the non-Aryan inhabitants of the mountainous districts to the east of Bengal, as stated in the 2nd vol. of the *Asiatic Researches*:—"When a Kuki dies, his kinsmen lay the body on a stage, and, kindling a fire under it, pierce it with a spit and dry it; when it is perfectly dried, they cover it with two or three folds of cloth, and, inclosing it in a little case within a chest, bury it underground."

The intèrior of these cairns not being so accurately defined as that of the cromlechs, it is not always easy to ascertain exactly their dimensions. Speaking roughly, however, I should say that they vary in size in about the same proportions as the cromlechs. These are the most barren in results, though the most difficult to open. In some of them nothing is found, and in others only small urns with small bits of iron, the crumblings of some instruments, and small pieces of bones which look like the remnants of cremation.

II. The objects found in the tumuli may be distributed into four classes:—1, Pottery; 2, Human bones; 3, Ornaments; 4, Iron implements.

1. *Pottery.*—This consists of urns, vases, and other vessels of different shapes and sizes. The large urns already mentioned as found in Class A are so brittle that they invariably fall to pieces by their own weight as soon as the surrounding earth is removed, so that it has been impossible to procure one unbroken specimen. This, however, is not a great loss, for there is nothing about them curious or uncommon, either in shape, size, or colour. They very much resemble the large chattis or *sâls* now used by the Hindus to hold water or grain in their houses. Figures 1-11 and 14-29 represent all the different kinds of vessels which I have seen. And though many were destroyed by the workmen's tools, and dozens crumbled to dust when exposed to light and air, yet I am confident that they did not differ materially from those which I have procured. There was nothing found in these vessels except fine sandy earth or ashes, which, in most cases, had become a hard mass, so that it was necessary to soak it in water for some time before it would dissolve. Some vessels are red and some black; some are red inside and black outside, and *vice versâ*. Some have a glossy surface as if they had been glazed, and, as I believe such a phenomenon as glazed pottery has not yet been discovered in ancient cairns and cromlechs, I sent a few specimens to Dr. Hunter, of the School of Arts, Madras, and asked his opinion. He replied—"The surface is not glazed, but is merely polished by rubbing it with the juice of Tuthi, or *Abutilon Indicum*, a mucilaginous juice, somewhat like gum, that is used by the natives at the present day to give a gloss to black earthenware. The surface can be scratched with a knife, though it resists water. After rubbing the surface with the juice, the vessel is again fired and a species of smear is thus produced which resists acids and water, but if you examine the broken edge of the vessels, you will find that there is no thickness of glaze, either outside or inside." "Another method of producing a smear is in use in India, viz. rubbing the vessel with mica ground in water and exposing it to heat"

2. *Human bones.*—These consist of skulls, teeth, thigh, shin, arm and other bones. These are invariably found in Class A. The bits of decayed bones occasionally found in Class B and the cromlechs are so insignificant that I cannot identify them with any part of the human skeleton. I cannot account for the existence of human bones largely in this class of tumuli, and their comparative non-existence in the other classes, except on the supposition either that the large urns are better adapted to preserve them than stones or earth, or that this class is of a later age and indicates a different mode of sepulture.

3. *Ornaments.*—These consist of round and oval beads of different sizes and colour, which

must have been worn by women as necklaces and bracelets. Dr. Hunter makes the following remarks respecting them :—"The beads are very interesting; they are made of carnelian ornamented with a pure white enamel of considerable thickness, which has been let into the stone by grinding the pattern, filling in probably with oxide of tin and exposing the stone to heat. The enamel is very hard, cannot be touched with a knife, and is not acted upon by strong nitric acid. The small beads are made of white carnelian and ice-spar, a glossy felspar used by the natives to imitate diamonds. . . . . They are in a better style than most of the beads I have seen from tumuli." Besides these, a few were found made of quartz and of some dark-green stone. Figures 12 and 13 show the beads.

4. *Iron implements.*—These, consisting chiefly of knives or short swords, and measuring from 1 foot to 22 inches, are in such a crumbling state that I have been able to procure only one unbroken. All the others have had to be gathered in pieces and stuck together on boards with strong cement. Figures 30—32 represent these. Some pieces of iron which appear to have been spear-heads, and some other things, have also been found, but in consequence of their broken condition I cannot pronounce positively what they were.

III. In discussing the difficult question "How old are the tumuli?" it is necessary in the first place to glance at the results already achieved by antiquaries in Europe. The northern countries of Europe—Denmark, Sweden, and Norway—are particularly full of these ancient burial-places; and they have received the most careful attention from the northern antiquaries, by whom they have been divided, according to their contents, into three classes—(1) Tumuli of the Stone period; (2) Tumuli of the Bronze period; and (3) Tumuli of the Iron period. Those of the Stone period are considered the oldest. They are often of great size, and are "peculiarly distinguished by their important circles of stones and large stone chambers, in which are found the remains of unburnt bodies, together with objects of stone and amber." This period represents the lowest state of civilization—a state before the introduction of metals, when arms and implements consisted of spear-heads of flint, and arrow-heads of flint or bone. The tumuli of the Bronze period contain relics of burnt bodies, vessels of clay, and implements and ornaments of bronze; and so show the people in a more advanced state of civilization than the preceding. The tumuli of the Iron period are the most recent.* They show the people in a comparatively advanced state of civilization. Iron swords, knives, and spear-heads, highly polished vessels and trinkets of gold, silver, and precious stones are found in them. Some of them also contain sculptures and inscriptions.

Now it will be readily seen that all the tumuli in the Salem District belong to the last or Iron period.

It is a striking fact that tumuli are found in almost every part of the world. Besides the countries already mentioned, they are found in Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Great Britain, Siberia, America, and the north of India. In Europe, tumuli belonging to each of these three periods are common. But in the south of India I believe that only those of the third period are found.† I am not sure—not having seen Capt. Meadows Taylor's book—whether any of the tumuli in the north belong to any of the earlier periods, but I think not.

The question now is reduced to this :—What is the probable age of the last or Iron period? I confess candidly, at the outset, that this question is enveloped in much darkness, and that, with the present data, nothing more can be done than to fix proximately the time when the Iron period ceased in Europe, and then, reasoning by analogy, to fix conjecturally the time when it ceased in India.

The earliest account of tumuli we have is in the Iliad. Homer in his account of the funeral of Patroclus describes in glowing terms how the body of the warrior was left burning during the night, and the embers quenched with wine at the dawn; how the ashes were then inclosed in an urn, placed near the centre of the place occupied by the pyre, which was surrounded by an artificial substructure; and how the loose earth was heaped above it so as to form a mound.

* But on this theory see Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments*, pp. 9, 10, 18, *et passim*.—Ed.

† Bronze vessels and ornaments have been found in tumuli on the Nilgiri Hills, but as iron implements were found with them, they do not define a Bronze age, but rather the transition from the Bronze to the Iron age.

The prophet Ezekiel (B. C. 587) alludes to the same custom of burial when foretelling the fall of Meshech and Tubal and all her multitude. He says (chap. xxxii. 27)—"They are all gone down to hell"—or Hades, which here probably means the grave—"with their weapons of war; and they have laid their swords under their heads." These were the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the Caucasus mountains and the Black Sea, and were probably the Skythians of Herodotus.

Tacitus, who lived in the first century A.D., from whom we have the first satisfactory account of the Germans, observes that their funerals were distinguished by no empty pomp. "The bodies of illustrious men were consumed with a particular kind of wood, but the funeral pile was neither strewed with costly garments nor enriched with fragrant spices. The arms of the deceased were committed to the flames, and sometimes even his horse. A mound of earth was then raised to his memory, as a better sepulchre than those elaborate structures which, while they indicate the weakness of human vanity, are at best but a burden to the dead."

It is reasonably conjectured that this mode of sepulture gradually disappeared in Europe before the progress of Christianity, which introduced the practice of burying the dead unburnt and unaccompanied by any such superstition as that of depositing certain articles with the deceased. In that case the ancient mode of sepulture must have disappeared in Europe about the ninth or tenth century A.D.

It is reasonable to suppose also that the inhabitants of Central and Northern Asia were induced to give up the same practice through the influence of Muhammadanism, which, equally with Christianity, imposes the simple method of burying the dead. On this supposition the ancient mode of sepulture must have disappeared among the Mongols, Tatars, and others about the twelfth or thirteenth century.

It is evident from the most ancient records, viz the Pentateuch, that the Semitic races have from the earliest periods observed the custom of burying their dead unburnt and unmaimed. And as the Jews and the Arabs, two cognate branches of the same family, were the pioneers of both Christianity and Muhammadanism, they imposed their own simple method of burying the dead the nations who embraced those religions. We may safely conclude, therefore, that before the mighty influence of Christianity and Muhammadanism, the Skythian mode of sepulture disappeared in Europe altogether, and in Asia to a great extent.

Now, in applying the same mode of reasoning to the tumuli found in India, we must inquire whether any external influence has been brought to bear on the aboriginal inhabitants, similar in its power to the influence of Christianity and Muhammadanism on other nations, before which we may reasonably conclude that the ancient religion and practices of the people disappeared.

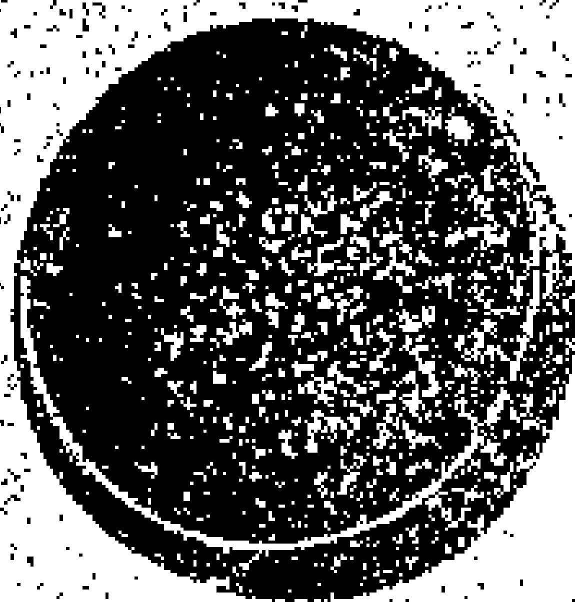
It is well known that the Aryans came to India at a very early period, probably about B.C. 1600; and that on their arrival they were opposed by the aboriginal inhabitants, whom they denominated Mlechhas, Râkshasas, Dasyus, and Nishadas, a people who were wholly different from themselves in colour, language, and customs.

It is evident from the Vedas, Manu, and the Purâṇas, that the Aryans have, as a general rule, always burnt their dead. The ashes are sometimes gathered and thrown into a running stream, or, in the case of distinguished persons, they are occasionally placed in an urn and buried, but without any tumuli or stone circles.

The conclusion, then, is inevitable, that the practice of burying the dead in tumuli must have been observed by the pre-Aryan inhabitants, who in the north disputed every inch of land with their conquerors. These aborigines were so completely subdued that they adopted even the language of the dominant race. There is nothing now to distinguish them from their Aryan masters, except the low social position assigned to them, and a few un-Sanskrit words in the Prakrits, or languages derived from Sanskrit which are now prevalent in the north of India. Those few words, however, show that they are the remnants of the great Skythian or Turanian group of languages, and hence that the aboriginal inhabitants who spoke them were different altogether from the Aryans. It is easy, then, to see how completely the ancient customs of the primitive inhabitants would cease before the mighty influence of Brahmanism, and to such influence I attribute the cessation of the custom of burying in tumuli in the north.

FROM TUMULI IN SALEM DISTRICT

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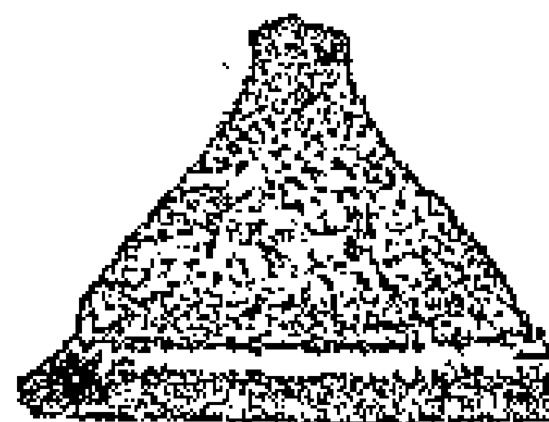
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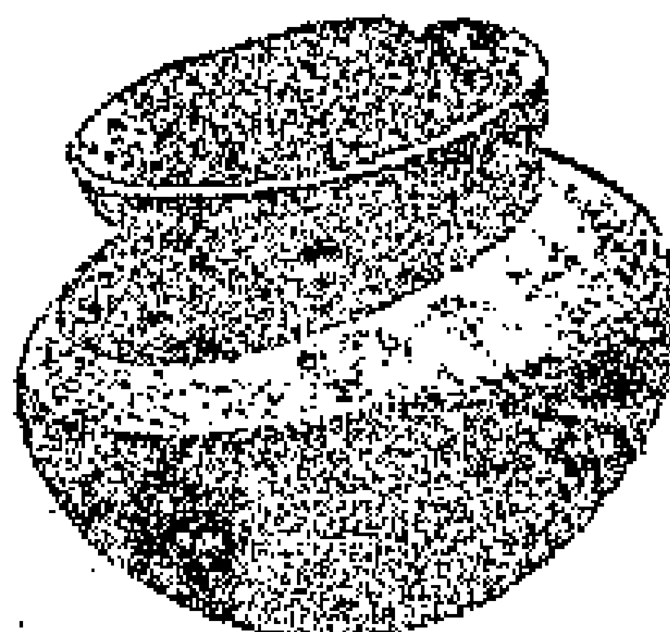
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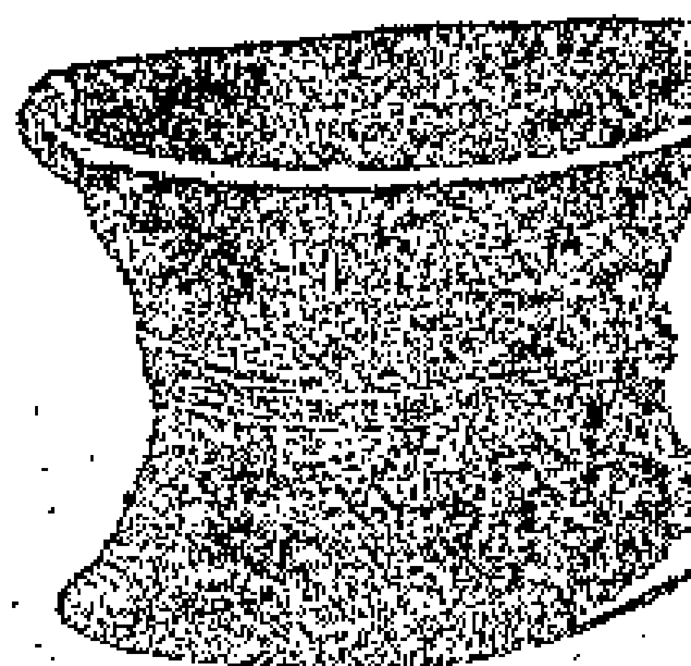
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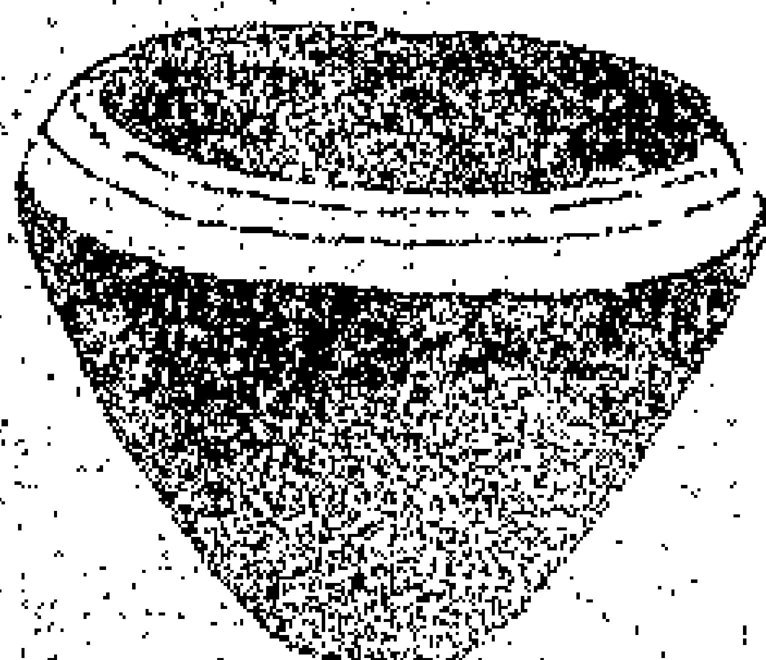
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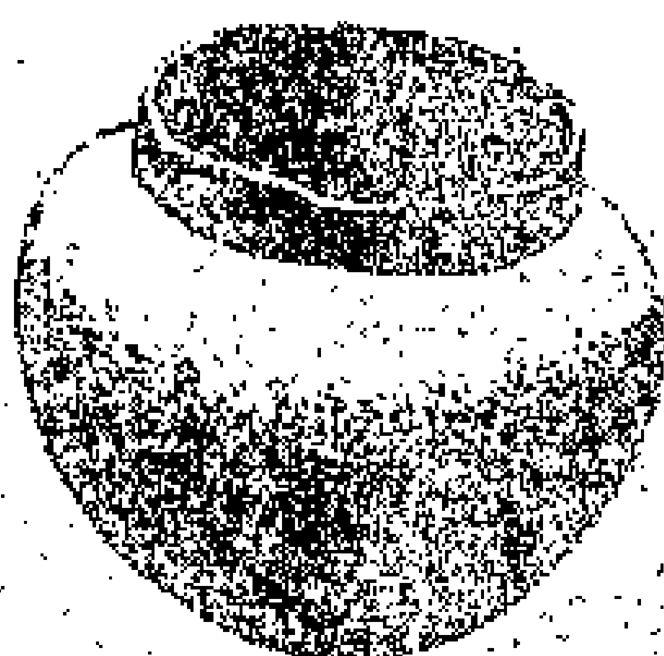
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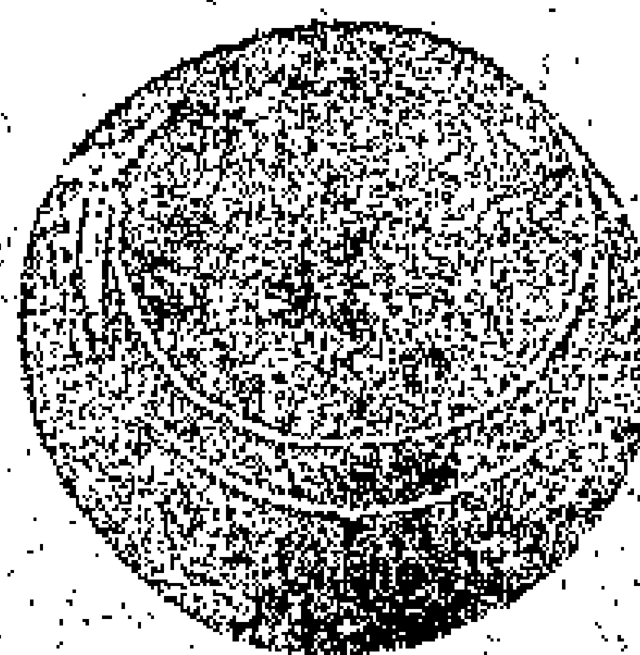
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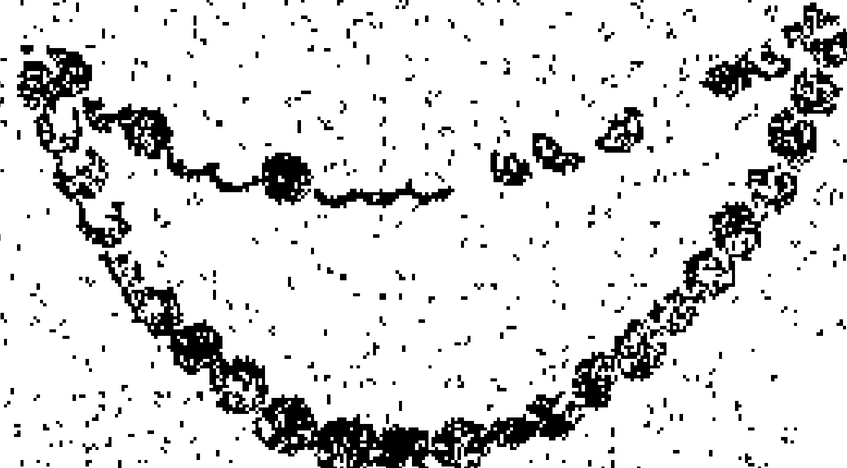
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## FROM TUMULI IN SALEM DISTRICT.

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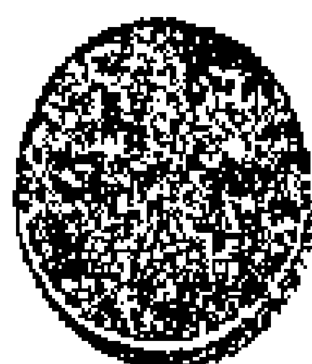
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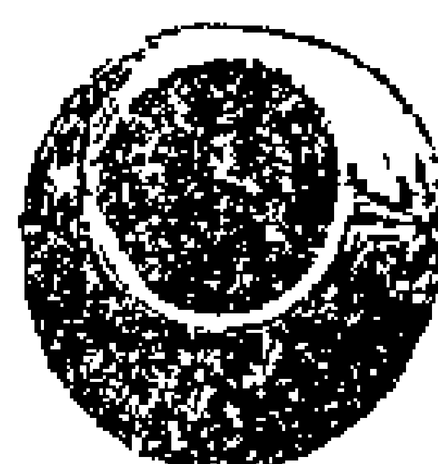
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But the Aryans never conquered the south by force: hence they neither denationalized the people nor changed their languages. They conquered the south, however, by the influence of higher civilization and superior knowledge. Aryan civilization was probably introduced into the Dakhan about the sixth or seventh century B.C. In the time of Râma, it is stated in the *Râmâyana*, that during his expedition to the south he met holy *Rishis* here and there among the savages, by which it is supposed that he met Aryan Missionaries from the north, dwelling among the aboriginal inhabitants of the south. About the commencement of the Christian era, Aryan influence had spread extensively in the south. The Pândya kingdom of Madura, which was established on Aryan principles, was then well known even in Europe. It is reasonable, then, to suppose that before such influence the religion and primitive customs of the aboriginal inhabitants would sooner or later disappear. Then it must be remembered that during the following thirteen centuries there were other influences at work more aggressive for a time than Brahmanism, and which must have stimulated the Brahmans greatly, not only to maintain, but to extend their own influence. Buddhism became the national religion of the north by public edicts in the time of Asoka, about 250 B.C. Buddhist Missionaries came to the south probably before that time, and it seems pretty evident that up to the seventh century A.D. Buddhism gained considerable influence in the south. The Buddhists burnt their dead, like the Brahmans.* Then from the sixth or seventh to the twelfth century A.D. Jainism made wonderful progress, and seems to have been the predominant religion at one time. The Jains also practised cremation, like the Braamans and Buddhists. In the twelfth century there was a reaction against Jainism and in favour of Brahmanism. The Jains were finally expelled from the Pândya kingdom, and the Brahmans firmly established their influence, which has continued down to the present day.

Under the influence of the rival reformers Sankarâchârya and Râmanujya Achârya, the whole of the inhabitants of the south became gradually absorbed in Saivaism and Vaishnavism. About this time, then, I am inclined to place the total disappearance of the ancient customs of the pre-Aryan Dravidians, and, of course, the custom of burying in cairns and cromlechs. In remote and isolated places where Brahmanical influence did not freely penetrate, the ancient custom of burying in tumuli probably continued till a very late period. In the tumuli found on the Nilgiri Hills there are rude sculptures and inscriptions both in Tamil and Kanarese. According to Dr. Caldwell, the eighth or ninth century A.D. is the earliest date to which any extent Tamil composition can be safely attributed. The Tamil letters used in those inscriptions are not of the oldest type, but the more modern. Judging from a specimen I saw in the corner of a photograph, I should conclude that they differ but little from the characters now in use. Photographs of the whole inscriptions, I hear, have been sent to Germany to be deciphered, and I doubt not that when published and translated, it will be found that they cannot be much earlier than the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D.

To sum up, then, I conclude that the tumuli were the burial-places of the non-Aryan aboriginal inhabitants of the south, who are now represented by the Dravidians, and who, like the pre-Aryan inhabitants of the north, are proved by their language to have belonged to the same branch of the human family as the Turanians; that their ancient customs and religion disappeared before the combined influence of Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Jainism, precisely in the same way as the ancient customs of the Teutons, Celts, Latins, and Slavs disappeared in Europe before the influence of Christianity, or the ancient customs of the Skythians of Central Asia disappeared before the influence of Muhammadanism. If this theory be correct, I do not think that any tumuli in the plains of India are *later* than the thirteenth century A.D., and on the Nilgiri Hills probably none are later than the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D.

The natives know nothing about the tumuli, and according to Dr. Caldwell there is no tradition respecting them either in Sanskrit literature or in that of the Dravidian languages. "The Tamil people call them *Pându-kuris*. 'kuri' means a pit or grave, and 'Pându'

* But the Buddhists *buried* the ashes and relics in tombs.—ED.

denotes anything connected with the Pândus, or Pândava brothers, to whom all over India ancient mysterious structures are generally attributed. To call anything 'a work of the Pândus' is equivalent to terming it 'Cyclopean' in Greece, 'a work of the Picts' in Scotland, 'or a work of Nimrod' in Asiatic Turkey; and it means only that the structure to which the name is applied was erected in some remote age, by a people of whom nothing is now known. When the Tamil people are asked by whom were these Pâṇḍu-kuris built and used, they sometimes reply, 'by the people who lived here long ago;' but they are unable to tell whether those people were their own ancestors or a foreign race, and also why and when these *kuris* ceased to be used. The answer which is sometimes given is that the people who built the cairns were a race of dwarfs who lived long ago, and who were only a span or a cubit high, but were possessed of the strength of giants."

The almost total absence of traditional knowledge respecting the origin and use of the tumuli is a strong presumptive evidence that they cannot be *later*, but may be much *older*, than the time fixed above.

IV The bones found in the tumuli prove beyond a doubt that the people buried in them were neither dwarfs nor giants, but men of ordinary stature. And the large stone slabs lining the interior and placed on the top of the tumuli, which in most cases must have been cut from the solid rock and carried from some distance, prove that the people physically were equal to the present race of men.

The objects found in the tumuli represent the people in a comparatively advanced state of civilization. They required and made earthen vessels for culinary and domestic purposes. And those vessels show considerable ingenuity in the art of pottery. They are not only all tastefully designed and well baked in fire, but some of them are ornamented with transverse lines and highly polished. The people were acquainted with the value and use of metals The small swords are elegantly designed and well wrought. And so are the knives, razors, and gold and bronze ornaments found in tumuli on the Nilgiri Hills. They made and wore necklaces and bracelets of precious stones ornamented with what appears to be oxide of tin The most recent tumuli contain rude sculptures and inscriptions, which show that the people were acquainted with reading and writing.

The great care and trouble with which the tumuli were prepared as receptacles for the dead, manifest a tenderness of feeling and reverence for the departed which can only be expected in an intelligent and civilized people Reverence for the dead can only arise from a strong manly affection for the living, which reverence and affection diminish in intensity as people descend in the scale of civilization, till they become almost extinct in the savage.

Whatever the religious tenets of the people were, it is pretty certain that they firmly believed that human existence is not bounded by the tomb; for no reasonable cause can be assigned for the practice of depositing various objects with the dead but a firm belief in a future state, where they supposed that such objects would be required. Their conception of the future world was cast in the mould of the present; and hence they believed that whatever is necessary, useful, and ornamental in this world would be equally so in the next—the warrior would require his sword, the husbandman his agricultural implements, and the lady her ornaments. This conception of the future is neither the transmigration of the Brahmans nor the *nirvâṇa* of the Buddhists, and hence forms another link in the chain of evidence that the people who used the tumuli were neither the one nor the other, but anterior to both.*

*Salem, November 20th,* 1872.

* Possibly co ordinate with both: for, as Mr Fergusson remarks, "The Bhil, the Kol, the Gond, the Toda, and other tribes remain as they were, and practise their own rites and follow the customs of their forefathers as if the stranger had never come among them" *Rude Stone Monuments*, p 469 See also *ante*, p. 10 —Ed.

## NOTES AND LEGENDS CONNECTED WITH ANIMALS.

### II.—BIRDS, &c.

BY W. F. SINCLAIR, Bo. C.S. KHÂNDESH.

In former days the Hoopoe *(Upupa epops)* had a crown of gold, for the value of which it was sore persecuted by men. Therefore the Hoopoe went to Solomon, the son of David, who understood the language of all creatures, and besought him to intercede with the Most High that its crown might be of feathers, which was granted. This story is Spanish, but appears to me to be of Muhammadan origin. Is any reader of the *Antiquary* acquainted with it in a Musalman form, or with the somewhat similar belief that the Fâhta *(Turtur humilis)* owes the reddish-brown colour of its breast to the stain of the blood of the Prophet's son-in-law 'Alî?

In Khândesh, the beak of the slate-coloured Hornbill (called *Dhuncherî*) is considered a remedy for rheumatism. It is powdered and taken internally.

I once saw the bones of a panther's foot, much rubbed and worn, hanging in the Mâmlatdâr's Kacherî at Sâsur, in the Puṇâ collectorate, and found, on inquiry, that for skin diseases, water in which the scrapings of these bones is mixed, is considered a specific. The panther's paw, accordingly, was kept in the office, along with the Government stores of ammonia and quinine. A ring made of the scale of the Pangolin (called by natives *Kaud-mânjar* or scaly-cat, and by Europeans, incorrectly, an ant-eater) is a protection against poison if worn on the finger. When the hand wearing such a ring is dipped into the dish all the poisoned food immediately turns green. The same scales, worn in the turban, are a protection against evil spirits of all sorts.

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## ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

*Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1871-72.

This part of the Journal contains the following papers:—

1. *Extracts from a Memoir left by the Dutch Governor Thomas Van Rhee to his successor, Governor Gerrit de Heere*, 1697—translated from the Dutch by R. A. Van Cuylenberg. Governor Van Rhee begins by pointing out "how many castles, forts, fortresses, and fastnesses the Honourable Company" had then possession of. They were—"The fortress of Calpitty, 21 Dutch miles north of Colombo. The fortress of Negombo, 5 Dutch miles south of Colombo. The fort of Caltura, 8 Dutch miles south of Colombo. The fort of Augurutotta, 5 miles inland from Caltura. The fort of Hangwella, in the Hewagâm Korle. The fort of Malwana, four hours' walk east of Colombo. The castle and island of Jaffnapatam. Mannar with other forts. The fort of Arripo. The fortified town of Galle, and the fortress of Maturâ. The Logie of Tuticoryn. The fortresses of Trincomali and of Batticaloa, on the east coast. The eight islands—Carredivo, now also called Amsterdam, Pangeredive or Middleburg, Anuelle or Rotterdam, Neynadivo or Haarlem, Tanadive or Leyden, Perrendive or Iladvaka called Delft, also Hooren and Enkhouysen."

He then goes on to say "the several sources of revenue and advantages derived by the Honourable Company under their government are: the peeling of cinnamon, the capture of elephants, the arrack, cloth, and salt trade; the tolls and rights of the Company's domains, which are yearly rented out, agriculture, the Chank and pearl fisheries."

Next come the inhabitants, consisting of "forty different classes of people, who are subject to perform certain services, and to pay several petty taxes to Government, in addition to the payment of land rents and the tenth of their lands, trees, houses, and gardens." They are:—"The Bellales (*Vellalar*), the most numerous of all the classes; the Chiandas (*Sandar*), comprising but a very small number; the Tannekares (*Tanakkarar*); the Paradeezes (*Paratesikal*); the Madapallys (*Madappali*) are bound to work for the Government twelve days in the year, and to pay two fanams as poll-taxes, and one fanam as '*adegariya*.' The Madapallys (*Madappali*) are also employed among the heathen to assist the Brahmans in the preparation of their meals.

"The Malleales Agambadys (*Malaiyala Akampadis*) are bound to serve the Government twelve days in the year, and to pay two fanams as poll-tax.

"The Fishers—consisting of six different classes, viz.: Carreas (*Karaiyar*), Paruwas (*Parayar*), Kaddeas (*Kadaiyar*), Moekeas (*Mukkuvar*), Chimbalawes (*Sampadavar*), and Tummulas (*Tamilar*)—are required to serve as sailors twelve days in the year on board the vessels belonging to the Government."

"The Moors pay 10 fanams, and assist in hauling

up boats and counting copper money; the Cheteys 6 fanams, and help to count coin; the Silversmiths 5½ fanams, and decorate houses; the Washers 6 fanams and decorate houses; the Weavers 7½ fanams; the Parreas 6 fanams; the Christian Carpenters and Smiths 4 fanams; the Heathen Carpenters and Smiths 5 fanams; the Dyers 6 fanams and dye cloth; the Oilmakers 6 fanams; the Chiwiahs (*Siliyas*) 2 fanams and carry palanquins; the Brass-founders 2 fanams and work in copper; the Masons 2 fanams each; the Tailors 2 fanams and decorate houses; the Painters and Barbers 2 fanams; the Maruas 2 fanams and serve as Lascoryns; the Pallas, Mallawas, and Kallikarree Pareas, all slaves, and pay 2 fanams each; the Cheandas pay 2 fanams and carry the Company's baggage; the Walleas pay 2 fanams and hunt hares for the Company."

"The poll-tax, land-rents, 'Adegary' office money, &c., according to the statement made out on the 1st September last, amounts to the sum of Rds. 31,040¾.

"Having thus shown into how many castes the people of Jaffnapatam are divided, and what each is bound to perform on behalf of the Company, I think it necessary to state that a bitter and irreconcilable hatred has always existed in Jaffnapatam between the castes of the Bellales (*Vellelar*) and Madapallys, so that these may not be elevated in rank and the offices of honour one above the other. For this reason the two writers of the Commander are taken from these two castes, so that one of them is a Bellale and the other a Madapally."

2. *The Food Statistics of Ceylon*, by John Capper. Mr. Capper states that, "owing to local circumstances, the failure of a harvest in Ceylon means something more than dear food; it signifies want too often bordering on starvation, from the simple fact that in nine cases out of ten the paddy cultivator has no other occupation, possesses no means of barter, and when his crop fails he is obliged, to ward off starvation, to sell his cattle, and then his fields."

3. *Specimens of Siṁhalese Proverbs*, by L. de Zoysa—a continuation of the list given in the Journal for 1870-71 (See *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 59): the following are specimens,—'Like squeezing lime-juice into the sea,' said of attempting great things with ridiculously inadequate means. 'Though you eat beef, why should you eat it hanging round your neck?'—if you will indulge in forbidden pleasures there is no reason for doing so in an open and scandalous manner. 'A bush near is better than a fine building at a distance.' 'The man who left his country because he was not permitted to speak, found in the country where he arrived that he was not allowed even to make a sign.' 'Like the tongue in the midst of thirty teeth,'—maintaining one's position though surrounded by difficulties. There is a story of a man who went to the king to complain of the tax on sesamum oil, but he was so confused in the royal presence, that when the king demanded to know what he wanted, he said that he came to request that a tax might be imposed on the refuse (*murunwaṭa*) of the sesamum seed: this has given occasion to the saying 'Like what happened to him who went to get the tax on oil removed, and had to pay tax on *murunwaṭa* also.' 'Like the man who described the taste of sugar-candy'—is a saying founded on a story which has been omitted in the paper: it is said a man describing the taste of sugar-candy was asked whether he had ever tasted it. 'No,' he replied, 'I had heard it from my brother,' and when questioned as to whether his brother had tasted it, his reply was 'No, he had heard of the taste of it from somebody else'!

4. *On Paragi*, by Dr. Boake: a short paper on the treatment of Parangi Leda—'the loathsome disease,'—believed to be hereditary.

5. *Text and Translation of a Rock Inscription at the Buddhist temple at Kelaniya*, by L. de Zoysa, Mudaliyar. The inscription is on a stone slab, and contains an account of the repairs executed in this temple by King Parâkrama Bâhu, who reigned (according to Turnour) between A. D. 1505-1527 (A.B. 2048-2070), at Jayawardhanapura, now called Kôṭṭe, near Colombo. The translation is as follows:—

"On the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of *Nawan*,* (February—March) in the 19th year of the reign of his imperial majesty Śrî Sangabodhi Śrî Parâkrama Bâhu, the paramount lord of the *three Siṁhalas*,† sovereign lord of other Râjas, on whose lotus-feet rested bees-of-gems in the crowns of kings of the surrounding (countries); whose fame was serenely bright as the beams of the moon, who was adorned by many noble and heroic qualities resembling so many gems, who was an immaculate embryo Buddha, and who ascended the throne of Laṅkâ in the 2051st year of the era of the omniscient Gautama Buddha, the prosperous, majestic, sovereign lord of Dharma, who gladdens the three worlds, who is a *tilaka*‡ ornament to the royal race of the Śâkyas, and who is the sun of the universe, and the giver of the undying Nirvâṇa.

* *Nawasâ* on the stone. Probably a mistake of the engraver, for *nawan masa*.

† Lit "*the three Ceylons*," or "Three-fold Ceylon"; in reference to the ancient divisions of Ceylon, *Pihiti*, *Mâyâ*, and *Ruhuṇu*.

‡ A forehead ornament. A title implying *pre-eminence*.

"(The King) having considered (the fact) that the Vihâra at Râjamahâ Kelaniya was a holy spot where Buddha had vouchsafed to sit, to partake of food and preach his doctrines, inquired what works of merit by way of repairs there were to be executed there; and having ascertained that the Chaitya and all other edifices were in ruins, gave much (money for) expenses from the royal palace, and assigned the task of accomplishing the work to the chief officer of the royal revenue, and the minister Parâkkrama Bâhu Vijayakkônâ, who caused the execution of the plastering of the Chaitya, and other necessary repairs and works; built a parapet wall of granite sixty cubits (in length) on the north, constructed a flight of steps with a *Sandakadapahana* (a semicircular stone serving as a stepping-stone) on the east; thoroughly rebuilt the *Samâdhi* image-house, the *Napilimagsya* and the eastern gate of the same monastery and its flight of stone-steps, the minor *Trivanka* house, the *Telkatarageya*, the latrine common to the priesthood, and the east gate; repaired breaches and injuries, &c., of the *Pasmahâlpaya, Selâpilimageya, Siwurudageya,*, &c., and repaired various other breaches, and other works in the Vihâra. And after having accomplished this work thoroughly, (the King) thinking it desirable that His Majesty's royal name should be perpetuated in this Vihâra, conferred on the chief priest of the monastery the title of *Śrî Râjaratna Piriwan Tera*, and ordained that all who occupied the lands of the temple, those who served in the elephant stables, the horse stables, the kitchen, bath-rooms, and persons employed in various other occupations, the Tamil and the Siñhalese, and those who paid rent and who owned land, should give (to the Temple) two *pêlas* of paddy (measured) by a *laha* which contains 4 *nelis* for every *amuna* of sowing extent, and money payment at the rate of one *panama* for every ten cocoanut trees, and thus accomplished this meritorious work, so that it may last while the sun and moon exist.

"In obedience to the command delivered by His Majesty, sitting on the throne at the royal palace of Jayawardhan Koṭṭe, in the midst of the *Madalivaru* (nobles), that a writing on stone should be made in order that kings and ministers in future ages might acquire merit by preserving and improving this work, I, *Sankas Teruwarahan Perumal*, have written and granted this writing on stone.

"The boundaries to Râjamahâ Kelaniya are—Wattala, Malsantota, Kuḍâ Mâbôla, Galwalutoṭa, Gongitoṭa, Goḍarabgala Galpotta, the stone pillar at Gonasêna, including the Urnboruwa Liyedda, the canal Rammudu Ela, the Kessaketûgala, the Watagala, Esalapaluwa, the inside (?) of Pasuratoṭa, the (?) of Dowiyâmulla, the boundary stone, and the great river."

The king alluded to is Dharma Parâkkrama Bâhu, the 152nd sovereign in Mr. Turnour's list of the kings of Ceylon, in whose reign "the Portuguese first landed in Ceylon, and were permitted to trade."

Both the *Mahâvanso* and *Râjaratnâkara* entirely omit his reign, making his brother and immediate successor, Vijaya Bâhu, supply his place; while the *Râjâvali* (which Mr. Turnour seems to have followed in compiling his epitome) gives a graphic and interesting account of his reign.

The *Râjavali*, however, bears internal evidence of its being a contemporaneous record, while it is well known that the *Râjaratnâkara* is comparatively a recent work, and that this portion of the *Mahâvanso* too, was compiled so recently as 1758, "by Tibbotuwâwe Terunnânse, by the command of Kirtiśrî, partly from the works brought during his reign by the Siamese priests (which had been procured by their predecessors during their former religious missions to this island), and partly from the native histories which had escaped the general destruction of literary records in the reign of Râja Siñha I."

In the Dondra inscription No. I., published by Mr. Rhys Davids in the *Journal for* 1870-71 (conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 59) it is stated that king Vijaya Bâhu ascended the throne in the year Śaka 1432 (A. D. 1510), thus supporting, or rather seeming to support, the version given in the *Mahâvanso* and *Râjaratnâkara*, and contradicting the *Râjavali*, which is supported by the Kelaniya inscription. On the discrepancy between the date given by Turnour and that recorded in the Dondra inscription, Mr. Davids had remarked—"that in the year 1432 of Śaka, which is 1510 of our era, the reigning Chakrawarti or Overlord (as given in Turnour's list) was not Sanga Bo Vijaya Bâhu, who came to the throne in 1527, but his brother Dharma Parâkkrama Bâhu." It would however now seem that the discrepancy is not only between Turnour's date and that recorded in the Dondra inscription, but also between one series of writers and another, and between one "contemporaneous record" and another:—

Mr. De Zoysa then expresses his belief that the assumption of the sovereignty by Dharma Parâkkrama Bâhu was disputed by his brother Vijaya Bâhu, and that, at least for a time, one part of the nation (probably those in the south) acknowledged the latter as sovereign, while the rest adhered to his brother; and this view seems to derive support from the following fact mentioned by Mr. Turnour in his *Epitome*:—

"His (Dharma Parâkkrama Bâhu's) reign was

disturbed in the early part by the competition of his brothers, whom he succeeded in reducing to submission."

6. *Ceylon Reptiles*, by Wm. Fergusson.

7. *On an Inscription at Dondra, No. II.*, by J. W. Rhys Davids, C.C.S. This inscription has already been given in this Journal (*I. A.* vol. I. pp. 329-331), and Mr. Davids now reads the first sentence—"In the 10th year of the Overlord Siri Sangha Bodi Śrî Parâkrama Bâhu, a coconut tope, bought for money, (near) to the Bhûmi-mahâ-wihâra, to the image-house, and 200 coconut trees to the Lord Dewa Râja (Vishṇu)." And in addition to the citations formerly given for assigning the inscription to Sulu Siri Sanga Bo, he adds from the *Râjawali*—

*Olu bœna Śri Sanga Bo rája Siyágal wehera karawa Dewu nuwara karawa Dewa-rája sangayen solos awuruddak rajjaya keleya.* Which Upham (vol. II. p. 248) translates:—"He was succeeded by his nephew, whose name was Sri Sanga Bo Râja, which king caused to be built the dagoba of Siagal, and the city Dewu Nuwara; and, through the assistance of Vishnu reigned for the space of 16 years."

To this Mr. Davids adds the following:—

*Translation from the Mahâvanśa, Ch.* 46.

1. After the death of Hatthadâtha, Agra Bodhi, the eldest son of the king, also called Śrî Sangha Bodhi, became king. 2. He was a righteous king, full of insight, and did innumerable acts of merit. 3. He superintended the maintenance of the priests of the three sects, preserved the canon of scripture, and forbade slaughter. 4. He gave offices impartially, according to merit, and favoured those who by birth or learning were worthy of favour. 5. Wherever he saw priests, he, the highminded, did them honour and asked them to say the liturgy (*parit*) or talk of religion. 6. He studied under the wise, virtuous, and learned priest Dâthâsiva of Nâgasâla monastery. 7. And there, having thoroughly heard the teaching of the all-wise one, being perfected in religion, he became a doer of all gentle deeds. 8. Having heard a discussion between priestesses who (previous to their putting on the robes) were related to him, he quite turned away his favour from those who were wicked heretics. 9. He restored broken monasteries and parivenas to their former state. 10. He restored alms fallen into abeyance, and gave slaves to the priesthood according to the necessities of each (sacred) place. 11. He made a splendid house for that priest, called after his name; which, having received, he, the highminded one, gave to the priesthood. 12. And the king gave to him villages for his maintenance, Bharattâla and Kihimbila, and Kataka and Tulâdhâra. 13. And Andhakâra, and Attareli, and Bâlava. and Dvâranâyaka, and Mahânikatthika, and Pelahâla also. 14. These villages and others he, the lord of men, gave for maintenance, and he gave servants also of those related to himself. 15 Then, either seeing or hearing that monasteries of both sects were poorly provided for, he gave many villages for their maintenance. 16. But what is the use of much speaking? to the three sects he gave a thousand villages, fruitful ones and undisputed. 17. And following the three gems in the highest virtue, he took a necklace and turned it into a rosary. 18. So in every way he followed after religion; and all men, taking him for their example, became doers of virtue.

19. A Tamil called Potthakuntha, who was his constant servant, made a splendid and wonderful house called Mâtambiya. 20. And the king gave him Ambavâpi in Bukakalle, and the cloth-weavers' village Châtika, and the village Hitthilavetthi, with the slaves (living therein). 21. And he built as residences the monasteries at Kappûra and the places at Kurundapillaka. 22. In other places too the wealthy one divided villages among the monasteries; and the wise general named Potthasâta added to Jeta Vihâra 23. A parivena called after the king's name; and Mahâkanda the Tamil a parivena of the same name.

24. And the under-king Sanghatissa made a small house called Sehala-upa-râjaka for the king. 25. And in other places many people both built monasteries (of which these are only a few), and were full of goodness, following the example of the king. 26. For when the chief does evil or good, the world does just the same; let him who is wise note this. 27. This king had a most virtuous queen called Jetthâ, who built the Jetthâ monastery as a home for priestesses. 28. And gave to it two villages in very stony land called Tanbuddha and Helagâma, together with a hundred slaves. 29. And the king added a splendid relic house to the dagoba in Mândalagiri monastery.

30. And he roofed in the inner chamber in the Brazen Palace (at Anurâdhapura). The celebrated Bodhi Tissa built Bodhi Tissa monastery. 31. And all the provincial governors throughout the island built monasteries and parivenas not a few, according to their ability. 32. In the time of this chief of men everywhere in the island virtue alone was practised.

33. It seems bad to me (thought the king), according to the most important sign of goodness, to have passed so much time here. 34. So after a time he went to Pulastipura, and there lived, acquiring merit. 35. Then when he was afflicted

with a severe illness, seeing that the time of his death was come, he addressed the people, 36. And exhorted them to virtue; and so died. But the people were overcome by sorrow at his death. 37. And when his obsequies were performed, nothing being left out, they took of the dust of his funeral pile and used it as medicine. 38. So in the 16th year this king went to heaven, and Potthakuṅtha, the Tamil, carried on the government.

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*Siñhalese Rock Inscription.*

A paper on *An ancient Rock Inscription at Pepiliyâna, near Kotta,* was read by Mr. L. de Zoysa, Chief Translator to Government, at the last general meeting of the Ceylon Asiatic Society. This inscription, it appears, is on a rock on the site of an ancient Buddhist Temple near Kotta, where, from A.D. 1410 to A.D. 1542, Siñhalese kings held court. The following is an abstract:—

No part of the ancient buildings of the temple now remains, having been, it is said, levelled to the ground by the Portuguese, who destroyed this and other buildings in and near Kotta.

My copy of the inscription was taken from one in the possession of a Buddhist priest who now occupies the modern Pansala, built on the supposed site of the ancient temple, and I was informed by him that his teacher's teacher obtained it some seventy or eighty years ago from a transcript preserved in the archives of the late king of Kandy. There can be no question, however, as to its genuineness. I have compared it with such parts of the stone as still remain, and have found that it exactly corresponds with the stone. The style and matter, too, of the inscription, furnish indisputable evidence of its genuineness and authenticity.

The inscription records the erection and endowment of a Buddhist temple in memory of his deceased mother, Sunetra Mahâ Devî, by King Srî Parâkrama Bâhu VI. who reigned at Kotta (according to Turnour) from A.D. 1410 to 1462. It also contains a variety of provisions for the due maintenance of the temple, for the expenditure of its income, and regulations for the observance of the clerical and lay members of the establishment.

The style of the inscription is similar to that of other writings of the 14th or 15th centuries; and Mr. Alwis has published, in his Introduction to the *Sidat Sañgarâ*, the introductory paragraph of the inscription, as a specimen of the prose of that age. The construction of the sentences, however, is very peculiar. The whole of the inscription, which is a very long one, is conglomerated as it were into *one* sentence by means of conjunctive particles and participles, having apparently only one finite verb expressed. The words in general are those in modern use, with a very few exceptions.

The date assigned to the king's accession is the year of Buddha 1958 (A.D. 1415), whereas Turnour, in his adjustment of Siñhalese chronology, compiled from native records, has fixed the date at 1953 (A.D. 1410), *five years earlier.* The authority of the stone, however, cannot be disputed, and it is corroborated in a remarkable manner by the well-known contemporary poem *Kâvya Śekhara*, the author of which was the most learned monk of the age, and, according to tradition, the king's adopted son.

The regulations enacted for the management of the temple establishment, and for the distribution of its income, are also very curious, and throw considerable light on the manners, customs, and social condition of the island at the period in question. It shows that the forms of Siñhalese letters now in use have not undergone any material change during, at least, the last five or six hundred years, with the exception of a few.

It is believed by many that the worship of Hindu gods, and the practice of Hindu rites and ceremonies, were introduced into Ceylon by the last Tamil kings, who obtained the throne of Kandy, after the extinction of the Siñhalese royal family, about the year A.D. 1739, but it would appear from the inscription that the innovation is of much earlier date, the king, who, it is well known, was an eminent patron of Buddhism, having built four Devalas in connection with the Vihâra.

The following translation, given by Mr. De Zoysa, from a native work, is curiously illustrative of the progress of the Portuguese in Ceylon:—

"Then certain people who traded at the seaport of Colombo, having long remained in the character of traders, gradually rose into (political) power. These, *Parangi*, professors of a false religion, a wicked, fierce, and merciless race, built forts in every direction, prepared for war, and oppressed the Siñhalese, both as regards their temporal and spiritual interests, going from one province to another, destroying cultivated fields and gardens, setting fire to houses and villages, corrupting the purity of noble families, and destroying even Dâgobas, image-houses, Bo-trees, the image of Buddha, &c., &c."—*Ceylon Times, June 11th*, 1873.

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*Journal Asiatique, Avril 1873.*

At a meeting of the Society held 14th Fe[illegible] Ganneau observed,—with reference to an [illegible] published in part III.-IV. of the Journal [illegible] German Oriental Society for 1873, and [illegible] a number of unedited Himyaritic texts

panying a bas-relief,—that he had already made one of these the subject of a communication to the Academy of Inscriptions (Aug. 1872). M. Ganneau observed that this monument properly belongs to a funerary series characterized by the identity of their epigraphic formulas and the analogy of their style of art. This series includes the monument published by him in the *Journal Asiatique* and some monuments preserved in the Bombay Museum. M. Ganneau concluded by saying it would be useful that the Society should take means to obtain *facsimiles*, 'estampages,' or casts, of the originals preserved at Bombay, the copies given in the *Journal* of the Bombay Society rendering this desirable.

## TRANSLATIONS BY MR. GOGERLY.

Mme. A. Grimblot communicates to the *Journal Asiatique** the following translations from the Pâli, given to M. Grimblot by the late Rev. Mr. Gogerly.

### PARABHAVA-SUTTA.

Thus I heard: when Buddha was once residing at Jetavana, the vihâra of Anâthapiṇḍika, in the vicinity of the city of Sâvatthi, a certain deva possessed of pleasing appearance, approached Buddha, after the expiration of the first ten hours of the night (in the middle of the night), illuminating the whole Jetavana with his splendour, and, having worshipped him, stood on one side of him (at a respectful distance) and spoke to him in this stanza:

1. Who is the person that declines (in prosperity)? Lord Buddha of the family of Gotama, we have come to you for the purpose of proposing the question: what is the cause that leads to the decline of prosperity?

2. The person who advances in prosperity may be easily known, and so is the person who declines. He who delights (in the performance of the) ten meritorious acts† will attain to prosperity, while he that entertains an aversion thereto will decline in prosperity?

3. We know that this is the first cause which leads men to decline in prosperity. O Bhagavâ! please declare the second cause which leads to that result.

4. If any individual takes delight in wicked men and has an aversion towards the righteous, and delights in the doings of wicked men, that will be a cause to bring about his decline in prosperity.

5. We know that this is the second cause which leads to the decline of prosperity. O Bhagavâ! please declare the third cause. What is it that leads to the decline of prosperity?

6. If any individual should be habitually sleepy (whether sitting, walking, or standing, etc.), be addicted to company, be of malicious temper, or would not exert himself, that would operate as a cause towards the decline of his prosperity.

7. We know that this is the third cause which leads to the decline of prosperity. Please declare the fourth, O Bhagavâ! What is it that leads to that result?

8. If any individual should not support and maintain either of his parents in their old age, having it in his power to do so, that would cause the decline of his prosperity.

9. We know that this is the fourth cause which leads to the decline of prosperity. O Bhagavâ! please declare the fifth. what is it that brings about that result?

10. If any individual utter a falsehood and thereby impose upon a Samana, a Brâhman, or any other description of mendicants, that will operate as a cause towards a decline of his prosperity.

11. We know that this is the fifth cause which leads men to decline in prosperity. O Bhagavâ! please declare the sixth: what is it that brings about that result?

12. If any individual possessed of gold in abundance, plenty of kahapanas, and various kinds of viands, should himself alone enjoy his wealth, that would be a cause to the decline of his prosperity.

13. We know that this is the sixth cause which will lead men to decline in prosperity. O Bhagavâ! please declare the seventh: what is it that leads to that result?

14 If any individual disrespect his relations, actuated by too high an opinion of himself, founded on his superiority in birth, wealth, or family, it will operate as a cause towards a decline of his prosperity

15 We know that this is the seventh cause which leads men to decline in prosperity. O Bhagavâ! please declare the eighth what is it that tends to a a decline of prosperity?

16. If any individual becomes a debauchee, a drunkard, or a gambler, and thereby entirely squanders away his earnings, that will be a cause to the decline of his prosperity.

17. We know that this is the eighth cause which leads to the decline of men's prosperity. O Bhagavâ! please declare the ninth: what is it that brings about the decline of prosperity?

18. If a man, not pleased with his wife, be constantly seen in the company of prostitutes and among the wives of others, that is a cause which would lead to the decline of his prosperity.

* Tome XX. pp. 226-231. † Dasa-puñña-kiriya. Vide Clough, *Dict.* vol. II. p. 202, for the different significations of this word.

19. We know that this is the ninth cause which leads to the decline of prosperity of men. O Bhagavâ! please declare the tenth: what is it that leads to that result?

20. If any old man take a young woman, with breasts like unto timba-fruits, for his wife, and break rest from motives of jealousy, that will operate as a cause towards the decline of his prosperity.

21. We know that this is the tenth cause which leads men to decline in prosperity. O Bhagavâ! please declare the eleventh: what is it that brings about that result?

22. Should any individual entrust the management of his affairs to a gluttonous and prodigal woman or man, or place him or her at the head of his household, that would be a cause to bring about the decline of his prosperity.

23. We know that this is the eleventh cause which leads men to decline in prosperity. O Bhagavâ! please declare the twelfth: what is it that leads to the said decline?

24. If any individual is born of royal race, but is deficient in wealth, and, full of ambition, aspire to sovereignty here, that is a cause which will lead to a decline of his prosperity.

25. Therefore the wise man who has seen well the causes which in this world lead to the decline of men's prosperity will lead such a life here as will entitle him to a birth in heaven.

METTA-SUTTA, OR DISCOURSE ON GENTLENESS.

Thus I heard: Buddha resided in the garden of Anâthapindika in Jetavana, near Sâvatthi. He then convoked his priests and said to them: There are eleven advantages, Priests, resulting from cultivating, meditating on, becoming accustomed to, led by, established in, following after, and acting according to a spirit of mildness and freedom from passion. These eleven are, that he who acts thus sleeps sound, awakes refreshed, has no evil dreams, is beloved of men, is beloved of demons, is preserved by the gods, neither fire, poison, nor sword can injure him, he has constant tranquillity, is of a pleasant aspect, will die in full possession of his intellectual powers, and hereafter will obtain an existence in the worlds of Brahma. These are the eleven advantages which result from cultivating, meditating on, being accustomed to, led by, established in, following after, and acting according to a spirit of mildness and freedom from passion

When Buddha had thus spoken, the priests were much edified.

METTÂNISAMSA-SUTTA, OR ADVANTAGES OF GENTLENESS.

1. He who never violates friendly feelings,* whenever he journeys from his own residence shall obtain abundance of food, and become the means of supporting many others.

2. He who never violates friendly feelings, whether he visits town, country, or province, he shall be everywhere treated with respect.

3. He who never violates friendly feelings shall be unassailed by robbers, shall receive no dishonour from princes, and shall escape from every enemy.

4. He who never violates friendly feelings shall return in tranquillity to his home, rejoice in the assemblies of the people, and be a chief among his kindred.

5. He who never violates friendly feelings, exercising hospitality to others, shall be hospitably treated, honouring others he shall be honoured himself, and his praises and good name shall be spread abroad.

6. He who never violates friendly feelings, *presenting offerings to others, he himself shall* receive offerings, saluting others he shall receive salutations, and shall attain to honour and renown.

7. He who never violates friendly feelings shall shine as the fire, be resplendent as the gods, and never be deserted by prosperity.

8. He who never violates friendly feelings shall have fruitful cattle, abundant crops, and his children shall have prosperity.

9. The man who never violates friendly feelings should he fall from a precipice, from a mountain, or from a tree, when he falls he shall be sustained (so as to receive no injury).

10. The man who never violates friendly feelings shall never be overthrown by enemies, even as the nigrodha-tree, firmly fixed by its spreading roots, stands unmoved by the winds.

KARANÎYA-METTA-SUTTA.—THE DISCOURSE NAMED KARANÎYA-METTA.

I declare the Protection (or Paritta) by the power of which the demons shall display not dreadful sights; by which he who is diligently occupied by day or night may sleep securely, and sleeping see nothing evil.

1. These things must be attended to by the man wise in securing advantages who desires to ascertain the path to Nibbâna. Let him be skilful, upright, honest, mild in speech, gentle, free from arrogance.

2. Let him be cheerful, contented, unencumbered with business, with little property, having his passions under control, wise, temperate, not desirous of obtaining much from those who assist him.

* *i. e.* Who maintains under all circumstances feelings of universal kindness and gentleness.

3. Let him not engage in any law-pursuit for which he might be censured by the wise! May every being experience happiness, peace, and mental enjoyment!

4-5. Whatever sentient being may exist, erratic or stationary, or of whatever kind, long, or tall, or middle-sized, or short, or stout, seen or unseen, near or remote, born or otherwise existing, may every being be happy!

6. In whatever place they may be, let no one deceive or dishonour another! Let there be no desire, from wrath or malice, to injure each other!

7. As a mother protects with her life the child of her bosom, so let immeasurable benevolence prevail among all beings.

8. Let unbounded kindness and benevolence prevail throughout the universe, above, below, around, without partiality, anger, or enmity!

9. Let these dispositions be established in all who are awake, whether standing, walking, sitting, or reclining: this place is thus constituted a holy residence.

10. If the virtuous man who has not attained to perfection, yet perceives it, subdues his desire for sensual objects, certainly he shall not again be a lier in the womb.*

## NOTES ON THE RHONDAS OF JAYPUR.

BY J. A. MAY, TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY.

The most remarkable hill on the outfall of the Jaypur plateau to the south-west (Lat. 18° 15′ to 18° 30′, and E. Long. 82° 15′ to 82° 30′) is Cherubiding hill-station. This hill is about a square mile in extent, having two principal undulations, on which the survey stations are, and between them is a curious-looking depression, suggesting the idea of an extinct crater, about 150 yards in length, being nearly in form of a square, with banks fifteen feet or thereabouts in height, in which, during the rains, water is retained to a depth of from four to five feet. There are two outlets to this little basin opposite to each other, forming rather considerable streams, which meet about four miles distant in the valley below.

A legend is current among the natives as to the origin of this hollow, and is as follows:—At a time, as is generally the case with such stories, beyond the memory of man, one of their gods, named *Bhima, with his sister*, occupied this hill and jointly cultivated it; and as it was usual for them to labour apart in a state of nudity, Bhima, to prevent unseemly rencounters, had recourse to a string of bells which he wore round his waist, and served to make known his approach to his sister, who immediately covered herself in order to receive him. But on one occasion she accidentally appeared before him naked, a circumstance which so shocked their modesty that they fled precipitately from each other in opposite directions; thus the basin is said to have been formed by rice cultivation, and the two outlets are the respective paths taken by this highly modest couple. The presence of 'paddy,' unaccountable to the villagers, has no doubt led them to the framing of this legend. I was encamped on Cherubiding for a day in the month of March, and found it delightfully cool and pleasant. A little way down the hill, in one of the streams above alluded to, is a spring of good water, which I believe is perennial, as is the case with all streams on the highlands.

The Boro Kolab or Machkund runs diagonally across the ground in a south-westerly direction parallel to the ranges of hills on either side in a deep narrow valley. It is fordable near the villages Sindgar, Bojugura, and Amliwara during the dry season, but further down it is very deep, and alligators are said to be plentiful. In these parts the only means for crossing the river are small canoes scooped out of solid logs of sál (*Shorea robusta*), about 15 to 20 feet long and 2 deep; these are at best unsafe, but by lashing two together, a boat, reliable and capable of bearing a pretty heavy load, is constructed, but the scarcity of canoes makes it a matter of the utmost difficulty to cross a camp. It is remarkable that this river seems *to separate the Telugu from the Uriya speaking* people, the former occupying the country on its left bank. Another peculiarity I noticed was that on its right bank the magnetic needle was deflected to a great extent and unequally by the ironstone so plentiful in the little hills about, and caused me great annoyance and extra labour while surveying, as I could not depend on a station unless made by reference to three or four points. On the opposite bank, however, the needle seldom or never varied.

The general aspect of the country is hilly, rugged, and forest-clad, and, excepting on the highlands, cultivation of any kind is rarely to be seen. The villages in the valley are very few, scattered and small, seldom consisting of more than two or three huts, and inhabited by wretched specimens of humanity, who are for the most part

* That is, he shall not be born again, but upon death migrate to the highest of the Brahma worlds, and after residing there the necessary time cease to exist.

afflicted with loathsome scrofulous sores, which render them almost useless to themselves and to others.

Roads, which are nothing better than mere paths leading from one village to another, are few, and, with the exception of one or two, bad in the extreme, running as they do along steep ravines and over rocky ghâṭs quite impracticable to beasts of burden.

The several tribes inhabiting this portion of country are the Bhondas, Dera Porja, and a caste of people who speak the Telugu language exclusively. Of these, the Bhondas are the most remarkable, the rest being in general like the other tribes to be found in Jaypur and the adjacent districts.

The marriage ceremony, costume of the women, and religious observances of the Bhondas, are peculiar to themselves. These people, who are to be met with chiefly on the highland between Andrahal and Dangapara in the district of Jaypur, and comparatively few in number, keep themselves apart from all other tribes, with whom they do not intermarry. The men are not bad-looking; they are well built and active, and passionately fond of sport, of which they seem to be very jealous with regard to Europeans; they dress like the other Uriya tribes, and adorn their necks with beads, but to a moderate degree.

The women, however, are extremely ugly, both in features and form, which is rendered more repugnant by their short hair, and the scantiness of their attire, which consists of just a piece of cloth either made of the kerong bark and manufactured by themselves, or purchased from the weavers of the country, about a foot square, and only sufficient to cover a part of one hip; it is attached to their waists by a string on which it runs, and can be shifted round to any side. A most ludicrous sight has often been presented to me by a stampede among a number of these women, when I have happened to enter a village unexpectedly where they had been collected in the centre space, usual in their villages, intent upon their occupations. On my approach, each one and all hurried to their respective dwellings, and, as they ran in all directions, endeavoured to shift this rag round to the part most likely to be exposed to me. They are necessarily very shy, and are seldom to be met with out of the village, except at midday when engaged assisting the men in the preparation of ground for cultivation, and when there is the least possible chance of meeting with strangers; but among themselves they do not seem to be at all particular.

This peculiar mode of dress originated in the following legend, implicitly believed by the Bhondas:—"Time out of mind, the goddess Sîtâ happened to travel through this part of the country, and when she halted on one occasion, while superintending the preparation of her midday repast, found herself surrounded by a large number of naked women; she blushed to behold such indecency, and forthwith presented them with a piece of tussur cloth, which was eagerly accepted, but when divided was found to supply each one with only just enough to cover one hip. The goddess, whose travelling wardrobe evidently did not allow of greater liberality, then commanded that they should always in future cover themselves thus much, death being the penalty of their disobedience." My informant gave me to understand that one of the Government agents in these parts some years ago insisted on a young woman being properly clothed, the result was she survived the change only three days! This story, which is declared to be strictly true, has unfortunately had the ill effect of confirming those people in their superstition.

Their marriages are consummated in a very curious manner. A number of youths, candidates for matrimony, start off to a village where they hope to find a corresponding number of young women, and make known their wishes to the elders, who receive them with all due ceremony. The juice of the Salop (sago palm) in a fermented state is of course in great requisition, as nothing can be done without the exhilarating effects of this their favourite beverage. They then proceed to excavate an underground chamber (if one is not already prepared), having an aperture at the top admitting of the entrance of one at a time; into this the young gentlemen, with a corresponding number of young girls, are introduced, when they grope about and make their selection, after which they ascend out of it, each holding the young lady of his choice by the forefinger of one of her hands. Bracelets are now put on her arms by the elders (this has the same signification as the wedding ring among European nations), and two of the young men stand as sponsors for each bridegroom. The couples are then led to their respective parents, who approve and give their consent. After another application of Salop and sundry greetings, the bridegroom is permitted to take his bride home, where she lives with him for a week, and then, returning to her parents, is not allowed to see her husband for a period of one year, at the expiration of which she is finally made over to him.

Their religious ceremonies, like those of their neighbours, consist in offerings to some nameless deity, or to the memory of deceased relations. At each of the principal villages the Bhondas congre-

gate once a year, in some spot conveniently situated for their orgies, when a chicken, a few eggs, and a pig or goat are offered, after which they retire to their houses, and next day assemble again, when the Salop juice is freely imbibed, till its intoxicating effects have thoroughly roused their pugnacity; the process of cudgelling one another with the branches of the Salop now begins, which they apply indiscriminately without the smallest regard for each other's feelings; this, with the attendant drum and shrieks, would give one the impression of a host of maniacs suddenly set at liberty. This amusement is continued till bruises, contusions, and bleeding heads and backs have reduced them to a comparatively sober state, and, I imagine, old scores paid off, when they return to their several houses. Thus ends the grand festival of the year. Their other festivals have nothing remarkable.

Country produce is poor and limited to Sua (a small grain resembling sago) and Khandol (a large species of arrar dâl), which are cultivated on the slopes of hills; rice is also grown in the beds of small streams which are terraced and 'bunded' for the purpose, but to a very small extent, Sua being the staple. This grain is prepared for food by either boiling to the consistency of gruel, or hard like rice.

The natural products are iron ore, gallnuts, and stick-lac. This last is to be found only on the Kasum tree (the hardest of all jungle woods), on the twigs of which the little lac-insects build their gum-like nests which constitute the lac. These are collected by the villagers in small quantities, and sold or bartered for at the different hâts or fairs about the country.

The only timber trees I could recognise were the sâl, a few wretched specimens of teak on the banks of the Boro Kolab, and Kendu, a species of ebony.

Game is plentiful, as must be the case in a country so thinly populated. The bison (*gaor*), sambur, pig, axis or spotted deer, the ravine deer, bears, and occasionally the wild buffalo, and tigers, roam at large and fearless of man, with whom they are so little acquainted. Peafowl and other wild fowls are abundant. The otter also is to be found, but only on the banks of the larger streams.

—*Report of the Topographical Survey of India*, 1871-72

## CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

### REPLY TO PROFESSOR WEBER.

Professor Weber does not, so far as I can see, refute my argument for inferring from the passage about Pushpamitra I have brought forward that Patañjali was a contemporary of that monarch, nor does he assign his own reasons for differing from me. In the passage containing the words *iha Pushpamitram yâjayâmah* Patañjali does not merely speak of Pushpamitra's sacrifices as one living after him might do, but he speaks of them in a definite manner. If those words illustrate the rule that the present tense (*laṭ*) denotes actions that have begun but not ended, and if, again, Pushpamitra was a historical personage, and not a mere Caius, it certainly does, in my opinion, follow that the action of sacrificing had not ended when the passage was written. If we were in these days required to give an instance of such a rule, an instance containing the name of a historical personage, should we give such a one as "Johnson edits the Rambler," or "Gibbon is writing the *History of the Decline and Fall*"? Would not, on the contrary, our instances be such as "Drs. Boehtlingk and Roth are compiling a Dictionary of Sanskrit?" I think we should use such as this latter, for in the former the actions of editing and writing have long been over, and consequently they would be of no use to illustrate the rule, which specially requires that they should not be over. I perfectly agree with what Professor Weber says in the quotation he gives from his essay, and I myself always thought Dr. Goldstücker's inference from the instance about Kaśmir was extremely weak. But I contend that my instance is not one containing merely the "*first* person," but it is one in the present tense, and given purposely to illustrate the use of that tense in a certain sense, and that sense therefore the present tense in the instance given must have. The passage is exactly similar to *Aruṇad yavanah sâketam*, the historical value of which is admitted by Professor Weber. The translation Professor Weber gives of the passage under discussion does not seem to remove the obscurity in which he says mine was shrouded.

With regard to the second point, I must complain of Professor Weber's not believing what I say with regard to myself. The exigencies of the controversy do not, I think, require this. I again distinctly state that the reason why I was silent as regards Dr. Goldstücker's second instance was that I did not agree with him in his interpretation of it, and my object in the article was not to criticize him, but to throw additional light on the date of Patañjali. I considered his rendering very questionable when I first read the book, about ten years ago, some time before I wrote an article in the *Native Opinion* reviewing his theory of Pâṇini's technical terms. My principal reason was the impropriety of speaking of a sect or school as besieged. And I had, and have, a feeling that the names of the Buddhistic schools generally known

to Sanskrit authors could not have originated so early. Dr. Kern's book I saw and glanced over the preface of, several years ago; but I did not remember his explanation of the word *Mádhyamika* when I wrote my article in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I. p. 299, though I always thought the word meant some such thing. But soon after the article appeared, and before Professor Weber's criticism on it was received, I read Dr. Kern's preface again, so that it was not Professor Weber that first directed my attention to it.

Now to come to Professor Weber's remarks on my article at vol. II. p. 69. The Professor still adheres to his interpretation of the passage *Mathurâyâḥ Pâṭaliputram pûrvam*. And his reason is Patañjali's use of the word *vyavahita* in that connection, which he thinks means 'distance.' Now the word *vyavahita*, so far as I know, never means 'distance,' but 'covered,' 'concealed,' or 'separated' *by something intervening*; as, for instance, England is *vyavahita* from us, by several countries and seas intervening; or in the word Râmeṇa, *ṇ* is *vyavahita* from *ṛ* by *â*, *m*, and *e*. The context of the passage in Patañjali is shortly this:—In the sûtra *achaḥ parasmin pûrva vidhau*, the question is, 'With reference to what standard is the word *pûrva* or 'preceding' to be understood? For a time he takes the *nimitta*, or condition of a grammatical change, to be the standard, and says that the principal example of this sûtra, viz. *paṭvyâ* or *mṛidvyâ* is also explained or shown to fit with the rule on this supposition. How does it fit? The state of the case in *paṭvyâ* is this:—first we have *paṭu*, then *î* the feminine termination changed to *y*, and after that, *â*, the termination of the instrumental singular. This last is the *nimitta* of the change of the previous *î* to *y*. Then what is to be done by applying the sûtra is—to regard *y* as a vowel and change the *u* of *paṭu* to *v*. But says the objector, the rule in the sûtra does not apply here on the supposition you have made, for the *u* of *paṭu* is not *pûrva* from *â*, which is the *nimitta*, as it is separated from it by *y* substituted for *î*. Then, says the original speaker, the word *pûrva* is used not only to signify a thing that immediately precedes another, but also to signify one that precedes but is separated from it by something intervening, as in such expressions as this: "Pâṭaliputra is *pûrvam* from Mathurâ," in which *pûrvam* is used though several places intervene between the two towns. Now, it is plain that this is given as a phrase in use and current among the people to serve as an authority for taking *pûrva* in a certain sense, and therefore, if Professor Weber's inference is correct, all people using the expression, *i. e.* the Sanskrit-speaking population of India, must have lived to the east of Pâṭaliputra. The only proper meaning therefore is "Pâṭaliputra is to the east of Mathurâ." And even if we take Professor Weber's explanation, "Pâṭaliputra is before Mathurâ," it does not follow that the speaker, supposing he was Patañjali—which however is not the case—was to the east of Pâṭaliputra, any more than it does when I say "the horse is before the cart" that I am to *that* side of the cart, and not *this*, or to *this*, and not *that*. The word *pûrva* no doubt means primarily 'before,' but when applied to show the relations between places the anteriorness of one from another is to be taken with reference to the usual standard in such comparisons, namely—the rising *sun*. *Hence the word comes to signify the 'east.'* and as used in connection with places it has always this sense. I have no doubt therefore that my interpretation of the passage is correct, and that it does not in any way militate against the conclusion I have drawn from another as to the native place of Patañjali. I do not see why a district very near Oudh may not be said to be situated *prâchâm deśe*. Benares was not the point from which the bearings of different places in India were taken. Prâgdeśa, Udagdeśa, &c. were settled terms; and one living in Prâgdeśa could call himself a Prâchya. Amara defines Prâgdeśa as that lying to the south and east of the Sarâvatî.

Professor Weber gives no reason for thinking that *yathâ laukika-vaidikeshu* is not a *vârtika*. But this passage is explained by Patañjali and made the subject of a dissertation just as other *vârtikas* are. The whole argument given by the author of the *Mahâbhâshya*, a portion of which was reproduced by me in my article, is contained in these three aphorisms, the last of which is the one under discussion:—1, *Siddhe śabdârtha-sambandhe*; 2, *lokatortha-prayukte śabdaprayoge śâstrena dharma-niyamaḥ*; 3, *yathâ laukika vaidikeshu*. These are all explained and, as texts, descanted upon by our author; he mentions Âchârya* incidentally as the author in connection with the first of these, which Âchârya must be Kâtyâyana here, since these are not *sûtras*, and Nagojibhaṭṭa† expressly calls the first two *vârtikas*. The third also must then be a *vârtika*, since it is of a piece in every respect with the other two, and completes the argument, which without it would be incomplete. The aphorism cannot be the composition of Patañjali, for he makes it the subject of his criticism, and says that the words contained in it are Dakhani words. I cannot understand the connection between this passage and the one quoted by Professor Weber about the use of *sarasî* in the South. What has

* Ballantine, pp. 47, 49. † Ibid. p. 53.

that passage to do with the circumstance of this being a *vârtika?* If Professor Weber means to show that Patanjali was acquainted with the lingual usages prevailing in the South, I do not deny that he was, and it is just the lingual usages in that part of the country that are noticed even here. But this does not destroy the character of the passage as a *vârtika.* It must be a *vârtika* for the above reasons: hence my inference that Kâtyâyana was a Southerner. The Professor is inclined to account for allusions to Southern usage contained in the *Mahâbhâshya* from the fact that it was preserved in books in the South, *i. e.* probably, he thinks them interpolations. Are we similarly to think that the *Mahâbhâshya* was preserved in books and unfairly treated by the people of Surâshtra, by the Kambojas, and by the Prâchyas and Madhyamas, because it contains allusions to their usage also? (see p. 62 ed. Ballantine.)

Inferiority in rank there is in Patañjali in comparison with Kâtyâyana. It does not matter if Patañjali's views are adopted by Kaiyata and others. They are so adopted because he was the last of the three Munis. When the three Munis differ, the rule for one's guidance is *yathottaram munînâm prâmânyam,*—the later the Muni, the greater the authority. But still Pâṇini is always regarded as first in rank, Kâtyâyana second, and Patañjali third.

I need not say anything on the few remaining points. Professor Weber has made one or two admissions, and as to the rest I leave it to my readers to judge of the merits of the controversy. I reserve one point for discussion on some future occasion, especially as Professor Weber has not given prominence to it now. I do not believe that the *Vâkyapadîya* and the *Râjataranginî* afford evidence of the *Mahâbhâshya* having been tampered with by Chandrâchârya and others. They appear to me to say that these persons promoted the study of grammar, brought the *Mahâbhâshya* into use, and wrote several works themselves.

In conclusion, I give Professor Weber my sincere thanks for the many good and encouraging words he has said about me. I am gratified to find that my criticisms have not offended him. Controversies on philological or literary points ought not to embitter the feelings of the disputants against each other, but unfortunately they very often do so. I am therefore particularly glad that our controversy is an exception to the general rule in this respect.

R. G. BHANDARKAR.

## CHAND'S MENTION OF ŚRÎ HARSHA.

With reference to Mr. F. S. Growse's note on Śrî Harsha at p. 213 of the *Indian Antiquary,* I would observe that the MSS. read *naraûrâva,* not *naraurûpa,* in the passage in question, and it would be interesting to know by what process *naraûrâva* and *sâraṁ* are made to mean "pre-eminent in arts of poetry"; further, the MSS. have सद्दं not सुद्द, and in consequence the rendering "wreath of victory" is purely imaginary.

The line rendered "who composed the chronicle of king Bhoja" stands in the MSS. "*jinai seta bandhyan tibhojan prabandham,*" which is, I admit, not very easy to translate. There is a reading *bhojaṁ* which is far better; the anuswâra is here merely inserted to make out the metre, which, being Bhujangi, requires a long syllable at that place, thus—

jî nâi sêt | â bân dhyân | ti bhô jâṁ | prâ bân dhâm.

I willingly admit the new reading and the consequent mention of the *bhojaprabandha*, but the syllable *ti* is thus left unaccounted for, as well as *seta.* My rendering proceeded upon the supposition that *ti* stood for *tri,* and *bhojan* can only mean 'enjoyment.' The line in this aspect appears to allude to Kalidâsa's wide-spread popularity as a writer of plays and poems, which are figuratively compared, by a familiar image in Indian literature, to the *Setubandha,* or bridge between India and Ceylon. *Setu* is further used to signify any work which, from its merits and established authority, acts as a dyke or protection to laws, institutions, or literature, against heresies of belief or taste. Putting these considerations together, I essayed the rendering quoted by Mr. Growse. If we are to give up this rendering, then we must have an explanation of *seta* and *ti,* otherwise our line is still partially untranslated. The rendering "who composed the chronicle of king Bhoja," though so dogmatically asserted to be correct, will certainly not stand.

JOHN BEAMES.

*Balasor, July 12, 1873.*

*The same.*

Mr. Growse is a well-known authority on Chand's Epic, but it seems to me he is not correct in regarding the "*Naishadha* as a poem of considerable antiquity." Chand, in the prefatory chapter of his *Prithirâja Râsau,* mentions the names of Śeshnâg, Vishṇu, Vyâsa, Sukadeva, Śrî Harsha, Kalidâsa, Dandamâli, and Jayadeva; but these are not placed in chronological order, as Mr. Growse supposes. For the great bard Kalidâsa, who graced the court of Vikramâditya and Bhoja, flourished some centuries before Srî Harsha. Śrî Harsha was one of the five Brâhmans who were invited by Adisura, king of Gaur. This fact is clearly pointed out in the historical work on Ben-

gal entitled *Kshitîśavaṁśavali charitam*, edited and translated by Mr. W. Pertsch of Berlin. Śrî Harsha wrote the *Gauorvîshakulapraśasthi* in honour of his patron the king of Gaur, and he himself confesses, in the concluding lines of his work, that he received a couple of betel-leaves in the court of the king of Kanauj as a token of the great regard in which he was held. The king of Kanauj here was evidently Jayachandra, or Jayanti Chandra, son of Govindachandra, under whose patronage Śrî Harsha completed his *Naishadha*, and who was a contemporary of Kumâra Pâla, the disciple of Hemachandra. This Jayachandra and Prithirâja were cousins: consequently Chand Bardai, who immortalizes the fame of the latter king in his epic, was also a contemporary of Śrî Harsha. This would place Śrî Harsha in the 12th century. Râja Śekhara is quite correct, then, in his remarks about Śrî Harsha, because these are in perfect keeping with the other facts under notice. Chand writes only a couplet in praise of Śrî Harsha, and he was quite wrong in ascribing the authorship of *Bhojaprabhandha* to Kalidâsa, since the work was written by Ballâl.

Ram Dâs Sen.

*Berhampur, Bengal, 14th July* 1873.

## PERSIAN STANZAS ON ATTRACTION AND REPULSION.

*Selected and Translated by E. Rehatsek, Esq., M.C.E*

IV.—*From the Mesnawy of Jellâl-al-dyn Rûmy.—3rd Daftar.*

خاک گوید خاک تن را باز گرد
ترک جان کن سوي ما آ همچو گرد
جنس مائي پيش ما اوليتري
به کز آن تن وا رهي و زو بري
گويد آري ليک من پابسته ام
گرچه همچون تو ز هجران خسته ام
تري تن را بجويند آبها
کاي تري باز آ ز غربت پيش ما
گرمي تن را همي خواند اثير
که ز ناري راه اصل خويش گير
هست هفتاد و دو علت در بدن
از کششهاي عناصر بي رسن
علت آيد تا بدن را بگسلد
تا عناصر همدگر را وا هلد
چار مرغند اين عناصر بسته پا
مرگ و رنجوري و علت پاگشا
پايشان از همدگر چون باز کرد
مرغ هر عنصر يقين پرواز کرد
جذبهٔ اين اصلها و فرعها
هر دمي رنجي نهد در جسم ما
تا که اين ترکيبها را بر درد
مرغ هر جزوي باصل خود پرد
حکمت حق مانع آيد زين عجل
جمعشان دارد بصحت تا اجل

The dust to body's dust exclaims:—"Return
The soul abandon; join us like a rose;
Thou'rt of our nature and our kind,
Prefer to leave that body, flee to us!"
The dust replies:—"My feet are shackled so,
Although like thee I, separated, groan."
The moisture of the body waters seek:—
"Humidity, come back from wand'ring far!"
The sphere of fire invites the body's heat:—
"Thou art of fire! Thine origin approach!"
Maladies seventy-two do bodies feel
From the attraction of the elements
Diseases try to tear the body up,
That the elements four may separate.
Four they are, these birds with captive feet,
But death, disease, and dissolution fell
Untie the ligatures of the nimble feet;
And liberate each elemental bird.
Attraction of these roots and branches great
Subjects our body every moment to disease,
That these connections may be severed all,
And every bird to its original fly!
But the wisdom of the Lord forbids this haste,
And keeps them join'd in health till doom arrives

## EARLY ROMAN INTERCOURSE WITH INDIA.

The proof of early commercial intercourse between the Romans and Singhalese, founded on the discovery of coins, is by no means a solitary instance. Numerous examples of similar finds in Southern India can be adduced. In the second volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, mention is made of the discovery of a number of gold coins at Nellor in 1789, two of which, a Hadrian and a Faustina, were in possession of the writer of the notice. In 1800 a pot full of gold coins, and in 1801 another of silver denarii, were found in different parts of the Coimbator province. A third instance is mentioned by Colonel Mackenzie as occurring in the same district in 1806. In 1817 a silver coin of Augustus was found in excavating an old kist-

rien or *pându kuli*, as they are there called, also in Coimbatore. After a heavy fall of rain in the monsoon of 1842, a pot containing 522 denarii of Augustus and Tiberius, with a few of Caligula and Claudius, was laid bare in the same district; and in 1840 a hoard was discovered near Sholapur, a few specimens only of which were secured, and proved to be aurei of Severus, Antoninus, Commodus, and Geta. I myself possess an aureus of Trajan found at Kadapâ, and a solidus of Zeno at Madurâ.

All these afford testimony of the frequent intercourse of Roman traders with the Indian Ocean, but still more decisive proof is supplied by the existence of great numbers of Roman coins occurring with Chinese and Arabian pieces along the Coromandel coast. The Roman specimens are chiefly oboli, much effaced, but among them I have found the epigraphs of Valentinian, Theodosius, and Eudocia These are found after every high wind, not in one or two places, but at frequent intervals, indicating an extensive commerce between China and the Red Sea, of which the Coromandel coast seems to have been the emporium. The Western traders must either have circumnavigated Ceylon, or come through the Paumbam passage, probably by the latter way, but in either case must have communicated freely with Ceylon. We know from Muhammadan writers that this commercial intercourse was continued by Arabian merchants from the eighth to the fourteenth centuries, and from these, and the narratives of the early Portuguese voyagers hitherto little explored, valuable information concerning Ceylon may probably be gleaned. W. E. *in Notes and Queries, Apr.* 19, 1873.

INSCRIPTION OF GONDOPHARES.

The Ariano-Pali Inscription, noticed by Prof. Dowson as having been forwarded to England by Dr. Leitner, was discovered by Dr. Bellew at Shâhbâz-garhi, and is now in the Lahore Museum. Before seeing Prof. Dowson's notice I had already deciphered the name of Gondophares (*Guduphara-rase*), with the year of his reign and the name of the month, *Vesâkh*, etc. This inscription is of considerable interest, as it is almost certain that Gondophares is the king Gondoferus of the Legenda Aurea, who is recorded to have put St. Thomas to death. The tradition is supported by the date of the inscription, which I read as *Samvat* 103, the fourth day of the month *Vesâkh* (equivalent to A.D. 46), in the 26th year of the king's reign. The inscription ends with the words *sa-puyae mâtu-pitupuyae*, "for his own religious merits, and for the religious merit of his father and mother." It is therefore only a simple record of the building either of a *Stupa* or of a *Vihâr* by some pious Buddhist. The stone has been used, perhaps for centuries, for macerating spices, and the middle part of the inscription is nearly obliterated. In 1863 I discovered the base of an Ionic pillar in the ruins of a temple at Shahdheri, which I have identified with the ancient Taxila. I have now got a second base in much better preservation, and two Ionic capitals. These formed part of a Buddhist Vihâr, which cannot be dated later than B C. 80, as I found twelve coins of Azas carefully secreted under one of the statue pedestals.—A. C.

With regard to the inscription referred to by General Cunningham . . . the inscription, though not the stone, was discovered by Dr. Leitner, who, after many useless attempts, finally and after much labour succeeded in restoring the whole of the inscription. Dr. Bellew had discovered the stone, on which only "IX" was visible, and had abandoned it at Hoti Murdan, in Dr. Johnson's compound. Several years afterwards, in 1870, he authorized Dr. Leitner to take away anything he might have left at Hoti Murdan. Dr. Leitner, after personal inspection, got the stone carried down to Lahore by bullock-cart, and there got the inscription both lithographed and photographed. . . The discovery of the stone therefore belongs to Dr. Bellew, that of the inscription to Dr. Leitner.—*Editor, Trübner's Record, June* 1873.

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES

Dr. Leitner has taken with him to Europe large collections of antiquities, statues, arms, coins, and numerous interesting objects of natural history, all collected by himself, and referring to the various countries between Kâbul and Lhassa. These collections he has left at Vienna, where they will be shown in the Exhibition. It is expected that the Græco-Buddhistic sculptures brought over by Dr. Leitner will attract much attention, and prove that a school of art existed in the East, of which the founders probably migrated from Greece: it will also throw light on a very obscure portion of Indian history, and show the relations that existed between the Baktrian Satraps and Buddhism.—*Trübner's Record, June*, 1873.

CASTES OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

(*Continued from p.* 154.)

*Bhavasâr:*—A dyer caste in Gujarât, of somewhat inferior rank.

*Bharthara:*—In Gujarât, a caste of middle rank; sellers of parched grain, &c.

*Sagurio.*—In Gujarât (Surat Zillâ), a not uncommon caste of middle rank, who are gardeners and sell vegetables: habits similar to those of the lower classes of Hindu traders.

## ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF RÂMGARH HILL, DISTRICT OF SARGUJÂ.

BY V. BALL, M.A., GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

My duties as a Geological Surveyor have led me into many remote and seldom-visited localities in Western Bengal. Few of these have appeared to me more curious and interesting than the Râmgarh hill, in the district of Sargujâ, Chota Nâgpur Division.

Previous notices of some of the antiquities of the Râmgarh hill by Col. Ouseley and Col. Dalton, C.S.I., will be found in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.** In the paper by Col. Dalton there are some *technical details* of the architecture.

On the 22nd of March 1872 my camp reached Khûdri, a village some six or seven miles west of Lakanpur, in Sargujâ, and on the following morning early I started to explore the Râmgarh hill. Two miles south of Khûdri we passed through a miserable Gond (locally *Gor*) hamlet called Sâontâri, soon after leaving which the path became almost obliterated, and we found ourselves on the rise to the Râmgarh hill. Proceeding onwards for some distance through a tangled mass of charred and smouldering branches and logs, where the jungle had been set on fire, we at last emerged on a piece of flat ground shaded by a few mango and ebony trees, and bounded on the south by a wall of rock which rises perpendicularly for several hundred feet. At the foot of this wall an unusual luxuriance of the vegetation at once attracted attention,—ferns, species of Ficus, and other moisture-loving plants being abundant. On going a little closer the cause of this became apparent, as a grotto, to which there is an ascent by a few steps, opened out to view. There, from a fissure in the massive bed of sandstone, a constant stream of pure water spouts forth in so strange a way that it is no cause for wonder that the natives regard the place as sacred. Col. Dalton compares the fountain to the one which we are told issued from the rock at the touch of Moses.

I found the water refreshing but not cool; at the same time the temperature was not higher than that of the air, as Col. Dalton found it. This is easily explainable by the probable constancy of the temperature of the water, and the different seasons at which our visits were made, his being in the cold season, and mine towards the end of March.

The sandstone out of which the water gushes rests upon a seam of coaly shale 4 feet 5 inches thick, but not of much value for burning.

Leaving the fountain and grove, which are at the north-east corner of the rectangular block of sandstone which forms the main mass of the hill, and renders it a conspicuous and easily *recognisable object for many miles around*, we proceeded round by the eastern side to the south. The general level of the path, which runs for nearly three-fourths of the way round the base of the rectangular mass, maintains an elevation of about 2600 feet above the sea, or of 600 below the summit of the hill.

High up on the south-east corner, water trickles down over the vertical face of the cliff till it is caught by a ledge of rock, which doubtless serves to redirect its course and cause its appearance on the north-east. After passing rather more than three-fourths of the way along this path, the attention is arrested by a rudely cut model of a temple or memorial stone which is about four feet high. In the lower portion of it there is a cavity for the reception of a tablet. But no vestige remains of one now, if it ever did exist. This object the natives call *mal karu*. It is on the right hand of the path. A few steps further, on the left, there is a block of sandstone, which, if the attention were not specially drawn to it one might pass without remarking anything particular about it. It is, however, of some interest, being artificially hollowed, with an entrance facing to the west. This block measures externally 3 ft. 5 in. by 3 ft. 8 in. by 6 ft. The entrance is 1 foot 5 inches by 1 foot 4 inches, and the internal length 3 feet 10 inches. The bottom is now somewhat filled up, but it is evident that there was room for a man to creep inside and squat down. The natives call it 'Muni gofa'—the Muni's den. Close by this are the remains of an old wall built of ancient stones.

A short distance beyond, the ascent of the great block of sandstone commences by the only practicable route: this is at the south-west corner.

* Vol. XVII. pt. i. (1848), pp. 65-68, and vol. XXXIV. pt. ii. (1865) pp. 23-27.

After a stiffish climb for about 400 feet, the path passes under an arched entrance, which shows some skilful carving, into a small temple in which there is an image of Mahâdeva, close to which, as it were on the very corner of the hill, there is a cleared space surrounded by a wall or breastwork, from which a magnificent view of the country to the south and south-west can be obtained. From this point there is a sheer descent of not less than 1,000 feet, and a pebble thrown over would have to travel that distance before it reached the tops of the trees in the jungle below. A further ascent of less than 50 feet by a made staircase, and the remains of another old building are reached. Here there are two old images of Durgâ and one of Hanumân. From this the path runs along a ridge to the summit of the hill, 100 feet higher, the elevation of which above the sea, according to the Topographical Survey, is 3206 feet. While passing along the ridge the existence of a cap of from 60 to 70 feet of trap, resting on the sandstone, first becomes apparent. Here was an opportunity of testing a theory put forward by the late Captain Forsyth in his *Central Highlands of India* that a trap soil will not support Sâl (*Shorea robusta*) trees. There were some very fine trees growing on this trap, and I have met with not a few similar instances.

On the highest point of the hill there is a very tumble-down old temple, of which however the inner wall still remains. Whether a disinclination to interfere with a structure which is said to be of supernatural origin, parsimony, or want of religious zeal, is the cause of the dilapidation of this unquestionably ancient building, I do not undertake to say; but, in spite of the fact that there is a *mela* held there every year, I am strongly inclined to believe that none of the Râjas or Zamindârs care very much about the place, otherwise the wretched and overgrown condition of the approaches and the ignorance even of the village Baigas who profess to do pujâ there, as to what the hill really contains, are perfectly inexplicable. Even the custodian of the temple, a fakir, who I was warned would hurl big stones at me if I attempted the ascent, had deserted the place. Still tradition asserts that some 'sâheb' was prevented from ascending by this fakir.

Inside the temple on a sandstone stand there are images of Lakshman, Balsundri Junkî, and Râja Janak. They appear to be made of trap, but, owing to the thickness of the crust of dirt and ghee upon them, I could not, without being guilty of desecration in the eyes of my followers, examine them sufficiently closely to make certain of the material. Col. Dalton mentions the existence of a tank near the summit. This my guide was unable to point out, and as there was still much to be seen I was unable to spend time in searching for it. Some distance below the temple there is a spring which yields water at all seasons. This is no doubt the source of supply of the fountain below. It must have been invaluable when the hill was used as a place of retreat. Another hill near the Main Pât was said to have been used for the same purpose. There is but one steep and difficult ascent to it, which might be easily guarded. An old tank still exists on the top. It is said that the women and treasure of the Sargujâ Râjas used to be sent there during the incursions of the Marâthâs, and at other times when the district was disturbed.

Having enjoyed the magnificent view of the Main Pât and other surrounding plateaux and ranges, and the cool breezes which played about the top of the hill, we descended again to the fountain and then struck eastward along a spur. Passing an old gateway described by Col. Dalton, we continued along the path for about a mile till we reached the N.W. end of a very singular tunnel known as the Hathpor. It is situated close to the north end of the spur, about a mile from the village of Udaypur. Although its name implies that it is made by hand,* I sought in vain for evidence of its being artificial. I can only attribute its origin to the trickling of water through crevices in the sandstone. There is no trace, however, of any slip or dislocation of the strata, such as is a usual cause of such phenomena. The stream having found its way through an immense mass of sandstone has been at work for ages enlarging the passage, and the present result is a tunnel 160 paces long, and, as Col. Dalton has described it, 12 high and 8 broad, but it varies in places in both dimensions.

When about to enter its gloomy but cool re

* Is it not a corruption of *Hathipola* —'the Elephant gate'?—ED.

CAVE OF RAMGARH HILL.

Fig. 1.

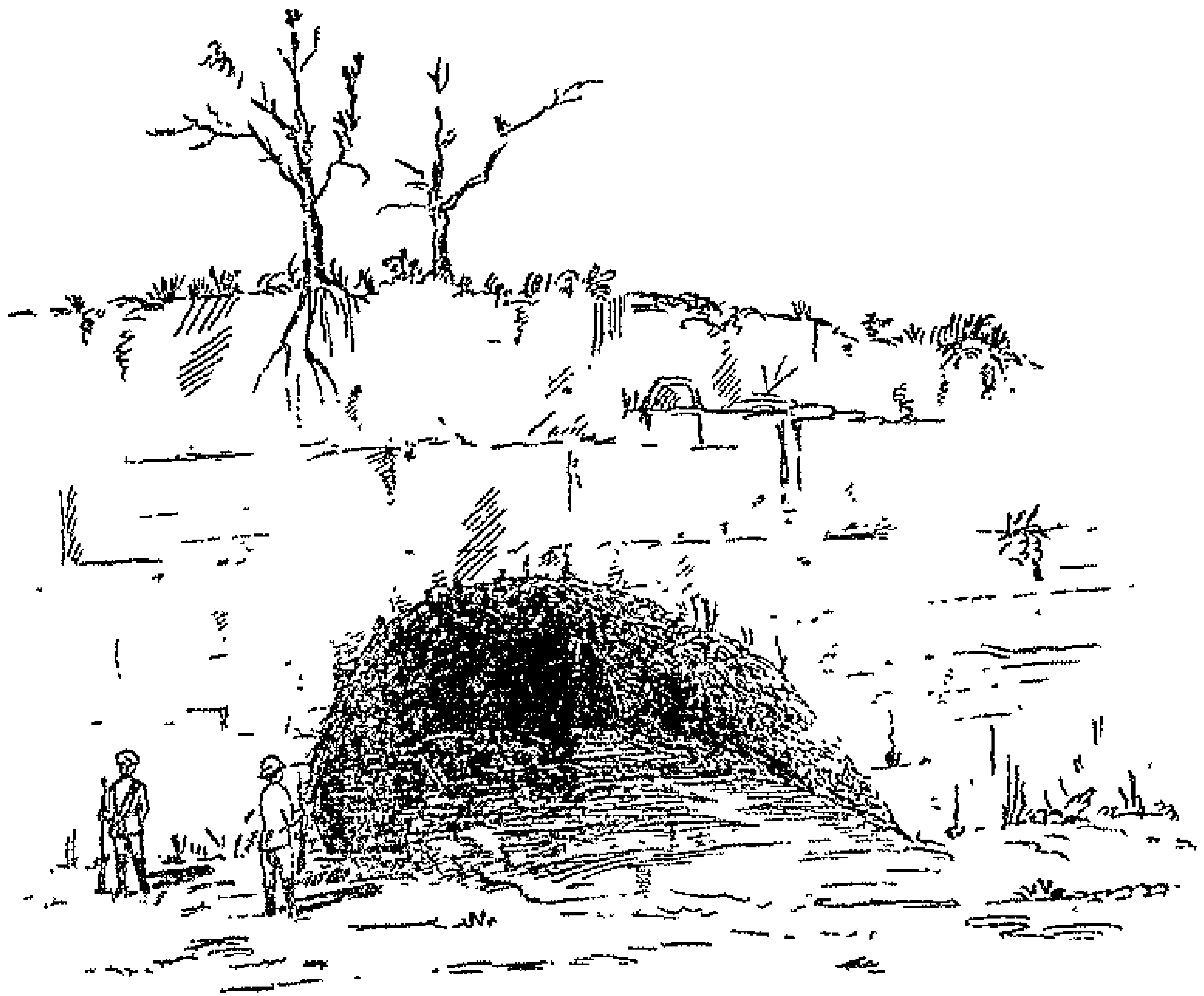


Fig. 2.

CAVE AT THE HATHIPOR, RAMGARH HILL.

Upper Bench.

Lower Bench.

Floor

Lr Bench

Lr Bench

ROCK

Outer Chamber

ROCK

PLAN.

Scale 1 in. = 100 ft.

Fig. 4.

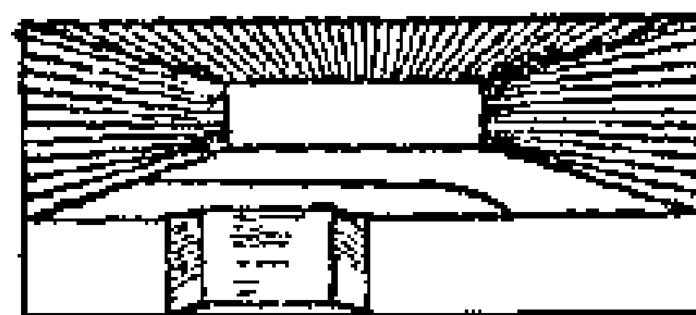


Fig. 3.



SKETCH PERSPECTIVE SECTIONS
OF INTERIOR

cesses I recalled Col. Dalton's remark that at the time of his visit it had all the appearance of being the dwelling-place of a family of tigers, so I took the precaution of calling up my rifle-bearer to be at hand in case of need. When about halfway through, I saw by the dim light some animate object and a pair of glaring eyes on one of the ledges of rock in front of me. It proved to be a young wood-owl who clapped his bill in furious rage at the intruders and then made several abortive attempts at flight.

At the south-east end of the tunnel, on the south side, a face of rock appears to have been chiselled off for some purpose, possibly for the reception of an inscription which was never written. Close by there is a small cave to which you ascend by a few steps: it has been partially enlarged artificially, but there is nothing further remarkable about it.

Returning through the Hathpor to the north-west, the stream is found to take its rise in a basin or horse-shoe-shaped valley of very singular appearance. On the south rises a cliff of sandstone, high up on the face of which are seen the entrances to two caves. A climb up over débris from the mouth of the tunnel brings one, after an ascent of more than 100 feet, to the foot of a double flight of stairs cut in the solid rock (see *fig.* 1).

Ascending the stairs you find yourself on the threshold of a rectangular chamber cut in the rock. The accompanying plan and elevations of this chamber, on a scale of 1 to 100, will render the following brief description intelligible (*fig.* 2, 3, 4).

There appears to have been originally a natural cave here—at least the outer hollow shows overhead no sign of artificial excavation.

On the slope of the rock on the right of the staircase there are two deep grooves or channels, said by the natives to have been portions of the charmed circle drawn round Sîtâ or Janki by Râmachandra. To me they looked like drains for the purpose of carrying off water used in the ablutions of those who may have lived in the cave.

On the extreme right of the mouth of the outer cave there are two footprints somewhat rudely cut in the stone.

The entrance to the inner chamber is 12 feet wide at the mouth, but widens to 17 feet. To right and left of this the cave extends with perfect symmetry. The total length is 44½ feet. The breadth at the centre is 12 feet 10 inches, and the height varies from somewhat over 6 feet down to about 5 feet 6 inches. This is partly caused by the floor of the recesses to right and left being raised some six inches above that of the central portion, and partly to curvature of the face of the strata of rock which forms the roof. The walls have throughout been finished with cutting tools. The linear dimensions are not quite constant, but the differences are so small that they are neglected in the plan.

All round the wall there is a raised bench cut out of the solid rock. On three sides this bench is double, the inner portion being raised two inches above the outer. On the side facing the entrance the double bench is 8 feet 6 inches wide. In the recess portions of the entrance side there is a continuation of the lower bench, and on each side of the buttresses of the entrance small seats of rock have been left.

On the left side of the entrance there is an inscription in two lines, the last two or three letters in each of which are much damaged and illegible. A transcript is given (*No.* 1).

The letters are about two inches high, *but*, though clearly engraven, they do not exhibit much skill. I forwarded a copy of both this and the one which follows to Bâbu Râjendralâla Mitra, who informs me that these are in the Old Pali or Aśoka character and the Pâli language, but not of Aśoka. They record something about one Devadatta, but what it is I cannot make out. Many of the letters appear to be doubtful. Copies of both inscriptions were formerly forwarded to the Asiatic Society by Col. Dalton and Major Depree, but nothing was ever published regarding them, and the originals appear to have been lost. Col. Ouseley in his short account of the caves makes no allusion whatever to the inscriptions.

Although there are some broken idols resting on the bench, which represent, on the authority of the Baiga, Mahâdeva, Pârvati, and Bardevli, there is nothing to connect them with the cave.

There is no attempt whatever at ornamentation in this chamber, and the benches look so eminently suitable for sleeping purposes, while the recesses might be so readily shut off, as Col. Dalton suggests, for females, that I am inclined to believe that this cave must have

been constructed for, and used as, a dwelling-place.

The second cave is only some 30 or 40 yards off. The natives appeared to be unaware of its existence; they protested that there was only one cave, and I made on my first visit no particular search for a second. On referring to Col. Dalton's paper I found that he most distinctly *mentioned two caves, containing each an inscription*: accordingly I returned to the Hathpor on the following evening, and had the pleasure of introducing the two Baigas to the second cave, which they declared they had never seen or heard of before.

It is at about the same elevation as the other cave, but to reach it you have to scramble up a face of rock by means of some rudely cut steps. The interior shows little or no sign of artificial excavation, and the sole point of interest is that it contains an inscription in much bolder and larger character than the other (see No. 2).

Having completed my examination of this second cave, the old Baiga, who had come specially to show the cave which he supposed I wanted to see when I inquired about a second, led us through the tunnel, and out to the south-east corner of the spur, where he pointed out, high up on a face of sandstone, the entrance to a cave which he called *Lakshman's Bangalá*. It is much less easily accessible than the others, and to get to it over the rocks one has to use both hands and feet. It is simply a rectangular chamber cut in the rock. The dimensions are 9 feet 4 inches by 8 feet 5 inches by 3 feet 5 inches.

A portion only of the side of the entrance remains standing. I saw no trace of any inscription near it.

The local tradition regarding these caves is that they were the residence of Râmachandra for fourteen years previous to the expedition to Lañkâ, and that it was from this place that Sîtâ of Jânki was carried away.

The surrounding jungle is called Iran Ban.

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# INSCRIPTIONS AT THE AUDIENCE HALL OF PARÂKRAMA BÂHU, PULASTIPURA, CEYLON.

BY T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, C.C.S.

Pulastipura,* the capital of Ceylon from the middle of the 8th century to the beginning of the 14th (A.D. 769—1314), was at the height of its prosperity during the long and glorious reign of Parâkrama Bâhu the great, whose conquests extended over the whole of the Drâvidian portion of South India, and are even said to have extended to the coast of the Bay of Bengal.

The stream of Aryan invasion, having been stopped in South India, seems in the 6th century B.C. to have flowed over to Ceylon, for, according to the well-known tradition, Wijaya in 543 B. C. came over from the Sarkars (Siñhapura, then the capital of Kalinga), and conquered, or rather colonized, Ceylon. From that time to the present the history of Ceylon has been chiefly the record of the struggle between the Tamils advancing from South India, and the few Aryan Siñhalese driving back the Drâvidian hordes, and sometimes, as in Parâkrama Bâhu's time, carrying the war into the enemy's country.

The census taken in 1871 shows that of the present 2½ millions inhabiting Ceylon, about two-thirds of a million are pure Siñhalese;—in former times the population round the ruined cities must have been very great, but the Siñhalese were probably even then greatly outnumbered by their Tamil foes: slowly but surely they were driven southward; and the wave of battle constantly receding and advancing laid waste the fairest provinces of the island, until the whole country, from near the Jaffna Peninsula southwards to the mountain fastnesses of Kandy, became an almost uninhabited and pathless jungle. And in this jungle for some hundreds of years lay, forgotten and unknown, the ruins of what must have been the magnificent capital of Parâkrama Bâhu.

The ruins, since their re-discovery in 1820, have been often described, more especially by Sir E. Tennant in 1847 (*Ceylon*, vol. II. p. 583 *et seq.*), and have been well photographed by Lawton and Co. Kandy, in 1870, when they were partially cleared by order of Goverument. They stretch for about five miles along the *bând*

* Pulastipura, the ancient name of the city, was used by its founders, and its inhabitants, and recorded in all the inscriptions: the modern name is Tôpâ-wawa or Tôpâwe, is simply stupa-wâpi, the lake where the (ruined) stupas are. Sir E. Tennent calls the place Pollonarua, a corruption of Polonnaruwa, a name of uncertain derivation applied to the place in the artificial language used in Elu books, but probably never used in living speech.

No. 1.

No. 2.

SKETCH PLAN OF THE AUDIENCE HALL AT PULASTIPURA.

Stone Slab.

Slab ? Seat

Steps

b

a

1 2 3 4 5

5 7 6

## INSCRIPTION ON THE GREAT LION AT PULASTIPURA.

[illegible]

### ON THE COLUMNS.

1 [illegible]

2 [illegible]

3 [illegible]

4 [illegible]

5 [illegible]

6 [illegible]

7 [illegible]

8 [illegible]

of a large artificial lake, which must have been 10 or 12 miles round, and can be reached in 3½ days from Kandy,—there being a carriage road for the first 59 miles, and a cart road for the remaining 20. Just at the end of this road, and on the *bund* of the lake itself, once stood the hall in which these inscriptions were found, which has been renamed "the Audience Hall." All that remains now are 48 large stone pillars with carved capitals supported on a stone platform, round the base of which are sculptured a row of lions; there are also several fine stone slabs, a flight of entrance steps with handsomely carved balustrades, and the splendid Lion on which the inscription was found. This was lying almost entirely buried at some distance from the Hall, and was set up with great difficulty; it had probably been thrown out of the Hall by the Tamils when they took Pulastipura, and may formerly have stood between the inscribed pillars: search has been made for a second one, but as yet unsuccessfully.

The inscriptions have only lately been noticed, Sir E. Tennant making no mention of either the ruin or its letters; but they are very interesting, as affording a reliable glimpse at the state ceremonial of that place and time, from which conclusions, with a large degree of certainty, may be drawn regarding others in more distant places and in more ancient times.

According to the writing on the Lion and eight of the pillars, the high officials stand near the king in the following order (see the sketch plan) :—

| | |
|---|---|
| At pillar 8. Members of the Chamber of Commerce. | At pillar 1. The Secretary (*Kâyastha*) with the record-keepers. |
| 7. The Police. | 2. Prime Minister (*pradhâna*). |
| 6. Members of the council of wise men? Provincial governors. | 3. The Commander-in Chief (*senâdhipati*). |
| | 4. The chiefs (*adhipa*), seated. |
| *a* | 5. The heir-apparent (*yuwarâja*), seated. |

I am inclined to think that the king must have been seated in the position marked *a*, and not—as has been supposed—in that marked *b*: for he would thus have the lower officials behind him, the great ones facing him, and the heir-apparent seated at his right hand; whereas in the position marked *b*, the members of the Chamber of Commerce would have had the post of honour: now, although Parâkrama Bâhu was perhaps a very enlightened despot, and seems to have given the merchants or boutique (*kode*) keepers of the day a place in his Council of State, it is scarcely possible that they were nearer to his august person than the heir-apparent himself.

The transliteration,* which is unusually certain, is as follows :—

*On the great Lion.*

Śrî wîra durâja wîra *wesyâbhujaga* Nissanka Lañkeśwara Kâlinga chakrawartti swâmin wahanse wædæ hun wîra Siñhâsanayayi.

Translation.

*This is the mighty Lion-throne on which sat the glorious, powerful king, in whose arm is strength the Lord Emperor Kâlinga Nissanka Lañkeśwara.*

*First Pillar.*

Siñhâsanaye wædæ hun kalæ pot warana ætulu-wû kâyasthayanta sthânayayi.

*When he is seated on his Lion-throne, this is the place for the Secretary, amongst† the record-keepers.*

*Second Pillar.*

Siñhâsanaye wædæ hun kalæ pradhânayanta sthânayayi.

*When he is seated on the Lion-throne, this is the place for the prime minister.*

*Third Pillar.*

Siñhâsanaye wædæ hun kalæ senewiradnnta sthânayayi.

*When he is seated on his Lion-throne, this is the place for the commander-in-chief.*

*Fourth Pillar.*

Siñhâsanaye wædæ hun kalæ sepâ-warun hindina sthânayayi.

*When he is seated on his Lion-throne, this is the place where the chiefs sit.*

* In the transliteration *w* is used because the Siñhalese always pronounce the ව, corresponding to (and derived from) the Pâli [illegible], as our English *w*, and not as *v*. It is certainly probable, both from the traditions of the pandits, and from the collocations in which it occurs, that the Pâli letter is also *w*, and not *v*. *æ* is pronounced like the English *a* in *hat*, *æ* being simply the lengthened form of the same sound (nearly the French *ê* before *r*). Almost every word requiring some notice, and the number of the words being altogether so small, the notes on them are thrown into the form of an alphabetical vocabulary.

† See *ætulu* in the vocabulary.

*Fifth Pillar.*

Siñhâsanaye wædæ hun kalæ yuwarâja-wa siṭi ge . . . . n wahanse hindina sthânayayi.

*When he is seated on his Lion-throne, this is the place where . . . . who is the heir-apparent, sits.*

*Sixth Pillar.*

Siñhâsanaye wædæ hun kalæ asampaṇḍi-bhâraka-mâṇḍalika-waruṇṭa sthânayayi.

*When he is seated on his Lion-throne, this is the place for the mâṇḍalis, the unequalled wise men (or for the governors of the districts Asam and Paṇḍi).*

*Seventh Pillar.*

Siñhâsanaye wædæ hun kalæ chaurâsi-waruṇṭa sthânayayi.

*When he is seated on his Lion-throne, this is the place for the sheriffs.*

*Eighth Pillar.*

Siñhâsanaye wædæ hun kalæ kaḍa-goshṭiyehi-ættawuṇṭa sthânayayi.

*When he is seated on his Lion-throne, this is the place for the members of the council of commerce.*

VOCABULARY

OF WORDS USED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS A.D. 1150.

A s a m, 6.* (Sansk. *asama*), *unequalled* (? name of country)

Æ p â. I had great doubts about this word, and for a long time supposed it must be 'æmati= amâtyâ,' but, just as this paper is being sent off, the expression in another inscription 'raja-pâ,' which can scarcely be anything else than 'râja-pati,' leads me to the inference that the word must be *æpá* for 'adhi-pa'; and this is confirmed on consulting the facsimile. The word is not given in the dictionaries, but seems to me to be most probably correct. It means therefore *chiefs*. Still it is curious that of them alone (besides the king and the heir-apparent) the word hindina, 'sit,' should be used. æ is the Elu equivalent of Sanskrit *ádi* at the end of compounds.

Æ t u l u - w u, 1 (prob. Sansk. *antar*: with adj. suffix *wu*, really past p. of we-nawâ, to become), *including, with.*

Æ t t a w u n t a, 8. Dat. pl. of ættawâ (S. *âtman*), *person*. The modern form would be ættâ, dat. pl. ættanṭa, and the addition of the suffix *wa* is remarkable.

K a ḍ a, 8. Crude form of *Kaḍaya* (contracted into *Kaḍe*), *boutique*, native shop. (Drâvidian.)

K a l æ, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Loc. sing. of kala (Sansk. *kála*), 'time.'

K â l i n g a, on the Lion,—*from Kálinga*. This epithet may have been adopted by Parâkrama Bâhu the Great, either because the father of Wijaya, the first —and rather mythical—king of Ceylon, B.C. 543, came from there, or more probably because he himself was a native of Kalinga. *Vide* Cunningham, *Geog. of India*, vol. I. p. 515 *et seq.*

K â y a s t h a y a n t a, 1. Dat. pl. of kâyasthaya (Sanskr. *kâyastha* + nominal suffix *ya*), *writer, scribe*.

G o s h ṭ y e h i, 8. Loc. sing. of goshṭiya (Sansk. *goshṭhi*), *an assembly*; not found in Siñhalese Dictionaries.

C h a k r a w a r t t i, on the Lion. A king who has tributary kings under him, and has no opponent within his own realm; not necessarily, at least in Siñhalese usage, a universal king—*emperor, overlord*. (Note the *t* is always doubled in Ceylon.)

C h a u r â s i, 7. Not given in the dictionaries; asi is probably *sword*, and the word may mean *thief-punishers, executioners*; if so, it is characteristic to find these useful officers taking their places among the chiefs of the state. The word *chauroddharta* (Stenzler's *Yâjñavalkya*, II. 271) has suggested to me that our word might be 'chauraddhi,' and mean thief-catcher, peon, *s* being much like *ddh* in the Siñhalese alphabet of the 12th century, and that form would be an almost inexplicable corruption; the *s* seems quite clear, and it would be still more unlikely to find peons or police than executioners in the privy council. The word probably means body-guard, or something similar, but its form is remarkable.

D u r â j a, on the Lion. The word is not found in the dictionaries. It is probably Sanskrit *duran-dhara*, and means *burden-bearer* or *chief*.

N i s s a n k a, on the Lion. (Sansk. *niśśanka*, in which way the word is spelt in other inscriptions by this king), *steady*, unhesitating: an epithet of Parâkrama Bâhu, king of Ceylon and South India, 1148-1181 A.D. He is called in two or three inscriptions simply Niśśanka Malla. The very curious proclamation, apparently addressed to the people just before he died without an heir, and recorded on a stone disinterred by me at the gate of his palace, in which, foreseeing the anarchy which would ensue, he urges the people *to choose* a proper ruler, begins with a Sanskrit stanza of which the last words are "Hear these wise counsels, *they are spoken by Niśśanka Malla*."

P a ṇ ḍ i, 6. (Sansk. *Paṇḍita*), *learned*. See *Nâmâwaliya*, edit. C. Alwis, p. 47, stanza 179; modern form 'paṇḍita.'

P o t, 1. pl. of pota (Sanskrit *pusta*), *a book*.

P r a d h â n a y a n t a, 2. Dat. pl. of pradhâna-yâ (Sanskr. *pradhâna*). Both in Sanskrit and Pâli (conf. *Waskadua Abhid.* 340, 'mahâ matto pa-

* The numbers following the words refer to the pillars as numbered on the plan.

dhânañ cha'); the word seems to mean exclusively *prime minister*; the pl. form is therefore probably to be taken here also *honoris causâ*, especially as ministers (ɶmati waru) are mentioned below (Pillar 4).

Bhâraka, 6. The meaning of this word is doubtful; the Sanskr. *bhâraka*, load, is of unfrequent occurrence, and fits but badly here into the sense. It may possibly be the name of a district, or be equal to modern Siñhalese bâra ɶtewa, having charge of, in which case Asam and Pandi must be names of districts—? Asam and Pândirata. In the absence of any authority for these latter meanings, the word is taken in the translation in the Sanskrit sense.

Mândalika, 6. The word is not given in the dictionaries, but seems to mean either privy councillors, or rulers of subsidiary provinces, *provincial governors*. The latter sense is supported by the use in *Narendra-charit'-âvalokana-pradipikâwa*, ch. 66, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLI. p. 197.

Ya,—nominal suffix added to almost all Sanskrit nouns in Siñhalese.

Yi,—suffix occurring only at the end of a clause, and signifying *this is*; applied to the latter of two nouns in apposition. The *y* is not pronounced, 'âsanaya yi' being pronounced 'âsanayai,' and is only used because the Siñhalese manner of *writing* does not admit of two vowels following each other in one word. The *i* seems to be connected with the contracted form in 'nawâ' for 'hiṭi nawa,' from Sansk. *sthâ*, or it may merely represent an emphatic raising of the voice at the end of the clause.

Yuwarâja, 5. The *heir-apparent*, crown-prince.

Radunta. See *senewi-radunta*.

Lañkeswara, Lord of Ceylon; a name of Parâkrama Bâhu the Great, found on his gold coin which Prinsep hesitatingly assigns (edit. Thomas, I. 421) to another. See *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XLI. p. 199.

Wa, 5. Suffix forming adj.; probably from root of 'we-nawâ,' *to become*.

Wû. Really p. part. of we-nawâ (see *wa*), but used as a suffix to adj.

Warana, 1. Pres. part. of war-anawa (Sanskr. *vṛ*), *surrounding, taking care of*.

Warun, 4. Suffix added to names of persons or animals to form the plural, prob. simply the acc. pl. of Sanskr. *vara*.

Warunta, 6, 7. Dat. of last.

Wîra, on the Lion. *Strength, heroism*.

Wahanse, 5, and on the Lion. A suffix to the names of persons added to the plural form, *the Honourable*. Probably Sanskr. *Bhâgyavant*.

Wesyâbhujaga, on the Lion. *Ga* is used in Elu poetry with the sense of upota; bhuja is *arm* (= Sanskr.), and what wesya has to do in this connection is so inexplicable that the reading is probably incorrect.

Wɶdɶ, on the Lion, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Past part. of wad-i-nawâ, *to proceed*, to arrive, to go: used of persons of importance, especially of kings and monks (Sansk. *vṛt*)—*vide* hindina.

Siti, 5. Past part of sit-i-nawâ (Sansk. *sthâ*); to stand, *to be*.

Siñhâsanaya, on the Lion, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. *Lion throne, royal throne, throne*; loc. ye. In this case there was actually a large lion, whose fine proportions remind one of the Assyrian bulls, and which formed the support, or one of the supports, of the royal seat. A frieze of lions runs round the building.

Senewi-radunta, 3. Dat. pl. honor. of 'senewi-rade' (Sansk. ? *sênâpati-râja*; the derivation of the second component uncertain), *commander-in-chief*.

Sthânaya, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. (Sansk. *sthâna*), *place*.

Srî, on the Lion.

Swâmîn, on the Lion. Acc. pl. of Swâmi, *lord*.

Hindina, 4, 5. Relative part. of hind-i-nawâ, *to sit*. 'Wɶda-hind-i-nawâ' is the honorific form of this verb, and is applied throughout to the king only; of the rest only the adhipâs and the yuwarâja are said to sit; the rest probably stood.

Hun. Past part. act. of above.

## MOUNT ABU.

BY JOHN ROWLAND, BENGAL U. C. S.

Mount Abu, or Arbuda—'the mount of wisdom,' in the territory of Sirohi in Râjputâna, is regarded as part of the Aravali range, but is completely detached on all sides. The formation is chiefly trap, and granite of good quality; small blocks of an inferior sort of white marble are also found all over the hill.

The mountain peaks are extremely irregular, often assuming fantastic shapes. The circuit of the base of the hill is supposed to be about 50 miles. The highest point is Guru Sikar, about 5650 feet above the sea. The ascent by the new road from Anâdrâ is very steep, and is accomplished on mules, or chairs carried by six or more coolies. The distance from the foot of the hill to the station of Abu on the summit is about five miles.

The station is charmingly situated on the

west side of the plateau of the hill, in a natural basin surrounded on all sides by lofty peaks. It partly overlooks the lake called the Nakhi-talâo, which by the natives is said to be unfathomable. It is clear, however, that it is formed by the closing up of a gorge on the west side, where the overflow runs off, and a *band* has lately been built to increase the depth of water, fears having been entertained that it might run dry or nearly so, should an exceptionally dry or hot season occur. There are several small islands with trees on them scattered about the middle of the *talâo*, but they are almost submerged, and the trees are fast decaying. A path has been made all round the lake, the straight lines of which sadly mar the picturesqueness of the spot.

The best view of the lake and station, embracing also a glimpse of the plain, is obtained from Bailey's Walk, so called from the officer (the present Magistrate) who made it: it extends from the station to "Sunset Point" (the favourite evening rendezvous of the residents and visitors), and crosses over one of the higher peaks of the mountain overhanging the lake. The scenery from these heights and from the sides of the hill is of wonderful beauty and great extent Early morning and evening are the most favourable times to enjoy it, as in the heat of the day the distant mountain ranges are often lost sight of in the haze. One misses here, however, the lovely tropical foliage seen to such advantage at many of the other hill stations, the trees on Abu being small and sparsely scattered about. Date palms and corinda bushes are to be met with everywhere, as well as several kinds of fig, and a few large banyan trees. But though the trees are small, their variety is great, and there is an ample field for the botanist on Abu and its surroundings. Owing to the rocky nature of the surface, there is very little alluvial deposit, and consequently scarcely any cultivation. Still every available patch of ground is made the most of, and wells sunk adjoining them for purposes of irrigation. The plots of land (they cannot be called fields) are watered by the Persian water-wheel, and one may often see and hear six or eight wheels in full work within a quarter of a mile's radius. Besides the Nakhi-talâo, there is a large tank at the village of Uriya, to the north-east of the station, where also the only really large cultivated space of ground is met with; but beyond one or two small *jhils*, which run dry in the hot weather, and a few small streams, there is no other water to speak of on the hill; and in hot seasons fears are entertained as to the lasting powers of the wells—indeed those in the station do run dry now and then. The villages on the summit strike a new-comer: the houses are built in the shape of wigwams, low, round, with pointed roofs, and are quite different from any seen in the plains below. The people are a wild-looking race, with long grizzly hair and beards, and scantily clothed; they always carry a bamboo bow and arrows; many of them wear a peculiar charm round their necks, representing Vishṇu riding a horse, generally embossed in silver and gilt. On inquiry I found that when a man loses his father he puts on one of these amulets, but for what purpose they could not tell me. The winter months in Abu are charming, the air is fresh and bracing, and the ground frequently white with hoar-frost. The sun, however, is hot in the day. Fires are necessary after sunset from December to the end of February. In the hot season punkas are seldom required, and at night the breeze is always pleasant. In the rains a good deal of fog hangs about the hill; but the fall is not so heavy as in the other sanitariums.

To the sportsman Abu offers many attractions. Seldom a day passes but news is brought into the station of a kill by a tiger or panther, but the game, though plentiful, is difficult to get at, owing to the facilities of escape afforded by the numerous rocks and caves all over the hill. Sambur abound* and do great damage to the crops of the villagers, who can ill afford to have their tiny *khets* cleared by deer; this, however, often happens, and many are the entreaties of the spoiled husbandman that the *sâheb* will come and kill the enemy. Bears abound at the foot of the hill, and are often killed by the native *shikâris*, who sit up for them at night over water. There are also said to be a few lions in the vicinity. At the base of the hill there is probably as much small game of every description to be met with as in any part of India—peafowl, hares, partridges, quail, small deer, &c. The peafowl is very sacred, as well as the

* The hill was overrun with Sambur until the year 1868, famous for the famine and drought. They died then in great numbers, and, though yearly increasing, are nothing like so plentiful as they were before that date

rock (blue) pigeon, and strict rules are laid down by Government for their preservation. Panthers do a good deal of damage on the hill, and the visitors and residents have to keep a sharp look-out on their pet dogs after sunset. Mutton is the only meat procurable on the hill, and fowls, the main stay of the Indian *khánsámán*, are dear and scarce. Owing to the pretended sanctity of Abu, and the prejudices, if we may so term them, of the natives, which Government has bound itself to protect (for we are only tenants of Abu), no cow, ox, or nilghai may be killed on the hill. The idea among the lower class is that Abu is supported on the horns of a bull; when he is tired of holding it on one horn he jerks it on to the other, and this accounts for the earthquakes so frequently felt up there. There is a story to the effect that a late Resident, tried to convince the natives of the absurdity of this notion, and, to prove it, ordered a cow to be killed on a certain day. It was slain, and, as ill luck would have it, the next day the most severe shock experienced for many years occurred. This was conclusive to the Hindu, the experimenter had to own his defeat, and say no more about beef for dinner. Whilst at Abu I met two French gentlemen travelling round the world. Their indignation was great when they heard they could get no 'biftek,' and expressed their wish that Abu belonged to the French, who, as they said, would not only kill oxen on the hill, but the inhabitants themselves if they opposed it. This, said they, would strengthen our bodies and position as well.

The visitor to Abu should not attempt to make any excursion or shooting expedition without a competent guide. No place is so easy to lose one's way in, and it is next to impossible for a stranger to find the road to a given spot, unless indeed it be on the main mule track: several instances have occurred of people losing their way.

The inhabitants of the plains at the foot of the hill, and also of many of the villages on the summit, are chiefly Bhills, a wild and lawless race of men. No native is safe if he is known to have a rupee on him; he is not only sure to be robbed of it, but if he shows the least resistance is murdered as well. The country is so wild that there is little chance of catching the actual delinquent, and it is only in cases of dakaity, where a large gang of men have been engaged in the crime, that justice overtakes the criminals. The road from Abu to Dísá was very unsafe even a year or two back for the traveller. If he did not suffer himself, his baggage was almost sure to be looted; but the energetic measures taken by Colonel Carnell, the Resident at Erinpurá, and the summary justice he metes out to these ruffians when caught, has been productive of much good. The only safe way to travel about is to take into your employ a Bhill guide, and the same system applies to the house-*chaokidár*, called a *Pagi*. If you have one of these men in your employ, his tribe are supposed to respect you and yours for his sake. They are said to be very faithful and susceptible of kindness shown to them. In height and make they are like the Gonds of the Central Provinces, but have not the flat features so often seen amongst the latter race. Their hair also is longer, and many of them have thick beards and moustaches. I did not notice whether the women were tattooed, as the Gond women always are, but as they are blacker than the latter I may not have observed it on that account. Their clothing is scanty, and ornaments are rarely seen about them, with the exception of the gilt charm before alluded to. Many of them carry a matchlock, and those who do not possess a gun, always have the bamboo bow and iron-pointed arrows, as well as a formidable knife. They are wonderful trackers of game, surpassing in this respect, it is said, the Gond or Bhaigar. Their villages do not, however, come up to a Gond settlement so far as neatness of appearance and cleanliness is concerned. Most of the latter in the Central Provinces are well built of bamboo and charmingly neat and clean: those I have seen of the Bhills have anything but that character. They are a jolly, jovial set of fellows amongst themselves, and laugh heartily at any joke or comic idea that strikes them.

A b u is celebrated for the number and beauty of its temples, especially those of the Jaina creed, some of them in perfect preservation, and others in complete ruins. At the base of the hill, on all sides, may be seen fine old shrines, a few still in use, but most of them dilapidated. I will endeavour to give some account of the chief of those I have seen, though there are a great many more that want of time and opportunity prevented my visiting.

The nearest shrine of any importance to the

station is that of the tutelary goddess of Abu,—**Arbuda Mâtâ.** It is a small rock-temple formed out of a natural cleft on the side of the hill and overlooking the station. The rock is surmounted by a small white shrine, built more for ornament than use, or, as one of the Jogis told me, it is meant to catch the eye from a distance, and this it certainly does from all sides. The approach to this temple is by a rough stair of some 450 steps, through a shady grove of mango and a few *champá* trees. As soon as a stranger is seen, there is a frantic rush to close all the doors, so that I could see nothing of the interior of the place, which must however be very small. One of the attendants told me that there was nothing but one large idol inside, no inscriptions or ancient relics The place is evidently one of some sanctity: many pilgrims were present when I was there, waiting to pay their devoirs to the goddess. The view of the station from the terrace is very fine—in fact the most extensive I have seen. As usual, the temple stands on the edge of a dry mountain torrent, but there is a spring of good water close by.

**Delwâdâ**:—Distant half a mile from the foot of the hill on which Arbuda Mâtâ stands, and about a mile north from the station,* are the celebrated temples of Dêlwâdâ or *Devâlwâdâ* (the 'place of temples')—undoubtedly among the most beautiful Jaina temples in India. Tod, in his *Western India*, has so fully described them, and his opportunities for investigation, knowledge of the people, their language, and religion, were such as to render it useless to attempt adding to his account.†

**Gaumukh**, or, as it is also called, 'Bastonji,' the shrine of Vasishtha, is situated fully 500 feet down the south-western slope of Abu, and about three miles from the station. The path is a tedious one, and the temple is reached by a long flight of steps from the summit. The descent is shaded by luxuriant foliage on all sides, and the spot is a favourite one for the sportsman, as sambur are frequently met with in the neighbourhood, and one or two tigers frequently prey upon the cattle of the Brahmans living at the temple. The first object on reaching the temple is the fountain supplied by water from a spout in the form of a cow's head, whence the name of the place. There are two small shrines on the edge of the tank, one containing an image of Mahâdeva, the other of Ganeśa; there are also two inscriptions on the sides, but they are too much worn to be legible. Close by is the temple, a plain brick edifice, surrounded by a high wall. The shrine of Vasishṭha stands alone in the middle of the quadrangle. I could not gain access to the interior, though I much wanted to, as I heard an inscription was to be found inside which gave the date of the brass figure standing outside facing the door, under an ovate-formed cupola, as described by Tod.‡ Tod affirms that he is one of the Dhâr Pramâras, the last of his race, and that he is supplicating the Muni for an act of violence and sacrilege committed by him. He has, however, none of the usual marks of royalty about him, such as are seen on the figure with the bow at Achaleśvara, and his position is the common one of all the memorial tablets in marble or stone. There are several small marble figures (bearded), both alone and with females beside them, in different parts of the temple. It is worthy of note that in nearly all the bearded figures I have come across, particularly those with swords, there is a boss, either oval or round, at one side of the head It may be noticed close to the head of the brass figure, as well as in several of the other sketches. It is in no way connected with the head, and is not a shell, as I at first supposed. On the dress of the Dhâr Pramâra, as we must call him upon Tod's authority, are several pieces of silver let in, of the shape of our masonic emblem the square. I also noticed the same sign in the hands of some of the figures in the painted room at Achalgaṛh. Whether the design is accidental or emblematic I must leave others to determine.

The figure of Śyâm Nâth mentioned by Tod§ is certainly a work of art, only surpassed by the Man-Lion incarnation, to be spoken of further on. There are two smaller temples in the enclosure, one dedicated to Pataleśvara, the other to Mahâdeva, but they contain nothing worthy of note. I noticed an emblem‖ of the shape of a square trough or dish with five balls in it: it is the only one to be seen on Abu.

* Delwâdâ is in latitude 24° 36½′ N., longitude 72° 46′ E., and 3,940 feet above the sea-level.—ED.

† *Travels in Western India*, pp. 101-113. See also *Picturesque Illustrations of Architecture in Hindostan*, pp. 39, 40; and *History of Architecture*. (ed. 1867), vol. II. pp. 622-625, 633.—ED.

‡ *Western India*, p. 118.

§ *Ib.* p. 119.

‖ A *yoni*.—ED.

The temples of Devângan, or Court of the gods, built on the ancient site of Lâkhnagar, have never before been described, if indeed they have been visited, by a European. They are located at the foot of the mountain, on the south-west side, and may be approached either by the old road—a mountain path of the most rugged description and in some places almost dangerous—or from the Dâk Bangalâ at Anâdrâ, from which they are distant about two miles to the south. They are situated in a most lovely spot, and the place itself is worth a visit on account of its natural beauty. In the midst of a bamboo forest, in which are also some magnificent trees, on the banks of a mountain torrent bed over a pool of water clear as crystal, supplied from a never-failing spring and full of fish, are the ruins of the Devângan temples. They are shaded by lofty forest trees, and it requires no stretch of imagination to fancy oneself on the bank of a Welsh or Scotch stream, particularly in the cold season, when the air is cool and pleasant.

According to local tradition (for I have not been able to get at the written history of the place, which is extant in a Sanskrit manuscript of some age), in this place, now a forest and completely covered with tangled groves of bamboo, so much so that without a guide a stranger could not find the place, the city of Lâkhnagar once stood, of which these were the chief temples.

To judge from the surrounding débris, consisting of huge blocks of dark grey stone, granite, and marble, the temples must at one time have been of some importance. Not a vestige remains, as far as our limited time would allow us to determine, of the old city, which was probably built of brick. Numerous small ruined shrines still stand, though more or less fallen into decay, but they seem much more modern than the divinities they shelter. At present only the largest appears to be used. It is dedicated to Vishnu, of whom a large marble statue stands on an altar surrounded on all sides by smaller images of Ganesa, the Nârasiñha incarnation, and the Trimurti. On the opposite side of the stream and about thirty feet up the bank is a small shrine in which we found a Tripurari, and near it, under a heap of stones, a beautifully executed Nârasiñha. This is without exception the finest piece of carving I have seen at or near Abu.* The proportion and shape of every limb on all the figures is perfect, and the tablet, with the exception of one arm of Vishnu, and one or two of the smaller figures, is uninjured. Several more of these figures are lying about, and no doubt many more would be found if the place were properly searched. The natives say it is full of remains, images, and inscriptions; we had not time, however, to make a search, and the only inscriptions found are those under the Tripurari and the figure of Vishnu. They are exactly alike: *viz.*—ऊगाप् एवल शेंगी जीत एवल

Karori Doich:—This small but pretty temple, to the west of the hill and S.S.W. from Anâdrâ, is said to be so called from the city of *Karori Doich*, which contained a karor or more of houses, though, as in the case of Lâkhnagar, not a vestige now remains. The temple is a little white marble structure dedicated to Kâli, whose black image was dressed up in her garish robes of crimson and tinsel. There are numerous small shrines with the usual images of Mahâdeva, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Hari, Lakshmî, &c., and one or two almost effaced inscriptions on the pavement. There is a wonderful statue of a Chobdâr with his mace, about four feet high, rudely executed, standing on a large pedestal. The Mahant's house is charmingly situated, with a spacious terrace in front overlooking the plains and towards Mount Abu: indeed a finer spot for a residence could hardly be selected. Adjoining the temple is a deep *bâoli*, and, lying about, several tablets with bearded figures on them. All had the boss before mentioned, and some a short inscription at the base but the only noticeable difference between the figures was in the length and curl of the beard. This temple merits further and more careful investigation, as I heard that a historical inscription may be seen there.

Gotamji or Gautama Rishi:—None of the European residents on Abu had ever heard of, much less seen, this little shrine. It is on the south side of the hill to the west of Gaumukh, and at about the same level. Difficult of access and at least five miles from Abu†, it is scarcely worth a visit except for the lovely view obtained from the rock on which the temple stands. It is

* Some of the figures lying about in the court at Gaumukh are also very well cut.—Ed.

† When at Abu I heard of 'Gotamji,' and believe it to be on the S. E. side of the hill, about three miles from Abu.—Ed.

a tiny stone building of great age, said to be over 1,000 years old, and to have been repaired 400 years ago. It contains but two images, one of Vishnu, and another of a female and a bearded male figure, both well executed in white marble. These were covered with paint and offerings. A marble Nandi stands outside. There are a few inscriptions cut on the doorposts, and a ruined *bâili* under the temple.

Rishi Krishna (*Rukhi Kishn*):—These temples are at the foot of the hill on the south-eastern side, and are worth a visit if one does not mind a fatiguing journey of 12 or 14 miles or more. The road is a rugged track not difficult to lose—in fact a guide is a necessity. The temple is in good repair, though ruins of other buildings surround it. The principal shrine is of white marble, and the saint is, as usual, locked up out of sight. The Mahant was absent, and his *Chelâ*, a perfectly naked youth of some sixteen years of age, either could not, or would not, give us any information about the place. Facing the shrine of the saint, and under a well-carved stone dome supported on white marble pillars, stands an image of Garuda in the form peculiar perhaps to Rajputâna It is executed in the purest white marble—such as all the images on the hill are made of. The inscription on the base is so worn as to be illegible. On the step leading into the shrine is the only readable inscription, of which the following is a transcript:—

ग

॥समत१९१२रा चैतरसुद१२वीदनेजान्नेदारतथाक्पारादाराजोरीर

सादभगवानदासजीनिरवानिकरावीयेबेरांमा नंदी

॥सलाटसुत्रधारसदाजीगेहेदर्जानुत्तर

॥सवत१९१२रा सरावण सुद १२ सुक

सोमपुरानतकर

There are a few others on one of the pillars, but they are modern in character and date. There are several small shrines within the enclosure containing the usual figures of Mahâdeva, the Lingam, Ganeśa, &c., but nothing worth noticing besides. Outside the temple is a magnificent banyan tree, the largest on or near the hill by all accounts, and to the north of this, some hundred yards off, is a small block of very ancient ruins, which I had not time to examine. Here also may be seen the stone over which, as local tradition avers, after the flood, all the animals extant walked, leaving their footprints on the surface. Pilgrims visiting the shrine roll over this stone seven times. This has the effect of preventing their transmigration after death into the form of any of the animals that passed over the place. It would be interesting to trace the source of this legend, but, the Mahant being absent, we were fain to return in ignorance. It is said there was formerly a very large city here, and this is in a measure confirmed by the quantities of large bricks scattered over a great area on all sides, but the jungle is so thick that, unless accompanied by a guide.

Achalgaṛh and Achaleśvara are distant from the station of Abu about six miles by the road and four by the 'footpath,* which however cannot be taken even by mules. The road passes near the village of Uriya, just outside which are the ancient temples of Nandeśvara, containing one or two images and an inscription.† The first temple reached at Achaleśvara is a Jaina one on the right side of the path, surrounded by a wall and approached by a flight of steps. Its exterior is the finest piece of workmanship, as far as detail is concerned, on Abu. The lowest line of figures over the base, is one of elephants standing out in bold relief with trunks joined one with another. Above this come tigers couchant, then processions of various figures, animals, and carts—some drawn by bullocks and others by camels. Above these are groups of wrestlers in various attitudes, and dancing figures, beautifully executed. None of these groups exceed eight inches in height: but above the wrestlers come larger detached figures, mostly female, in every possible attitude and form. Those on the south side are the most perfect; the north side being exposed to the weather, the figures are much worn away. The temple is built of a coarse description of white marble, now quite grey from exposure. It appeared to be perfectly devoid of internal ornamentation. I could find no inscription or date. Between this and the Agni Kuṇḍ is a small temple dedicated to Śiva, but containing nothing

* Achaleśvara is in Lat. 24° 37′ N., and Long. 72° 48½′ E., and about 4 miles north-east in a direct line from the station. Guru Sikar lies well to the north of it in Lat. 24° 37′ N., Long. 72° 49′ E.—ED.

† This inscription, which is in good preservation, is dated S. 1265 (A.D. 1209). It is translated by Prof. Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches* (vol. XVI. pp. 299-301). Good heel-ball rubbings of this and many other inscriptions have been sent me by Mr. Eaglesome, a few of which I have inserted in this article, and in the NOTE on next page.—ED.

[illegible] among

[illegible]

* Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, II. p. 194 and p. 220. The writings consulted by him are the *Sangrahaṇîratna* and the *Lokanâlisûtra*, both in Prâkṛit.

† *Some Remarks on the Relation that subsists between the Jaina and Brahmanical systems of Geography.* By the Rev. J. Stevenson, D.D. in the *Jour. of the Bo. B. of the R. As. S.*, II. p. 410 *seqq.* with a map. The numbers communicated by him are the following, wherein it is to be observed that Mount Meru forms the centre also in this system, and that Suvarṇabhûmi is the extremest country and the playground of the gods:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Radius of the circle enclosing the *dvîpas* ........................ | 25,350,000 | |
| Extent of *Suvarṇabhûmi* ........ | 15,750,000 | |
| Extent of *Lokâloka* .................. | 125,000,000 | |
| | 166,100,000 | *yojanas.* |
| Subtracting this from the radius of the whole ........................ | 250,000,000 | |
| Remain ................................ | 83,900,000 | *yojanas.* |

For *Lokakaloka* I read *Lokâloka*, because this name designates, according to my remarks in *Z. f. d. K. d. M.* VII. p. 325, a mountain surrounding the outermost of the oceans and forming the boundary of the world. As this mountain is named in the *Purâṇas*, the *Jainas* have borrowed this idea from them.

‡ These differences, which are of little consequence here, have been collected by A. Weber in his *Śatruñjayamâhâtmya*, pp. 19, 20.

§ According to J. Stevenson's note to the *Kalpasûtra*, p. 94. These three names are adduced also by Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, II. p. 222, and to this division also, according to A. Weber's remarks (*ut sup.* p. 90), the expression *trikhaṇḍa* relates, which occurs several times in the *Śatruñjayamâhâtmya*.

‖ *Hemachandra*, IV. v. 946, p. 70. Airâvata is the name of a *varsha* or part of the world, and its mention here is not clear, nor is that of the name Kuru.

¶ According to A. Weber, *ut sup.* p. 90.

* Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, II. p. 221 *seqq.* On the Buddhist system of the gods see *Ind. Alt.* III. p. 357 *seqq.*

Sumânasa, Sâviśâla Sarvatobhadra, Manorama, Suprabaddha, and Sudarśana.*

After these celestial regions, the Digambaras, or pious men of the *Jainas*, place sixteen, and other authors twelve regions, which are arranged in eight grades above the earth. These have the following names:—Achyuta, Aruṇa, Praṇata and Anâtha, Sahasrâra, Śukra, Lântaka, Brahmâ, Mahendra and Sanatkumâra, Iśâna and Sâdhâma. These twelve worlds are called *Vimânas*, and their inhabitants in common *Kalpavâsin*. Lastly, the *Jainas* distinguish four classes of gods of low rank, namely: Vaimânika, Bhuvanapati, Jyotisha, and Vyantara. The last class contains the Piśâchas, Râkshasas, Gandharvas, and the remaining evil spirits and servitors of the gods of the Brahmans. The Jyotisha are, as the name implies, the stars, the planets, the moon and the sun.† The gods inhabiting the abovenamed twelve worlds belong to the Vaimânikas. The class of Bhuvanapatis, *i. e.* lords of the worlds, consists of ten divisions, each five whereof are governed by the Brahmanic king of gods, Indra; in this class the *Jainas* reckon the Asurakumâras, the Nâgakumâras, etc.; and they have, doubtless from hatred to the Brahmans, deprived their Indra of his particular servants the Gandharvas and Apsarasas. Let it be observed in conclusion that the preceding description of the system of the gods of the *Jainas* abundantly proves the thesis that the system of gods of this sect is a peculiar one, and that it has assigned a subordinate place to the Brahmanic deities. This is also plain from the circumstance that the *Jainas* consider all these beings to be mortal, the Jyotishas perhaps being the only exceptions.‡

Of the constitution and manner of living of the *Jainas*, I mean to point out only the principal features, as a detailed representation of the subject is foreign to the purpose now in view. They consist of two large divisions: priests and devout persons are called Sâdhu—the good; and laymen Śrâvakas, which name, strictly meaning "hearer," designates also an adherent of Buddha. The names Muktâmbara, Muktavasana, and Digambara apply only to those members of this sect which closely follow the laws of nudity§. The pious obtain also the name *Yati*, given by Brahmans from olden times to their penitents. The *Jainas* resemble the Brahmans in the following particulars:—they admit of four castes; they submit to the sacred ordinances called *sanskâra*, which commence at the birth and last till marriage; they worship some of the household gods of the chief Brahmanic sects; and, at least in Southern India, Brahmans perform religious ceremonies for the *Jainas*.‖ Their festivals are peculiar, and are especially dedicated to Pârśvanâtha, the 23rd, and to Vardhamâna or Mahâvîra, the 24th *Jina*, in localities where temples are built to their memory.¶

The *Jainas* erect marble, and sometimes colossal, statues of these two *Jinas*.* Besides the festivals dedicated to them, they celebrate also

* This name occurs also among Buddhists and designates among them a class of gods of the second *dhyâna*; see *Ind. Ant.* III. p. 391.

† The *Jainas* assume, according to Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, II. p. 223, that the sun, the moon, the planets, and the stars take too much time in their rotations around Sumeru in order to appear at the right time, and therefore they double all these celestial bodies.

‡ Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, II. p. 223. Also Wilson, has, *ut sup.* represented the mythology of the *Jainas*. According to him, the name *Kalpavâsin* refers to the circumstance that each of these twelve gods presides over one *kalpa* or period.

§ J. Stevenson's preface to his edition of the *Kalpasûtra*, p. xxi.; Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, I. p. 380. The name Sâdhu applies only to secular (not monastic) priests; (see below, p. 282, n. ¶); Digambara—literally a man whose garment is space. On Śrâvaka see *Ind. Ant.* II. p. 461.

‖ Colebrooke, in his *Misc. Essays*, II. p. 192, and Wilson, *As. Res.* XVII. p. 275. [The Priests in all the *Jaina* temples in Western India are Brahmans.—ED. *Ind. Ant.*]

¶ Wilson, in *As. Res.* XVII. p. 276. There is a celebrated temple of Pârśvanâtha on Mount Sameta Śikhar or Parasnâth in Pachete, on the frontiers of Râmgarh, described in the *Description of the Temple of Pârśvanâtha at Samet Śikhar*, by Lieut.-Col. William Francklin, in the *Trans. of the R. As. S.* I. pp. 527 *seqq.* On this spot this *Jina* obtained his deliverance, *i. e.* he died. There is a temple of Mahâvîra, considered very sacred, near Apâpuri, Pâpapuri, or Pavapuri, in South Bihâr, on the spot where Mahâvîra or Vardhamâna died; it is frequented by many pilgrims from distant places. In the district Navâdâ, in South Bihâr, there are three temples dedicated to this *Tîrthankara*, and they are much frequented by *Jaina* pilgrims; they are described in *Description of Temples of the Jains in South Behar and Bhagalpur*, by Dr. Fr. Buchanan Hamilton, *Tr. R. As. S.* I. pp. 523 *seqq.* In all these three temples Bhâjak Brahmans undertake to purify and to adorn them; they also receive the pilgrims. In a fourth temple at Purî the footsteps of Mahâvîra are shown to the pilgrims; here he is called Gautama Mahâvîra. A few inscriptions preserved there have been communicated by Colebrooke, I. pp. 320 *seqq.* under the title *On Inscriptions at Temples of the Jaina Sect in South Behar*. They owe their origin to a pious *Jaina* named *Sangrâma Govardhanadâsa*, and one of them bears the date *Saṁvat* 1686, or 1629 A.D.

* As well as to Rishabhanâtha.—ED. *Ind. Ant.*

such as are kept by the other Hindus, e. g. the *Vasantayâtrâ*, or vernal festival.* From the Buddhist priests, the pious among the *Jainas*, have taken to the custom of living quietly during the *varsha* or rainy season, of devoting themselves to the study of their sacred scriptures, and of practising fasting and meditation† during that time.‡ The Vaiśyas among the *Jainas* engage in trade only, and the names Brâhmaṇa, Kshatriya, and Śudra denote among them other occupations and ranks.§

Before bringing this to a close, I have only to add an outline of the history of the sect, and to lay before my readers a condensed view of the present extension of the *Jainas*.

Most probably Pârśva or Pârśvanâtha, the 23rd *Jina*, may be considered as the real founder of this sect.|| He was the son of king Aśvasena by his spouse Vâmâ or Bhâmanî, and was born in Vârânasî. The statement that he was a descendant of the old race of Ikshvâku raises doubts, because Buddha's family, the Śâkya dynasty, which reigned in Kapilavastu, is well known to have belonged to that ancient Somavaṅśa or solar race, and the *Jainas* would easily be tempted to attribute the same origin to the founder of their sect, especially as it had been attributed also to Rishabha, the first *Jina*.¶ He died aged 100 years, on Mount *Sameta Śikhara*, in Southern Bihâr, 250 years, it is said, before the demise of his successor, Vardhamâna or Mahâvira. The opinion that this *Jina* was a real person is specially supported by the circumstance that the duration of his life does not at all transgress the limits of probability, as is the case with his predecessors.** According to previous researches, that event took place during the first or second century of our era.† Of the next *Jina*, *i. e.* Vardhamâna or Mahâvîra, also Vîra, we possess more extensive biographies than of any of his predecessors, since the *Kalpasûtra* deals specially with this subject, and since it has been treated with predilection also in other writings of the *Jainas*; that book is moreover the oldest among the *Jainas*, the date whereof can be accurately fixed, because its author Bhadrabâhu was a contemporary of the *Vallabhi* king Dhruvasena, and because the time of the *Jina* Suri Âchâra, the author of the most important *Purâṇa*, is not quite certain.‡ One consequence of his great fame was that many miracles are related of him, and that supernatural power has been attributed to him.

His father's name was Siddhârtha, and his real mother's Triśâlâ; the statement that his father was descended from the old epic monarch Ikshvâku must in this case also be a fiction§. The information that his wife was called Jaśodâ must also be an invention, because, as is well known, one of the three spouses of the founder of the Buddhist religion bore a similar name, *viz.* Jaśodharâ||. Mahâvîra renounced the world in his 28th year, devoted himself entirely to a pious and contemplative life, and after two years had advanced so far that he attained the rank of a *Jina*. During the next six years he laboured with great success in the propagation of his views, and then took up his habitation in the village Nâlandâ,¶ in Magadha, which is often mentioned in the oldest history of the religion of Śâkyasiṅha. Here he gained, among other persons as disciples, also Gośâla, and convinced Vardhanasena, an adherent of Chandrâchârya, of his errors. This latter ob-

* Wilson, *As. Res.* XVII. p. 272 and p. 277.

† See *Ind. Alt.* II. p. 450 and p. 723.

‡ J. Stevenson's Preface to his edition of the *Kalpasûtra*, p. xxii., and p. 9 *of the text*. *The expression for it* is *Paryûshana*, and in the vernaculars *Pajjûshan*. This period of time is divided into two sections, *i. e.* one which begins 50 days before, and another which commences after the 5th day of the bright half of the month Bhâdrapada, *i. e.* about the 26th July. During the first portion the *Svetâmbara* sect, characterized by its white dress, fasts, and during the second that of the *Digambaras*.

§ *On the Srawacs or Jains*, by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton in *Trans. of the R. As. S.* I. pp. 531 *seqq.* The *Jainas* of South Bihâr are treated also in the following dissertation:—*On the Srawacs or Jains*, by Major James Delamaine, Bengal Army, ibid. I. pp. 413 *seqq.*

|| Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, vol. II., p. 312 and I. p. 381. According to this passage, he had also the name Lunchitakeśa generally in use among the *Jainas*, because, when he entered the priesthood, he cut off five handfuls of hair. Of him also the 5th chapter of the *Kalpasûtra*, p. 97, treats, and Hemachandra i. 23, p. 6, where also he is called Pârśva.

¶ Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, II. p. 263.

** Thus, *e. g.* his predecessor lived 1000 years, according to Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, II. p. 212. [Vide note, p. 189.]

† See above, p. 197. ‡ See above, p. 198.

§ *Kalpasûtra*, I. p. 221 *seqq.*; Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, II. p. 213 *seqq.*, and Wilson, *As. Res.* XVII. p. 251 *seqq.* According to the last author he was born in the unknown town Pavana, in Bhâratakshetra. The father of this *Jina* is also called Śreyânsa and Yaśasvin, and his son Śramaṇa.

|| See *Ind. Alt.* II. p. 69. Prince Sarvavîra was the father of Jaśodâ.

¶ On this celebrated village see *Ind. Alt.* IV. 692.

served the injunctions of Pârśvanâtha concerning dress, which Pârśvanâtha admitted, but Mahâvîra on the contrary entirely rejected; therefore the adherents of the predecessor are called *Svetâmbara*, *i. e.* white-dressed, whilst those of Mahâvîra are, on account of their nudity, called *Digambaras*.

Afterwards Mahâvîra roamed through various regions of Central India, but especially through the countries on the middle course of the Gangâ, in the neighbourhood of which the town Kauśâmbî is situated*. Here he devoted himself during nearly eleven years to the strictest asceticism and to the hardest privations, whereby he attained the highest degree of wisdom and sanctity. Thus he awakened the envy and hatred especially of the Brahmans in Magadha. Three sons of the Brahman Vasubhûti, born in this country, of the Gautama family, called Indrabhûti, Agnibhûti, and Vâyubhûti, imagined they could refute the doctrines of Mahâvîra, but were vanquished by him and became the most zealous adherents of their former antagonist.† The latter betook himself after this brilliant success to the court of king Hastipâla in Apâpapuri or Pâpapurî or Pavapurî, in the vicinity of the ancient capital Râjagriha, where, at the age of 72 years, he terminated his eventful life. After his death his corpse was solemnly burnt.‡

If Pârśvanâtha is to be considered as the real founder of the *Jaina* doctrine, Vardhamâna or Mahâvîra must be regarded as the propagator thereof. His chief tenets were that he attributed a real existence to *jîva*, the soul, and supposed that it imparts life to individual bodies, and is destined to bear all the pains and troubles of migration through many various forms, until it gets liberated from these bonds through the deepest insight into the true nature of things and by the most perfect virtue.§ He further maintained that matter is a reality, and thereby rejected two fundamental doctrines of Buddhism, according to which all existences are without contents and substance, and the first cause of all things is *avidyâ*, *i. e.* non-existence and untruth.‖ Mahâvîra acquired many adherents, as the following statements will prove. The number of the holy men or *Sâdhus* amounted to 14,000, and of the *Sâdhvîs* or holy women to 36,000; the *Śramanas*, *i. e.* pious men acquainted with the sacred scriptures called *Pûrva*, amounted to 300. The number of the *Avadhijnânin*, or such priests as are acquainted with the limits of the injunctions was just as considerable. There were 700 *Kevalin*, *i. e.* pious men who abstained from works and devoted themselves entirely to contemplative life, and 500 *Manovid*, *i. e.* possessors of wisdom. By the name *Vâdin*, men are designated who are skilled in carrying on disputations: their number was 400. The number of *Śrâvakas* or laymen amounted to 51,000, and that of the *Śrâvikâs* or women of this kind was stated to be 300,000, an evident exaggeration. Of the eleven most prominent disciples of Mahâvîra, only Indrabhûti and Sudharma or Sudharman survived him. In favour of the view that Mahâvîra was the real propagator of the *Jaina* doctrine, it may be adduced that the writer of the *Śatruñjaya-mâhâtmya* makes him the author of his book. That this doctrine was propagated from Magadha, or, if it so pleases, from Southern Bihâr, to the other parts of India, becomes almost certain from the circumstance that Mahâvîra botained his most important triumphs just in that country, and that he, as well as his predecessor Pârśvanâtha, died and was buried there. To

* On the position of this town see *Ind. Alt.* III. 200, note 2.

† Wilson, *As. Res.* XVII. p. 256 *seqq.*, who communicates several statements about these three and the eight remaining disciples of Mahâvîra from the commentary of Hemachandra to his Dictionary, and justly notices that Buchanan Hamilton is mistaken in assuming, in the *Trans. of the R. As. S.* I. p. 538, that Indrabhûti, who is, on account of his descent of course, also called Gautama, is no other than Gautama Buddha himself. Hemachandra enumerates, I. v. 31 *seqq.* p. 7, the 11 *Ganâdhipas* or presidents of the assemblies, who bear the following names.—Indrabhûti, Agnibhûti, and Vâyubhûti: these three brothers were Gautamas; Mandita and Mauryaputra were step-brothers and respectively descendants of the Vedic Rishis Vasishtha and Kaśyapa; Vyakta, Sudharma, Akampita, Achalabhrâtri, Metarya, and Prabhâsa, were likewise descendants of ancestors of Brahmanic families.

‡ *Kalpasûtra*, vi. p. 84 *seqq.*; Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, II. p. 215, and Wilson, *As. Res.* XVII. p. 261. The statement here made, that Mahâvîra died 1669 years before the conversion of the Châlukya king Kumârapâla to the doctrine of the *Jainas*, is just as worthless as the information that the *Kalpasûtra* was first publicly read 980 years after that event; this monarch began, according to *Ind. Alt.* III. p. 567, to reign in 1174, so that Mahâvîra would have died 495 years before Christ.

§ Wilson, *As. Res.* XVII. p. 250.

‖ See *Ind. Alt.* II. 461.

¶ Wilson, *As. Res.* XVII. p. 260. He properly observes that *Sâdhu* is not a general name for *Jaina* priests, but only for one division of them: this conception of the name is preferable to that given by J. Stevenson (see above, p. 260, n. §) On the title *Pûrva* see above, p. 199.

this it is also to be added that numerous *Jaina* pilgrims from distant Indian countries, *e. g.* from Lower Râjasthân, wander to Gayâ and to other holy localities of South Bihâr.*

So far as the successors of the last *Jina* are concerned, Bhadrabâhu, the author of the *Kalpasûtra*, has given a list of twenty-seven of them with reference to their descent, together with the years in which they followed after Mahâvîra and his successors.† As the last of these successors is said to have followed in the year 993 as a propagator of the *Jaina* religion, it is self-evident that, although the names may be correct, the chronological data of this list are worthless. Here it must not be overlooked that the last chronological data occur only in one manuscript. I suspect that the author of the *Kalpasûtra*, after pushing the time of Vardhamâna into too remote an antiquity, has united with each other several lists of contemporaneous chiefs of the *Jaina* doctrine, so as to present contemporaneous spiritual representatives of this sect as successors.

Now I pass to the comparison of the data concerning the propagation of the *Jaina* doctrine from Magadha to the other parts of India. It appears very influential during the reign of the Châlukya monarch Pulakeśi, who governed a great portion of the Dakhan‡ from about 485 till 510. From the circumstance that, according to the testimony of Hiwen Thsang, Buddhism had formerly flourished much in Julya or Chola, but had in his time entirely disappeared from the country, as well as from the fact that the *Jainas*, according to incontrovertible testimonies, conquered the Buddhists in this country §,—I have already drawn the conclusion that the *Jainas* had been very powerful in this part of the Dakhan towards the end of the sixth century. In this district we find this sect still flourishing at the end of the tenth century.|| In the southernmost district, that of the Pândyas, this religion, which succeeded that of Śâkyasiñha, likewise found entrance, and the ruler of that country, Kuna Pândya, who is probably to be placed in the ninth century, was at first inclined towards it, but afterwards went over to Śaivaism.¶ On the Malabar coast the princelings in Tuluva, the principal of whom resided in Îkeri, who were descended from *Jaina* women, and were formerly dependants of the dynasty of Vijayanagara, greatly loved the doctrines of the *Jainas*.*

In Gujarât, which is more to the north, the *Jaina* religion enjoyed the protection of the powerful Valabhi monarch Śilâditya, who ruled his extensive realm with a firm hand, from about 545 till 595, although he did not, as has been asserted, belong to this sect himself.† Of the Yâdavas who reigned in the peninsula of Gujarât during the last moiety of the twelfth century, one, Maṇḍika, was most probably an adherent of the *Jainas*, because in the inscription relating to this dynasty he is said to have worshipped Nemi, the 22nd *Jina*.‡ This doctrine was especially promoted and protected by the family of the Châlukyas which reigned in Chandravati, on the western slope of the Arbuda mountains, under the supremacy of the Vaghela dynasty.§ In this respect Tejapâla and his brother Vâstupâla particularly distinguished themselves. On this mountain they built temples, planted groves and trees, and dug tanks on the roads, in the villages and towns.|| The temples were consecrated by these two pious brothers themselves. The temple which was completed in the month *Phâlguna* deserves special mention. In it statues of the ancestors

* Buchanan Hamilton, *Trans. of the R. As. Soc.* vol. III. p. 552

† P. 100 *seqq.* The first is Sudharma; after the 8th Mahâgiri, the predecessor of Baliśsha, the first of the second list, and the Suhasti who was his contemporary, a double list follows; the first terminates with four founders of śâkhâs or sects of *Jainas*, which are called Nâgila, Padmila, Jayanta, and Tâpasa; the second with Kshamâśramaṇa.

‡ See *Ind. Alt.* IV. 97, 98.

§ See *Ind. Alt.* IV. 127, and on the names and site of this country p. 231 and also note 3.

|| See *Ind. Alt.* IV. p. 246.

¶ See *Ind. Alt.* IV. 239, and Wilson's remarks on the time of this king in *Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pandya* in *T. of the R. As. S.* III. p. 218. According to *Ind. Alt.* IV. p. 237, note 2, it is dubious whether the celebrated Tamil teacher and author Tiruvalluvar was a contemporary of this prince, although tradition makes him so.

* See *Ind. Alt.* IV. p. 180, and Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras, &c.* III. p. 8, p. 605, p. 74, p. 78 *seqq.* &c. The dynasty of Vijayanagara reigned from about 1336 till 1561.

† See *Ind. Alt.* III. p. 515 *seqq.*

‡ See *Ind. Alt.* III. p. 570.

§ See *Ind. Alt.* III. p. 574, with note 3, where the names of the members of this family are given. According to *Ind. Alt.* III. p. 577, the Baghelas reigned from 1178 till 1297.

|| Wilson's *Sanskrit Inscriptions at Abu*, in *As. Res.* XVI. p. 309. This is inscription XVIII. 2 *seqq.* The month Phâlgun answers to the last moiety of February and the first of March.

of these two brothers, of their wives and sons, were erected. They appeared as the regents of the ten higher spheres, and as if in the act of looking at Kandapa, the founder of their family. The statues were represented riding on elephants, which animals are greatly venerated by the *Jainas* as well as by their predecessors the *Bauddhas*.* The high esteem enjoyed by these two brothers is also evident from statues of their wives having found a place in this temple, and from Tejapâla having erected a genealogical tree of his spouse Anupamâ Devi.† At the sides of this temple 52 cells had been arranged for the principal *Jainas*, and at the entrance to the temple there was a *varandaka*, or porch.‡

The nature of the testimonies on the propagation of the *Jaina* doctrine from Magadha to other parts of India suffers from two defects inseparable from them; firstly because they are very incomplete, and secondly because from the religious opinions of the rulers of Indian countries no conclusion can be drawn as to the number of their subjects who professed the religion of the *Jainas*. This gap may safely be filled out by the statements about the present extension of this sect, because it is certain that it has won no new adherents in later times.

Magadha, or, according to modern terminology, Southern Bihâr, the original country of the *Jainas*, is their principal seat.§ In Mâlava there are also many *Jainas*; here they are split into many sects, they observe the fasts, and the law of *ahinsâ* or non-injury to living beings very strictly, and are very active and honest‖. They engage chiefly in commerce here also. They agree with the Buddhists in calling the highest deity Âdinâtha; this is known to be also a name of *Buddha*, especially among the Nepalese. They prefer Pârśvanâtha, the penultimate *Jina*, to Mahâvîra the last.

In the west of the Arâvali chain, or Mârwâr in the wider sense of this name, adherents of the sect which now engages our attention are not wanting; this remark applies especially to Jodhapura.¶ On the other hand the *Jaina* religion maintained in Gujarât its old prominent position; there adherents of this sect live in most of the towns, and in the peninsula of this name there is scarcely a village which does not contain several *Jainas*.* The sanctuary praised so much already in the *Śatruñjayamâhâtmya*, and situated on the mountain of the same name, has been in much later times also visited by devout pilgrims. This fact appears from three inscriptions preserved in the adjacent Pâlitânâ.† The essential point of the second inscription is that Daśa Karmasâha, who was a descendant of a Gaṇadharachandra or president of an assembly, and is zealously devoted to the *Jaina* doctrine, was by the liberality of the emperor Akbar, who is justly praised for his tolerance, placed in a position to again renovate and to embellish that sanctuary. The third inscription reports that the pious Tejapâla undertook in the year 1583 a pilgrimage to the sacred mountain Śatruñjaya and richly endowed this sacred place.‡

After this review of the propagation of the *Jainas* in Hindostan I turn to the Dakhan.

In the wide region of the north-western Dakhani highland inhabited by the Mahârâshṭras or Marâṭhâs, Brahmanism dominated so much that but few adherents of the sect in question would be induced either to

* These ten spheres are probably in the nine higher regions of the gods and demigods, together with the highest, *i. e.* of the *Jainas*; on this see Colebrooke's *Observations on the Jains*, in his *Misc. Essays*, III. p. 221.

† Namely inscription XVIII. 40 *seqq. As. Res.* XVI. p. 307.

‡ Thus must no doubt be read for *baldnka*.

§ This is particularly clear from Buchanan Hamilton's account, *Trans. of the R. A. S.* I. p. 585 *seqq.* mentioned above, p. 261, note §.

‖ Sir John Malcolm, *A Memoir of Central India and Malwa*, II. p. 162 *seqq.* To conclude from the contents, the dissertation of James Delamaine in *Trans. of the R. As. S.* I. p. 413 *seqq.* quoted above, p. 261, note §, refers also to Mâlava; this supposition is confirmed by the circumstance of its having been submitted by Sir John Malcolm to the Asiatic Society

¶ James Tod's *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I. p. 726: II. p. 734, &c. [Madras Ed. I. 622; II. 672.—ED.]

* Edward Thornton's *Gazetteer*, &c. II. and the word *Guzerat*.

† They are published under the following title: *Inscriptions from Palitana*. Communicated by Capt. LeGrand Jacob in the *J. of the B. B. of the R. As. S.* I. p. 56 *seqq.* The inscription communicated on p. 57 he translated only as an extract; the second, p. 59, by A. B. Orlebar with the help of Vennyaka Shastree; it is dated Saṁvat 1637, or 1580, in the reign of the Emperor Akbar. The third inscription is translated by Bâl Gangâdhar Shâstri and dated Saṁvat 1650 or 1583. Akbar reigned from 1556 till 1605. The text of the two last inscriptions is printed on p. 94. [Though Lassen speaks of the inscriptions as "in dem benachbarten *Palitana*," they are from Śatruñjaya itself.—ED.]

‡ According to the note of LeGrand Jacob in the *J. of the B. B of the R. As. S.* I. p. 56, Pâlitânâ, Sametaśikhara (on which see above, p. 260, note ¶), and Girinagara in the peninsula of Gujarât, with Mount Arbuda, and Chandragiri in the Himalayas, are the sacred localities most visited by the *Jainas*. [On Arbuda vide ante, p. 249.—ED.]

settle or to remain there. In the north-eastern Dakhani highland the *Jainas* constitute so small a portion of the population that they are not worth mentioning. Their chief seats are partly in the southern half of the Dakhani highland, partly in Tuluva or South Kanara, on the Malabar coast.* Their chief seats in this portion of Southern India are as follows:—Maleyur, Baḷagoḍa or Belligoḷa, and Madugiri, where also are a few famed temples of the *Jainas*.† Of these holy places Belligoḷa or Baḷagoḍa appears to be the principal one, because we possess a special list of the teachers there.‡

As the reports of *Byzantine* authors about India are too insignificant to be treated in detail, I prefer to utilize their communications of this kind, whenever they are worth discussing, for the history of Indian commerce, or to put them on suitable occasions before my readers and to explain them. The only information to be considered in this place occurs in the history of Laonikos Chalkondylas, and refers to a period immediately after the time of Taimur§. The material contents of this passage are, that this bellicose monarch had been attacked by nine kings, among which was also an Indian king named Τζαχατάης; but he marched over the Araxes or Oxus, victoriously repelled these attacks, and subjugated, besides other countries, also the whole of India as far as Taprobane. This king of the Hindus had his seat in the Chatagia mountains. The Hindus worshipped *Apollon*, *Here*, and *Artemis* as gods, and sacrificed annually to the first deity horses, to the second cows, and to the third new-born boys.

In order to understand this report, it is first to be noticed that after the occupation and appalling devastation of the capital, Dehli, in A.D. 1398, Taimur caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor of India, and on his departure from India left the former emperor, Mahmûd Toghluk, a fugitive.|| It is an error that he subjugated the whole of India and Taprobane. How the name of the Hindu king Tzachataes is to be explained defies me; and further, there is no region in India the name of which bears any resemblance to Chatagia. In the *aśvamedha*, the equine sacrifice, two horses are offered, not to *Apollon* or *Sûrya* however, but to one of the two great popular gods. It may properly be questioned whether at that time the Hindus sacrificed cows, which they deemed sacred, to the honour of *Here*, although bloody offerings were made to *Durgâ*, who alone can be meant here.¶ The report that young boys were sacrificed to the moon-goddess is just as incredible; the only true fact is that to *Kâli* or to *Châmuṇḍâ* small inoffensive animals were offered,** and therefore the Byzantine historian called his Hindu goddess *Artemis*,

# JAIN INSCRIPTIONS AT ŚRAVANA BELGOLA.

BY LEWIS RICE, BANGALOR.

At the Jain village of Śravana Belgola,†† on a smaller hill named Indra Bitta, facing the loftier Chandra Bitta on which stands the colossal image of Gomateśvara, are a

* This results first from Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras, &c.* I. p. 113, p. 249, p. 339, and p. 421; II. p. 74 *seqq.* and p. 80; III. p. 19 *seqq.*, p. 80, p. 89, p. 109, p. 27, p. 421, p. 93, p. 120, p. 131 *bis*, p. 134, p. 391, and p. 401; further from a dissertation by the same author in *As. Res.* IX. p. 270 *seqq.* bearing the title: *Particulars of the Jainas, extract from a Journal* by Dr. Francis Buchanan. Accurate information about the *Jainas* of these parts is contained in the following tract *Account of the Jains, collected from a Priest of this Sect, at Mudgiri, translated by Cavelly Boria, Brahman, for Major Mackenzie*, ibid. IX. p. 244 *seqq.* The latter wrote also *Extracts from a Journal of Major C. Mackenzie*, ibid. IX. p. 272 *seqq.*

† J. A. Dubois, *Mœurs, Institutions, et Cérémonies des Peuples de l'Inde*, II. p. 502. The author gives on p. 499 *seqq.* an interesting report about the doctrines and manner of living of the adherents of this sect in those parts. Malojur is a village situated in Southern Maisur; Mudugherri or Mudgerl may be the same with Muddukhrat, which town, according to Edward Thornton's *Gazetteer*, &c. I. voc., is situated in the Madras Presidency 17°54' N. Lat. and 94°42' E. Long. from Ferro. Balagoda, which is also spelt Balikota, is, according to the same work, in 16° 10' N. Lat. and 93° 36' E. Long. from Ferro, and is situated 50 English miles west of Mudgal.—[See *Ind. Ant.* II. 129.—Ed.]

‡ *As. Res.* IX. p. 264 *seqq.*

§ III. p. 105 of the Bonn edition. The passage here alluded to relates to the beginning of the year 1405. The other statements of Laonikos Chalkondylas about India either contain matters already familiar, or are exaggerated and incorrect. It is well known that the Hindus are divided into castes, and that there plants grow to an unusual size, which however this author greatly exaggerates. The magnitude of the Bamboo-reeds, from which the Hindus manufacture river-boats, was reported upon according to above, II. p. 628, by Herodotos, already. Besides the known rivers *Ganges*, *Indos*, *Hydraspes* (sic), *Hydraotes*, and *Hyphasis*, he mentions also the *Angathikes*, which may perhaps be a gross corruption of the name *Akesines*.

|| *Ferishta* by Briggs, I. p. 472 *seqq.*

¶ See *Ind. Ant.* IV. p. 634.

** See *Ind. Ant.* IV. p. 637

†† This spelling is adopted on the authority of an inscription at the place. The name according to this version is derived from Old Kan. *beḷ*, white, and *koḷa*, softened in combination to *goḷa*, pond or tank. There is a very large and fine tank between the two hills.

number of inscriptions cut in the rock both on the summit and around the sides. The characters in which they are engraved are of a curious elongated form, measuring a foot or more in length, strikingly distinct in the rays of the sun, but scarcely distinguishable when in shade. The inscriptions consist mostly of three or four lines apiece, and are scored about in all directions, without any appearance of order. The learned men attendant on the Jain pontiff of the neighbouring *math* can neither read the characters, nor give any account of the inscriptions.

After various attempts I succeeded in getting a clue to the letters, some of which resemble those of the *Kanarese* alphabet. On applying the key thus obtained, the inscripsions are found to be written in the ancient Kanarese dialect. The one of which a facsimile and rendering are now given proves to be an epitaph to a Jain saint. None of the inscriptions I have seen contains a date, and in the present instance there is nothing on which to found a conjecture as to its antiquity except the archaic forms of expression, and these hardly form a sufficiently definite basis on which to proceed I hope, however, in a future contribution, to give renderings of others which contain more historical information, and from these an approximation to the age of these inscriptions may be more safely made.

TRANSLITERATION.

Sura châpam bôle vidyul lategaḷa tera vôl manju vôl tôṛi bêgam
piridhu śrî rûpa lîlâ dhana vibhava mahâ raśigaḷ nillav ârgge
paramârttha mechche nân î dharaṇiyuḷ iravân endu sanyasana gaydura satvannadi Sena Pravarâ muni vara deva lôkakke sandâr.

TRANSLATION.

Rapidly scattering like the rainbow, like clustering flashes of lightning, or like a dewy cloud, to whom are the treasures of beauty, pleasure, wealth and power secure? Should I, who love the chief good, remain attached to this world? Thus saying, he assumed the state of a *sannyâsi*, and by his virtue the eminent *muni* Sena Pravara reached the world of gods (*deva loka*).

*Bangalore*. 19*th July* 1873.

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## THE MṚITYULÁṄGALA UPANISHAD.

BY A. C. BURNELL, M.C.S., M.R.A.S., &c., MANGALOR

For a long time our knowledge of the Upanishads was derived from Anquetil du Perron's strange translation of a Persian version of fifty, made about two centuries ago, to gratify the curiosity of a Muhammadan Prince.* Of the large number mentioned and paraphrased in this work the original Sanskrit texts have been discovered except in a few instances; one of these exceptions is the forty-second of du Perron's list, the *Mrut-lankoul*, which he explains as "Halitus mortis." Prof. A. Weber, who has thrown light on all the "burning questions" of Sanskrit literature, has, in the ninth volume of his *Indische Studien*, also discussed this missing Upanishad, and by his almost intuitive knowledge of the Upanishad literature succeeded in restoring whole sentences of the original. On examining the Tanjor Library in 1871-2, I, however, found two MSS. of this tract. One (No. 7210) is written in Devanâgarî, and is about 100 years old; the other (No. 9727) is a palm-leaf MS. in the Grantha character, and much injured. It is probably 200 years old. This tract is perhaps wrongly included among the Upanishads—it rather belongs to the Tantric worship.† Yet, as *it is* included by so good an authority as the Persian translators, it may be worth while to give an account of it. The Tanjor MSS. present different recensions,—a shorter, the Devanâgarî; and a longer, the Grantha. This last seems to be the nearest to what the Persian translator had before him.

The text runs as follows:—

Asya śrîmṛityulâṅgalamahâmantrasya *ulûkhalâṅgala* ṛishiḥ; anushṭup chandah; Kâlâg-

* It is said to have been made by, or for, Dârâ Shakoh, whose unhappy story is so graphically told by Bernier. As regards the Muhammadans' study of Sanskrit, see Prof. Blochmann's translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, pp 104-5, especially the interesting quotations in the notes. The Muhammadans seem to have formed a very low opinion of the Sanskrit literature.

† Inasmuch as the *mantra* is not Vedic, though its use is evidently imitated from Vedic rituals

SPECIMEN OF ROCK INSCRIPTIONS ON INDRA BEṬṬA, ŚRAVAṆA BELGOLA.

mirudro devatâ. [Aham eva kâla iti bîjam; nâ 'ham kâla iti śaktiḥ, kîlakam mrityuṁjayopasthâne viniyogaḥ.]* "Athâ 'to yogajihvâ me madhuvâdinî. Ahaṁ eva kâlo nâ 'haṁ kâlasya ritaṁ satyam"—[ity asya mantrasya *Yama* rishiḥ; anushṭup chandaḥ; Kâlagnirudro devatâ mrityuṁjayopasthâne viniyogaḥ.]

"ritaṁ satyaṁ paraṁ brahma purushaṁ krishṇapiṅgalam |

ûrdhvaretam virûpâkshaṁ viśvarûpâya vai namaḥ ||

Oṁ varavrishabhaphenakapâline paśupataye namo namaḥ [varavrishabhaphenakapâlâya paśupataye svâhâ! oṁ! auṁ! hrîm! śrîm!] iti smrite [yadi smri?] mrityulâṅgale, brahmahâ 'brahmahâ bhavati; abrahmachârî subrahmachârî bhavati gurudâragâmî agâmî bhavati [suvarṇasteyî asteyî bhavati]; surâpâyî apâyî bhavati.† Ekavârena japtvâ ashṭottarasahasralakshagâyatrîjapaphalâni bhavanti; ashṭau brâhmaṇân grâhayitvâ brahmalokam avâpnoti. Yadi kasyacha na brûyât, khitrî kuṭhî‡ kunakhî bhavati. Yam anena gṛihṇîyâd andho bhavati; shadbhir mâsaiḥ pramiyate, 'mantro nâśyati—ity âha *Mahâdevo Vasishṭhaḥ.*

It is not difficult to explain how this magical formula (as well as the Garuda Upanishad) came to be included in the list of Upanishads. At the fall of Buddhism the Upanishad doctrine or mystical teachings of the older Vedic schools became of great importance to the new sects which then came into existence. Some of these Upanishads no doubt existed separately; others were contained in Vedic treatises already reduced to form. Separate collections of passages of this nature naturally formed an indispensable weapon to the polemical sectaries of the day; and, like all systematists in India, the collectors were possessed of the notion that the number of the Upanishads must be one of what they esteem fortunate, or as possessing mystical properties. Thus the *Muktikopanishad* puts the number at 108; a favourite number, especially in S. India, § and which was also much used by the Buddhists. But these collections were made in different parts of India, and it would not be everywhere easy to make up any number of real Upanishads; thus spurious ones, or even favourite devotional tracts, would be included to make the number of the collection perfect, and different collections would vary much in the separate tracts they included. It does not appear that in any part of India the Upanishads are reckoned at a higher number than 108, but at present there are about 170‖ separate works recognised as Upanishads in all India. Colebrooke (*Essays*, I. p. 91) put the number of them at 52, which seems to be a Benares calculation.

The name *mrityulâṅgala* is puzzling. It cannot possibly be translated "halitus mortis," as Anquetil has done, probably having mistaken one Persian word for another which looks much the same. What, however, it is really intended to mean is difficult to say. Ulukhalâṅgala can only have one meaning, and mrityulâṅgala is perhaps also obscene; the Tantric tracts are full of such allusions.

## THE NALADIYAR.

BY THE REV. F. J. LEEPER, TRANQUEBAR.

(*Continued from page* 218.)

### Chapter 8.—*Patience.*

1. Good lord of the cool hills festooned with springs! speak *not at all with a fool. If a fool* speak, he will speak only to injure you. To slip away from him, and to avoid him by any means in your power, is good. 2. When inferiors speak improper words, the patient hearing these words is patience indeed. The earth, surrounded with swelling waves, will not regard impatient behaviour as praiseworthy, but baseness only. 3. Will the hard words uttered (in reproof) by friends be more evil than the sweet words of strangers speaking with joy, O lord of the cool shore of the mighty ocean, where the beautiful winged insects turn over all the flowers, if they get men who understand the consequence

* The passages in brackets show the variations or additions of the longer recension.

† I am from this compelled to follow No. 7210 alone, as the Grantha MS. is so broken as to be useless.

‡ Svitrî kushṭhî (?).

§ The Upanishads in S. India are always said to be 108, but the Telugu and Tamil Brâhmans differ in the selection. It is always said that there are 108 Śiva temples in S. India, and this number is met with repeatedly.

‖ Prof. Max Müller (*Z. d. d. M. G.* XIX. pp. 137 ff.) mentions 149; to these (in my *Catalogue*, pp. 59 ff.) I added 5, and Dr. Haug (*Brahma und die Brahmanen*) 16.

thereof? 4. Knowing what ought to be known, and submitting thereunto, fearing what ought to be feared, performing every duty so as to satisfy the world, and living in the enjoyment of pleasure according to their means, they who are thus disposed never experience the evils of life. 5. When two persons are friends, mixing without variance, should there be misconduct on the part of one, let the other be patient, as far as he can bear it. If he cannot take it patiently, let him not speak evil, but withdraw to a distance. 6. Though another do one evil, if he say, Well, let it pass, and blame himself, it is good. To give up intimate associates, O lord of the forests! is hard even to brutes. 7. O king of the fair hills abounding with hollow-sounding streams! does not close intimacy with the great arise from the idea that they forgive the grievous faults that are committed against them? Will friends be wanting to them who do what is good? 8. Those who are gifted with patience, and who are not so rash as to destroy themselves though withered and famished with hunger, will not declare their misery to those who love them not. They will make it known only to those who have the power to help them. 9. Let pleasure alone, when thou canst enjoy it, if disgrace attends it. O Lord of the hill country abounding in waters! though pleasure only be constantly regarded, it is preferable to enjoy it in a harmless way. 10. Although he himself be ruined, let not a man think of injuring the worthy; let him not eat with whom he should not eat, even though the flesh of his body waste away; let him not speak words intermingled with falsehood, although he get the whole world canopied by the heavens for his reward.

CHAPTER 9.—*Not coveting another's wife.*

1. Let not the modest man covet another's wife, since the fear attending that sin is great, the pleasure is of short duration, and if you daily reflect, it renders one liable to the punishment of death by the king, and it is a sin that daily leads men to hell. 2. To those who covet their neighbours' wives these four things,—virtue, praise, friendship, and dignity,—will not accrue. To those who covet their neighbours' wives these four things,—hatred, vengeance, and sin accompanied with fear,—will accrue. 3. What benefit arises from the shamelessly desiring one's neighbour's wife? Since in the going to her there is fear, in going away there is fear, in the enjoyment itself there is fear, in case the sin be not known there is fear,—it is always productive of fear. 4. Of what matter is that enjoyment, O wicked one, which you regard? Say. Since if you are discovered your family will be dishonoured, if you are caught your leg will be cut off; while in the act you are in dread, and it will cause ever-enduring anguish in hell. 5. Those who are destitute of everything that is good, and companions of the vile, have habitually sinned with damsels with mole-spotted breasts, and in a former birth have violated by force the wives of others, shall in the next birth be born hermaphrodites and live by dancing. 6. Why should he look with desire upon his neighbour's wife who, after inquiring about a propitious day, and having the drum beaten that all may know, has celebrated his marriage, who has a wife tender and loving in his own house, who then placed herself under his care? 7. The enjoyment of the man of unstable mind possessed with delusion, who desires and embraces the wife of his neighbour, while his neighbours reproach him and his relations fear and are troubled, is of the nature of that pleasure which is caused by licking a serpent's head. 8. Since the desire which arises in the minds of the wise increases not, nor shows itself (by actions), nor extends beyond their own family, the pain which it causes being very grievous, and they, fearing lest by it they should be put to shame before their foes, speak not of it at all. Therefore it dies away of itself in the mind. 9. An arrow, or fire, or the sun with shining beams, though they wound and burn, scorch only the body. But desire,—since it wounds, grieves, and burns the soul,—is much more to be feared than any of these things. 10. If he plunge overhead in the water, a man may escape from the fearful red flames which have sprung up in, and are ravaging a town. But though he plunge in many holy rivers, desire will still be unquenched; yea, though he live like an anchorite on the mountain top, it will still burn.

CHAPTER 10.—*Liberality.*

1. To those men the gates of heaven shall never be closed, who with tender hearts and with a mind in accordance with their alms, greatly rejoicing, give even in poverty according to their ability, even as they did in the day of prosperity. 2. Before you is disgusting old age,

and your dying day also: these are pains destructive of greatness. Run not vainly here and there. Covet not. Give alms, then eat. Hide not any of it when you possess wealth. 3. The wealth of him who in this birth wipes not away the tears of those who, trembling with poverty, betake themselves to him, by reason of his merit in a former birth, of not eating till he had given a portion to others, shall go on increasing while the time of increase lasts. But when the effect of these good deeds is exhausted, that wealth shall altogether leave him, let him hold it never so firmly. 4. Give what you are able, even though you have not the thousandth part of a measure of rice in the house, and then eat your meal; the wise call those in this birth wandering beggars whose chimneys smoke not in this earth, surrounded by the deep sea, who gave not alms in a former birth. 5. Let a man who regards both this world and the next, give what he can as he gets it; and if, through poverty, giving be impossible, to abstain from begging will be to give twice.

6. Those who give are like the female palm tree surrounded by the terrace in the midst of the village, they live beloved by many. Men who eat without giving to others, though their family be flourishing, are like the male palm in a burning-ground. 7. When the rain that should fall falls not, and when mankind omit to do the things they ought to do, O lord of the cool shore beaten by the waves where the Punnei-flower repels the noisome odour of the fish! in what way does the world get on! 8. Man's duty is to give to those who are unable to bear (their distresses), not driving them away, nor turning away from the extended hands. O lord of the cool shore of ocean, full of rivers! to give to those who will pay it back again—has the name of a loan at interest. 9. Not saying they have very little, not saying they have not anything, let them ever exercise fruitful charity to all. Like the pitcher of the mendicant who enters the house-door for alms, it will, in due course, gradually become full. 10. Those who are ten miles distant can hear the sound of the wide drum beaten with the stick; those a yojana distant, can hear the hoarse thunder; but all who live in the three worlds piled up will hear the report that some of the excellent have given alms.

CHAPTER 11.—*The effect of actions done in a former birth.*

1. As a young calf when let loose among a number of cows naturally seeks out and attaches itself to its own mother, so does the act of a former state of existence seek out and attach itself to him who has performed it. 2. The prosperity of him who knows that beauty, youth, glittering wealth, and honour remain not stable in one birth to any one, and yet in one birth performs not a single good deed—has the nature of a thing that takes a body, remains for a time, and then utterly perishes. 3. There are none at all who are not anxious to acquire wealth. Each one's experience of happiness or misery is measured by the deeds of a former birth. None can make the wood-apple round, none can dye the Karla-fruit black. 4. To avoid those things which are to happen, or to detain those who are to depart, is alike impossible even to saints, even as there is none who can give rain out of season, or prevent its falling in season.

5. Those who were once in dignity as tall as the Palmyra, live on, daily losing their greatness, and becoming small as a grain of millet, hide within them their glory. On enquiry it will appear that that which has happened is nothing but the effect of deeds done in a former birth. 6. If you wish to know how it is that those perish, who know the benefits accruing from the sciences which they have acquired by oral instruction, while the unlearned prosper: it is because Yama looks upon the unlearned as refuse cane, since they are destitute, as to their minds, of the sap of knowledge, and therefore he cares not to take them away. 7. Behold all those whose bosoms are goaded by distress and who wander forlorn through the long streets, know—O lord of the cool shore of the billowy ocean where the playful swans tear in pieces the water-flowers!—that this proceeds from the acts of former births. 8. When those who, besides being not ignorant, have learned that which they ought to know and do that which is blameable, O king of the cool shore of the broad ocean, where the lotus flings its odours to the winds! this proceeds from the acts they have formerly done. 9. All who dwell in the world surrounded by the surging ocean desire to be exempt from the afflictive effects of former evil deeds, and to experience the effect of former good deeds; but, whether men wish or do not wish, it is impossible

to prevent that from affecting them which is ordained to happen. 10. The effect of the act of former births does not fall below nor exceed its due proportion, nor doth it fail to come in its turn, neither does it assist out of season, but when it ought to be there it is. Of what use therefore is sorrow when it afflicts you?

CHAPTER 12.—*Truth.*

1. To say he has not that which he does not really possess is no harm to any one. It is the usage of the world. To lie standing or running, that the desire (of others) may fail, O thou who hast rows of bracelets! hath evil more than that of those who have destroyed a good thing done. 2. The excellent and the vile never change their respective natures: though a man should eat sugar it will not taste bitter, and though the gods themselves should eat of the Margosa fruit, it will still taste bitter. 3. In time of prosperity a man's near relations will be as numerous as the stars which sport over the sky. When any one is subjected to intolerable sorrow, O lord of the cool mountain! those who will say "We are related to him" are few indeed. 4. He who secures the middle one of these three things, virtue, wealth and happiness, which have a hold on men's minds in this faithless world, shall secure the other two also; whilst he who obtains not the middle one shall be afflicted like the tortoise put into the pot and boiled. 5. If it be the calf of a good cow, the heifer also will fetch a good price. Though they be unlearned, the words of the rich will pass current. Like ploughing when there is little moisture, touching the surface only, the words of the poor will go for nothing. 6. Although deeply instructed in the knowledge of truth, those who have not accustomed themselves to restraint can never be restrained. Thus, O large-eyed beauty! though the wild gourd be dressed with salt, ghee, milk, curds, and various condiments, its natural bitterness will never be removed. 7. O lord of the shores of the swelling ocean covered with forests, scented by the perfume of the Punnei flowers! since that which is fated to happen will happen, let persons never utter reproachful words behind the backs of those who revile them, but only before their faces. 8. Though cows be of different colours, the milk which the cows produce is not of different colours. Like milk, the fruit of virtue is of one nature, though virtue itself take many colours in this world, like the cows. 9. Has any one lived entirely without praise in the world? Has any one failed through exertion to prosper? Has any one died without being reproached? Has any one, even to the end of his life, collected (what he deems) sufficient wealth? If you inquire, you will not find even one. 10. If they every way consider there is nothing else that goes with them but the actions they have done, there (in the other world) even the body which (here) they cherished and adorned is useless when death takes them away.

CHAPTER 13.—*The fear of misconduct.*

1. A burning-ground is the proper place for the bodies of those who, though plunged in the sea of domestic cares, betake not themselves to asceticism as a refuge. The stomach of the possessors of little wisdom is a burning-place for beasts and birds without number, *i. e.* he eats them. 2. They should have their legs bound with iron, become slaves to their enemies, and go to the field of gloomy soil, who keep in a cage the partridge or the quail, which live in the woods resounding with the sound of winged insects. 3. He who in a former birth desiring crabs broke off their legs and ate them, when the effect of that sin shall take place, he shall wander about afflicted with leprosy, the palms of his hands excepted; all his fingers like Chank-shell beads will rot away. 4. Even such a thing as ghee when approached by the flame of fire will cause intolerable pain by fierce burning; of many bad actions will they become guilty who, though not crooked, become so, and associate with those who are bad. 5. Friendship with the wise will daily increase in regular gradation, like the crescent moon. Friendship with the base will daily decrease, like the full moon which rides through the sky. 6. Thinking them good thou didst associate with them. If in those with whom thou hast associated there be no good intent towards thee who hast associated with them, O thou who didst associate (with such)! listen: It is like a man opening a box believing that there is an unguent in it and seeing a snake inside. 7. O lord of the land resplendent with mountains on whose declivities genii abound! since a man's actions differ so much from his mind, who is there that is capable of searching out so as to understand the resources of another's mind? 8. O lord of the fair hills over which slowly roll streams that cast up gems!

the great friendship of those who love with deceit, making a pretence of stedfast attachment but not loving with the heart, will only afflict the mind. 9. Like as when the glittering spear that he cast is caught by his enemy's hand, the thief's courage is destroyed, so since the gains of sin follow after and destroy the acquirer of these gains in two births, it is good to leave the ignorant altogether. 10. Wilt thou not cease to long for a family? How long wilt thou live in sorrow saying, It is *for* children? O my heart! there is no advantage that accrues to the soul except the good thou doest, though it be but little.—(*To be continued.*)

## BENGALI FOLKLORE—LEGENDS FROM DINAJPUR.*

BY G. H. DAMANT, B.C.S., RANGPUR.

*The two Ganja-eaters.*

Whilst a ganja-eater was catching fish on the bank of a river, a man from another country came and asked which was the road and what was his name; he replied that his name was "eater of six maunds of ganja." The stranger, hearing this, said, "Have you become so intoxicated after eating only six maunds of ganja? You do not deserve the name of ganja-eater. There is a man in my country who can eat nine maunds without feeling in the least distressed or intoxicated, and can walk by himself afterwards." The ganja-eater, hearing that, said he would go to that country and fight with the man, so he tied six maunds of ganja in his handkerchief and went on his way till he came to a pond, where he ate his six maunds of ganja, and then, feeling thirsty, went down to the water and began to drink till he had drunk the pond dry, and still had not quenched his thirst, so he lay down on the bank and went to sleep.

A râja's elephant used to drink at that pond, and it happened that his mahaut brought him that day, but when he came he found no water in the pond, and nothing but a man lying on the bank. The mahaut made the elephant pick him up, but could not bring him to his senses, so he took his elephant and went away.

After a short time the ganja-eater came to his senses, and, feeling himself free from all uneasiness, determined to leave that place and go to the house of the nine maunds ganja-eater. So he went along inquiring the way, and at last arrived at the house and called out, "Brother nine maunds ganja-eater, are you at home?" His wife said he was not at home, and had gone to cut sugarcane. The man inquired whether he would return soon, and she said, "Yes, he will return immediately, his dinner is ready waiting;" but he said "I cannot bear to stop any longer; I will go and fight him: show me the road." So she came out and told him which road to take, and he soon arrived at the place and called out. "Brother nine maunds ganja-eater, come, I will fight you." He said "For seven days I have eaten nothing, how can I fight?" The six maunds ganja-eater replied, "I have eaten nothing for nine days." The other said, "No one will see us if we fight here; come to my country and I will fight you, and every one will be able to see who loses and who wins." With these words he put all the sugarcane on his head which he had cut for the last seven days, and they went away together. As they went along the road they met a fishwoman who was taking some fish to sell at the market; they called to her and told her to stop and look on while they fought. She said she was already late for the market, but they could fight on her arm and she would see them. So they rose up and began to fight, and while they were fighting a kite came by and took away the ganja-eaters, fish and all. Now it happened that just at that time a râja's daughter had gone out for a walk, and, a storm arising, they were thrown down in front of her, and she, thinking they were bits of straw which had been carried up by the storm, had them swept away.

## MISCELLANEA.

### THE CHERA DYNASTY.

At a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society held June 16, Mr. J. Eggeling, the Secretary, read some notes "On Southern Indian Inscriptions." Another volume of impressions had lately been placed at his disposal by Sir W. Elliot. Among the grants hitherto examined was a very important one relating to the Chera or Konga dynasty. The last of the Cheras, is in the *Kongadeśa Râjâkal*, said to have made a grant of land in Śaka 816 (A.D. 894), whilst another grant is mentioned under the fifth king, dated Śaka 4 (A.D. 82). This would give an average of nearly thirty-four years for each of the last twenty-four kings of the Cheras. Prof. Dowson did not feel justified to accept so high an average but, doubting the existence or genuineness of those grants, he allowed an average of eighteen years to each king, and thus arrived at A.D. 396 as the

* Continued from vol. I. p. 348.

probable date at which this dynasty arose. The document in Sir Walter Elliot's volume was issued by the tenth king, named Arivarman (not Harivaman, as stated in the Tamil work), and bears the date Śaka 169 (A.D. 247). It also contains an account of the two preceding kings, Mâdhava and Koṅgaṇi Varman, which tallies exactly with that given in the Tamil treatise, and thus tends to show that the latter is entirely based on copper-plate grants. To judge from the shape and general character of the letters, this inscription would seem to be very ancient, and to show no traces of forgery. The *Kongadeśa Rájákal* also mentions a grant made by the same king in Śaka 210, or forty-one years later than the present grant. If any more grants of the same dynasty should be forthcoming, we might probably have to admit the correctness of the chronology* as given in the Tamil book, notwithstanding the high average. There were also in the volume two grants relating to the Western or Kalyâṇî line of the Châlukyas, both issued by Venayâditya, the son of Vikramâditya, during his father's lifetime, and at his command, and dated respectively in Śaka 611 and 613 (A.D. 689 and 691), being the tenth and eleventh years of the king's reign. He would, accordingly, have succeeded on his father's resignation in Śaka 601-2, as his predecessors are mentioned, Vikramâditya, Satyâśraya, Kirttivarman, and Pulakeśi. Since it is most probable that Satyâśraya began to reign in Śaka 531, we should thus obtain seventy years for the duration of his and his son's reigns. Of Pulakeśi there was a grant at the British Museum, dated Śaka 411; but there was some doubt as to its genuineness, on palæological grounds, the character of the letters being very nearly the same as that of some inscriptions of the Eastern line in the tenth century of our era. Sir W. Elliot's collection also included several grants of the Pallava line, containing the names Skandavarman, Viravarman, Vishṇugopavarman, and Siṅhavarman; besides Râjendravarman and Devendravarman, and Chandavarman and Nandivarman. All these grants, however, record merely the years of the reigns of the kings by whom they were issued.—*Athenæum*, June 21.

## VITHOBÂ OF PANDARPUR.

On the 20th July a Gosavi, who, it seems, was highly displeased with his god, went into the temple at Pandarpur and hurled a stone at the image with such force that it knocked a piece out of his breast and broke his legs. The attendants seized the offender and beat him, but he was rescued by the police and placed in custody. Thus the great god Vithobâ, "the lord of heaven and earth," according to the Hindu canons, is *dead*. Had such an accident befallen any common god, the image might have been replaced. But the Vithobâ of Pandarpur cannot be replaced. Only Banâras, Dwârka, Nâsik, and one or two other places can boast gods of equal or approaching sanctity. Thousands from every quarter of Mahârâshtra perform toilsome pilgrimages to the fair at Pandarpur, undeterred by the cholera which appears at every gathering, sweeping off numbers of the pilgrims. The people present at the last Ashâdhi fair, which lasted from the 6th to the 10th July, were estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand. Every man brings his offering, so that the revenue of the temple is enormous. Besides supporting a host of priests in luxury, it affords a balance which is laid out in the most costly jewels for the god, and in decorating the shrine with gold in a manner which dazzles the eye the first time it is beheld. Vows the most extravagant are made to Vithobâ for prayers answered or blessings expected; no sacrifice of wealth, of comfort, or of life, being considered too great to buy the god's favour. Besides the crowds who throng at the regular fairs in July and October, there is a large daily attendance of those who live in the vicinity. Vithobâ receives his worshippers one at a time, and is dressed up by the attendant priests with a splendour proportionate to the amount of the offering expected from each devotee. One man who visited Pandarpur last November with an offering of twenty-five rupees, told us he was received in a dress and jewels worth Rs. 50,000. It is said that the god possesses ornaments valued at twenty lakhs of rupees, and would appear with them all on at once were a worshipper to come bringing a fitting offering. Some of his diamonds and pearls are described as of extraordinary size and purity. The rivalry is great among the worshippers to be honoured by a sight of the finest jewels, and induces many a gift beyond what the donor can afford. But no privation is complained of which has to be endured to propitiate Vithobâ of Pandarpur.

The origin of this celebrated idol is thus told the god Vithobâ had formerly his seat at Dwârka. There lived at Pandarpur a youth named Pundalika, who, though only twelve or fifteen years of age, was a great saint and an unceasing worshipper of the gods. His piety attracted the love of Vithobâ, who paid him a visit in person from Dwârka. The boy was in attendance on his father when the god appeared in human form, unseen to any but Puṇdalika. He at once recognised the favour done him, and entreated Vithobâ to remain

* To this dynasty also belong the Merkara plates dated 388, and the Nâgamangala plates dated Śaka 699. *Vide ante*, vol. I. p. 361; vol. II. p. 155.—ED.

on that hallowed spot for ever. The god graciously consented, and was instantly transformed into the black idol which ever since has stood there. A temple was built round him, and he acquired a wide reputation.

But Viṭhobâ is broken and dead, and his priests have given out that the great god may perhaps be induced, by prayers and fasts, to signify his gracious consent to retake possession of the mutilated idol. So, already, thousands of religious Hindus are seeking, by extravagant vows and mortifications, to persuade Viṭhobâ not to depart from Paṇḍarpur; and the aid of the press will doubtless be sought, to spread the news of the disaster wherever there are Hindus to pray, fast, and make offerings. The fall of the Paṇḍarpur shrine, and the stoppage of the pilgrimages, would be one of the greatest blessings that could befall the country, as the fairs are a source of annual expense and harassment to the authorities all over the presidency: for many virulent outbreaks of cholera are traced every year to the return home of the pilgrims with the fatal disease among them. Before and after each fair, sanitary precautions are taken along all the principal routes, at great trouble and expense. But the Hindus, who never appreciated this action of the British Government, are now fearful lest the angry god should plague the country, and are also warning the authorities of the certain falling off of the revenue from the cessation of the tax of four annas a head levied on every pilgrim to the temple. Those who understand the priesthood, hundreds of whom are living on the fat of the land by means of the offerings of Viṭhobâ's worshippers, can foretell that they will never allow the shrine to be deserted. The holiest man of them will one of these days be favoured with a vision or dream, in which Viṭhobâ will intimate his pleasure to hear the prayers of his servants and continue at Paṇḍarpur. In this case the popular veneration of the idol will become greater than ever, and yet larger numbers will repair to Paṇḍarpur to worship the god who was wounded to death, and whose deadly wound was healed. This result seems to be regarded as a foregone conclusion. The damage done to the idol has been repaired by a stone-mason, many of the most ardent devotees on the spot tasting neither food nor water till the god was made whole. So that everything is ready for Viṭhobâ to take possession again. The police saved the impious *gosâvî* from the fury of the people, and he now awaits his trial under some mild section of the Penal Code about "voluntarily committing injury to property."

Paṇḍarpur is a town on the Bhîmâ, of about 20,000 inhabitants, situated in the Satârâ collectorate, and distant 112 miles from Punâ.—*Abridged from "Bombay Gazette," 28th July.*

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PEHLEVI INSCRIPTIONS.

During a recent tour through the Cochin and Travancor States I found some Pehlevi inscriptions which go to prove that there were once large settlements of Persians, probably Manichæans, in S. India. This fact will be of interest to Sanskritists since Prof. Weber's admirable essay on the *Râmâyaṇa*. Prof. Weber has shown reasons for suspecting Greek influences in the composition of that poem; and it will now, in consequence of this discovery, be possible to prove that much in the modern philosophical schools of India comes from some form of Christianity derived from Persia: and this fact at once explains also the origin of the modern Vedânta sects in Southern India exclusively.

In a Syrian (*i.e.* Nestorian) church at Kottayam in Travancor, said to be one of the oldest in the country, I found at the back of a side-altar a granite slab with a cross in bas-relief on it, and round the arched top a short sentence in Pehlevi; at the foot of the cross a few words in Syriac. On looking round the church I found a similar but evidently older tablet built into the wall. This tablet is nearly covered by whitewash, but shows only a Pehlevi inscription. There is a similar tablet in the Mount church (near Madras), which has long been the property of the Portuguese.

Since my return to Mangalor I have found in Friar Vincenzo Maria's *Viaggio all' Indie Orientali*, p. 135 (Roma, 1672), mention of several such tablets; he particularly mentions the ones at Cranganor and Meliapor (*i. e.* Madras), and takes them to be relics of the mission of St. Thomas to India. As there is hardly a trace left of Cranganor, it would be useless to search there; but the older Syrian churches (at Niraṇam, Kâyamkulam, &c.) will no doubt furnish other copies. In this very out-of-the-way place I have nothing to help in deciphering the Pehlevi inscription, which is nearly the same on the three tablets I have seen; the first few signs only differ. The last word in all looks like *afzûd* (may it be increased!). As soon as I can get it lithographed I shall send copies to the principal European scholars who occupy themselves with Pehlevi.

The number of these tablets proves that there must have been communities in several places, and those large enough to have churches both on the S. W. and S. E. coasts of India. Cosmas (beginning of the sixth century A.D.) mentions Christians in Male (*i.e.* S. W. India), and that there was a Persian bishop at Kalliana, *i.e.* Kalyâṇapûr, near Uḍupi, and in this province—a place

always reputed to be one of the earliest Christian settlements in India. Nor were these Persians disliked, as foreigners are now, by the natives of India. Before the beginning of the ninth century A.D., they had acquired sovereign rights over their original settlement, Maṇigrâmam, by a grant from the Perumâl. These Persians were thus established long before the origin of the modern schools of the Vedânta, and the founders of these sects were *all* natives of places close to Persian settlements. Śankarâchârya was born not far from Cranganor, where the Persians first founded a colony; Râmânuja was born and educated near Madras; and Mâdhavâchârya, the founder of the sect which approaches nearest of all to Christianity, was a native of Udupi, a place only three or four miles south of Kalyânapûr. A comparison of the doctrines of these sects with those of the Manichæans will, I think, settle the question; but I must reserve that for another occasion. That these Persians were Manichæans is, I think, to be concluded from the name of their settlement, Maṇigrâmam. This can only mean "Manes-town;" the only other possible meaning, "Jewel-town," is utterly improbable.

Prof. Weber has shown that the Brahmasamâj doctrines are an unacknowledged result of Christian missions in this century; the S. Indian Vedânta sects must be taken as a similar result of perhaps the earliest Christian (though Manichæan) mission to India.

How close the connection between Persia and India was in the sixth century A. D. is also known from the history of the European versions of the *Pañchatantra*. The existence of this work in India was then known to the Persians, and this knowledge presupposes a greater knowledge of Indian matters by foreigners than has ever since been the case up to the end of the last century.

I may remark also that the facts I have mentioned above render it probable that Bûrzweih or Barzûyeh, who first translated the *Pañchatantra* into Pehlevi, was actually a Christian, as the Arab historian, Ibn Abu Oseibia, states. The S. Indian Sanskrit *Pañchatantra* is the oldest yet discovered (see Prof. Benfey's note, *Academy*, vol. iii. pp. 139-140); may not Bûrzuyeh have got his copy in S. W. India?

Patriotic Hindus will hardly like the notion that their greatest modern philosophers have borrowed from Christianity; but as they cannot give an historical or credible account of the origin of these Vedantist sects, if we take the above facts into consideration, there is more against them than a strong presumption, for these doctrines were certainly unknown to India in Vedic or Buddhistic times.

I have mentioned before the discovery of an old Jain version of the *Râmâyaṇa* in Canarese. This is certainly more than a thousand years old, and differs greatly from the *Vâlmîki-Râmâyaṇa*. The Tamil version (by Kampan) is also very old and deserves examination if the question of the original form of the Sanskrit epic is to be *really* decided. I hope soon to be able to give some account of the Canarese version, as I have found an excellent MS., written about 420 years ago, which is wonderfully correct.—A. BURNELL in *The Academy*.

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Professor Palmer, the Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, has an Arabic Grammar in the press, mainly founded on Syrian authorities. From what I hear of the arrangement, it will be more like a portable edition of Silvestre de Sacy's *Grammaire Arabe* than anything else one knows. The Professor has also been translating *Alice in Wonderland* into Arabic verse and prose, and proposes publishing it, provided he can get the use of the original plates.

C. M.

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An answer to the query respecting the right and left hand Castes (p. 214) will be found in the edition of the *Kural* by F. W. Ellis. The distinction arises primarily from the landowners and their serfs being the heads of one class, and the Brahmans, artizans, and other interlopers forming the other. But the constituent castes of either party vary.

A.B.

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CASTES OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

(*Continued from page* 242.)

*Kabbar*:—A caste of low rank in Southern India; in Dhârwâḍ they are numerous, and, like the village Kolis, act as ferrymen: in Kanara they are few, and are engaged like Bhuis in fishing and carrying palanquins: their habits are those of their class. Buchanan describes the 'Cabbaru' as a branch of the Bhuis, some being cultivators and others lime-burners. Morals and habits rude. *Kabalgâri* is the name of a similar caste in Dharwâd.

*Chavadriâ*:—A Bhill tribe in Gujarat, chiefly in the Surat collectorate, numerous; small cultivators, labourers, or fishermen in the Tâpî river. Their condition is hardly raised above the lowest level; they are one of the classes included in the Kâlâ Prajâ, or the black race.

*Pâtharwat*:—A caste of middle rank, in the Dekhan, stone-masons and artificers in stone.

*Kandvi*:—A caste in Gujarat who are confectioners, &c.

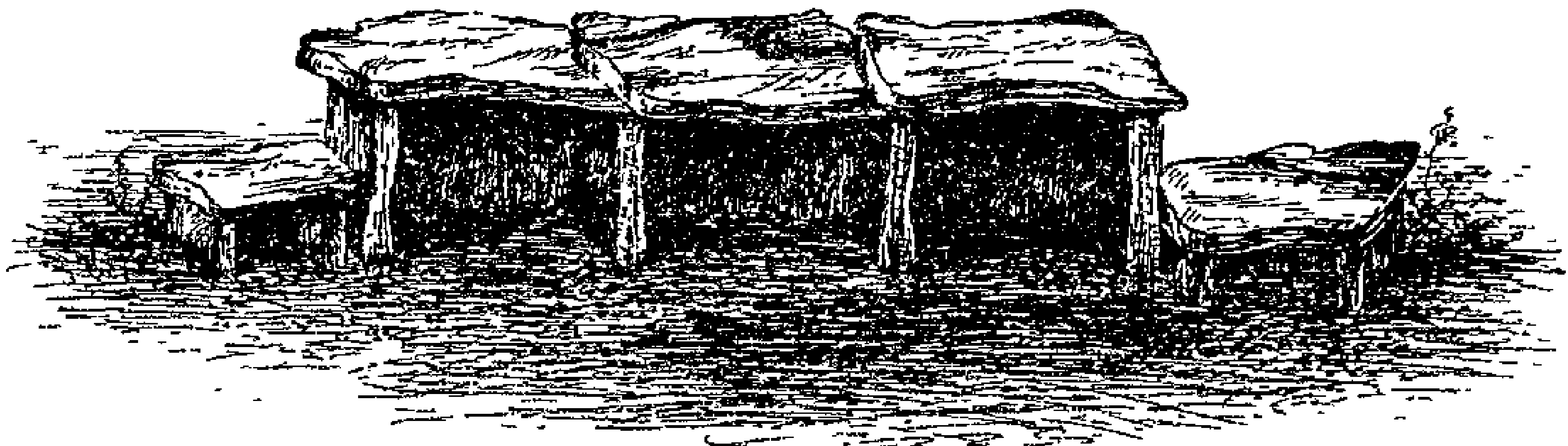
*Jangars*:—Singers and bards; holding middle rank, and often in public or private employ.





*Clay head, found in Rálliyôr Cairn.*

*Vol II page 278*



**FIVE-CELLED OPEN-FRONTED DOLMEN, FORMERLY EXISTING NEAR NIDI MAND, NILGIRIS.**
(FROM A ROUGH SKETCH MADE ON THE SPOT).

*Vol. II. page 275*

## ON SOME FORMERLY EXISTING ANTIQUITIES ON THE NILGIRIS.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, late M.C.S.

ALTHOUGH the antiquities of the Nilgiri Hills were thoroughly investigated by the late Commissioner of the Nilgiris, Mr. J. Breeks, under the direction and with the aid of the Madras Government, and although it is understood his account of them was completed before his lamented and untimely death, and will be published, it will not, I hope, be regarded as superfluous to record the original features of some of the antiquities which have long ago been destroyed, and are not mentioned in Colonel Congreve's account.

I.

In April 1849, when at K u n û r (Coonoor) and inquiring amongst the natives about the ancient remains, I was told by a Todâ that there were some to be seen beyond the N i d i M ā n d. So, starting early one morning, and crossing the great ravine which lies between K u n û r and the Hālikāl ridge, then clothed with deep magnificent forest, where now the eye meets nothing save productive—but, alas! ugly—coffee-clearings, I wound upwards through the picturesque foldings of the hills to the Nidi Mānd, where my informant met me. All Todâ mānds, *i. e.* villages, are beautifully placed, and this (whether still existing or improved into a coffee-garden, I cannot say) was nestled in a cleft between two peaks, at the edge of a thick grove, the trees of which stretched their great moss-hung arms over the wild-looking primitive huts, by which stood the tall men wrapt classic-wise in their cloths, whilst the handsome black-ringleted women sat chattering in a row, and the boys—their thick shocks of hair cut quaintly thatch-fashion across their foreheads—came running over the close fresh green-sward which lies before every Mānd.

Passing through the high secluded cleft, round the base of one of the sheltering peaks, I descended for fully 1000 feet on the other side of the ridge, by an excessively steep and difficult track, to a hollow, where on three sides the slopes ran very precipitously down, enclosing at the bottom a small platform, open on the fourth or south side, whence the mountain-side fell steeply down to the B h a v â n i valley at the foot of the range. On a knoll in the middle of the platform stood a cromlech of very large size, or rather a row of connected cromlechs, *forming five partitions*, three large ones of equal height in the centre, and a smaller and lower one at each end. They stood in a line, the three central compartments being covered with three huge capstones, the edge of one overlapping the edge of the next; the supporting stones, four in number, being great slabs, set up end-wise, with slabs enclosing the back or north side—the front or south side of all was open; the smaller structure at each end was formed in like manner. Unfortunately I omitted to take the exact dimensions, but a man could sit easily in any of the three central cells: within them lay the skeleton of a fawn, and part of an elephant's tooth much hacked with a knife. The supporting slabs were sculptured all over on their sides within with figures in the Hindu style, processional or warlike, but there were none on the under-sides of the capstones. The figures were evidently ancient, as, though covered from the weather, their outlines were much worn. Whether these sculptures were coæval with the stones and wrought by the men who first placed them, or whether they were subsequent additions, is a controversy still *sub judice*. They have been found on cromlechs and kistvaens in other parts of the hills, and if regarded as contemporary with the stones would at once mark the age of these structures, as emblems, such as the Basava bull, of known date, occur amongst them. They appear always to have struck observers as later additions cut upon the previously existing cromlechs; such was my impression and also that of Col. Congreve, and others,* but the point is by no means settled yet. I may observe that a man sitting inside the cells could easily have cut the sculptures in the cromlech now described by me.

On visiting the spot again in 1856 this curious monument had been entirely destroyed, every stone overthrown and lying scattered around; the work evidently of some barbarians—not, I fear, dark-skinned. Though hitherto calling it '*cromlech*,' I hardly know how to class it. It was indeed rather a succession of open-sided connected kistvaens. Single dolmens or kistvaens, consisting of upright side and back slabs sup-

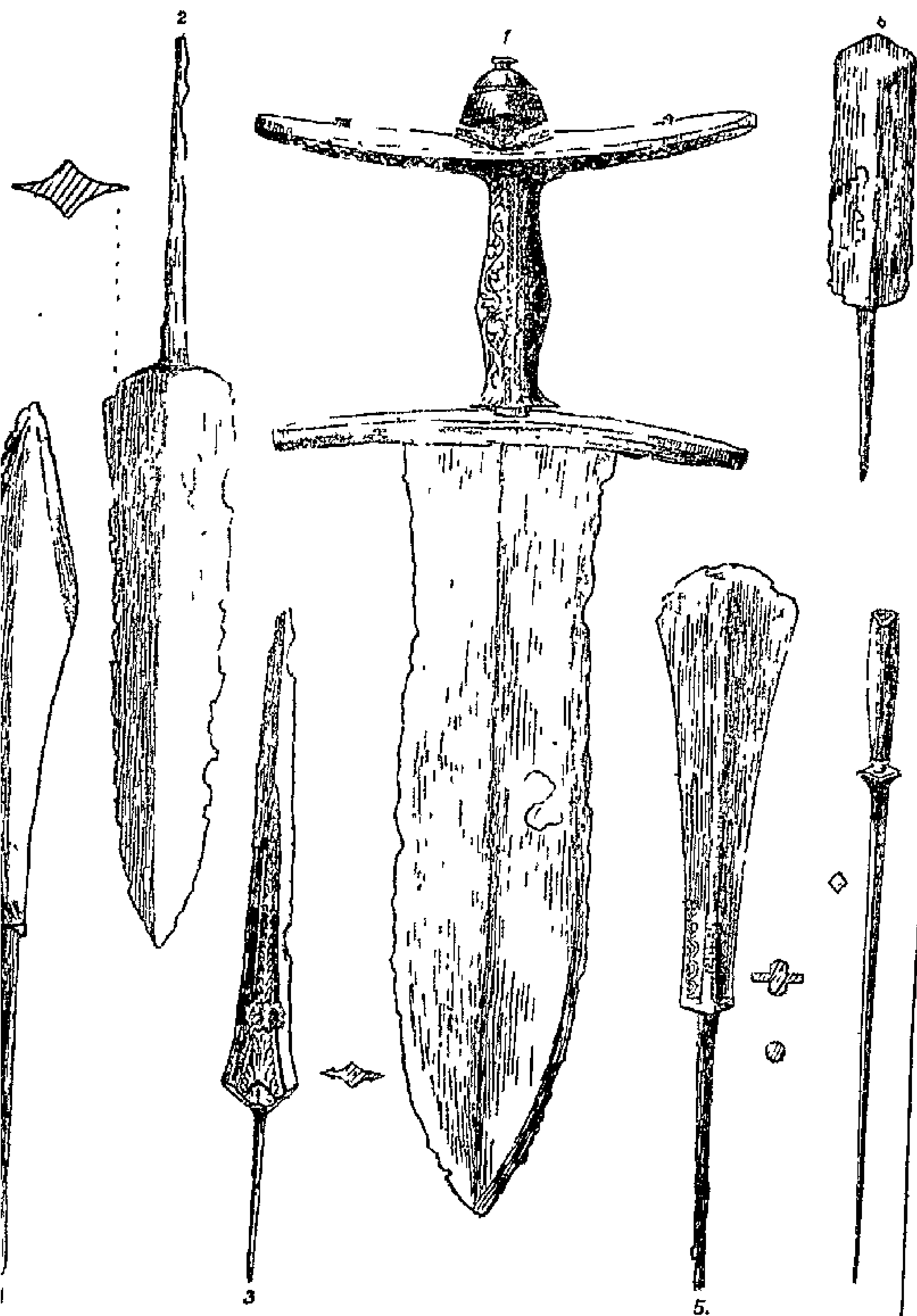
*See *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XIV. page 120, Old Series, and vol. IV. page 118, New Series.

porting a covering stone, the front side remaining open, are not unfrequent, especially in the eastern region of the Nilgiris, several of them also sculptured within; but I know of no structures of connected cells, like the one described, occurring either in India or any other country. It differs essentially from the *allées couvertes* and chambered barrows of Europe. Colonel Congreve describes no such monument in his *Antiquities of the Nilgiris*, and I know of but one other example, on the hills, namely, at Mêher, some miles westward at the foot of the Kundâ Range, where there appear to have been four connected cells, also with sculptured stones, but I am uncertain whether with appended lesser cells. This monument also, I understand, has been partially destroyed.

Though the intention of kistvaens, chambered barrows, and what are generally called cromlechs, was undoubtedly sepulchral, I am on the whole not sure that it was so with respect to this and the other sculptured dolmens of the Nilgiris. Nothing was found on digging up the floor of the cells in the Nidi Mând Dolmen,—which may further be said with confidence to have been always free-standing, and never covered with a tumulus,—an assertion further strengthened by the sculptures within. With respect to the last-mentioned feature, I may observe that these sculptured stones when occurring near their villages are worshipped as gods by the Baḍagas, the most numerous race on the hills. This, however, I believe, is only an instance of the Hindu propensity to venerate anything that appears mysterious or sacred, and argues no other connection with the remains. The Kurambâs—the wild jungle-tribe that haunt the densest jungles of the mountain slopes, and whose remote ancestry may have had more to do with megalithic monuments, also pay worship to some of the cairns and cromlechs on the plateau, in which they believe their old gods reside. They and their forest-kindred the Irulas, "the children of darkness," still after every funeral bring a *devva koṭṭu kallu*, i. e. a long water-worn pebble, and put it in a cromlech to represent the deceased. Cromlechs have sometimes been found filled with such pebbles. Free-standing dolmens —or, as I should prefer to call them, hut-temples —closed on three sides, with a fourth open, and containing *lingam* stones or rude images, are frequent in the Maisar country and on the Shivarâi Hills in Salem, and are but rough extempore shrines, made and used to-day, but suggesting what the use of some of the ancient cromlechs may have been. In Central India both closed and open-sided kistvaens abound, but it has been observed that, though the former contain sepulchral remains, urns, &c. in profusion, the latter never do. I am therefore inclined to regard the five-celled open-sided Nidi Mând Dolmen as not sepulchral, but intended for a rude temple or shrine; and the cut piece of an elephant's tusk found in it had probably been laid there by some wandering Kurambâ, to represent one of the primæval gods worshipped by his ancestors before the advent of Indra and Vishṇu. The grey weather-worn structure had an aspect of quaint mysterious antiquity as it stood in that spot of wild and utter seclusion, backed by steep converging slopes rough with rocks and trees, and overlooking in front a wide jungle-country stretching far below in a labyrinth of ridges and valleys. The very peculiar feature of a small chamber being attached to each end of the great central triple chamber must not be overlooked. Analogous side-chambers are attached to the magnificent cromlech in Guernsey known as "*L'Autel du Déhus*," and these are spoken of as "unique;" they however contained curious forms of interment. Finally I may add that, when returning, a small cairn was observed near the Toḍâ mând, on opening which a curious flattened *chatti* was found, its mouth covered with a flat dish, and filled with red sand, like none in the neighbourhood. This peculiarity, of vessels being filled with sand or mould that must have been brought from a distance, occurs in cairn-interments both on the Indian plains and in England.

II.

A few years after the discovery of the above-described cromlech, a number of weapons were found in a stone-circle between Kunûr and Kartâri, on the Nilgiris. The circle was by no means remarkable, about six feet in diameter, and the stones of moderate size, only just appearing above the ground. It occupied no distinguished site, being on the slope of a hill of ordinary appearance, and might easily have escaped notice unless actually walked over. On digging into it, however, a number of weapons and implements were discovered *embedded in a thick layer of charcoal*, which appears to have had the




IRON WEAPONS FOUND BURIED IN A STONE-CIRCLE BETWEEN KUNÛR AND KARTÂRI, NILGIRI HILLS.

HALF-SIZE

effect of keeping them in remarkable preservation, for they were nearly as clean and perfect as if fresh from the smith, and several of them remarkable both for shape and workmanship, and an elaborateness of ornament that seems hard to reconcile with the rude age commonly ascribed to such remains. They are now in the British Museum: a description of some of the more remarkable is subjoined :—

1. A short very broad-bladed sword or dagger, 14 inches in total length, the blade 9½, and 2½ in breadth at the widest part—for it is leaf-shaped, like swords of the Bronze period in Europe, being broadest at the middle, narrowing to the point, and to the bottom, and again widening as it joins the hilt; it is double-edged: there is a cross-guard at each end of the handle (in this differing from European examples), and the handle is decorated with a minute double wavy beading running down it on each of the four sides, the spaces between each line of beading being filled with an incised arabesque pattern of lines and curves very neatly executed. The inner faces of the guards are also ornamented with a pattern of similar character but different design. The guards and handle—which is perforated, all form separate pieces, held together by a tong secured by a knob, formed of two pieces on the outer side of the lower guard. Another dagger was also found in the deposit, differing chiefly in the blade being narrow and of uniform breadth, and the handle much less elaborate.

2. The head of a spear or javelin, the blade 8 inches long, and 1¼ wide at bottom, narrowing gradually to the point. Several other smaller heads, of the same character, were found.

3. A javelin-head, 6½ inches long in blade, which is an inch wide at the bottom, tapering to the point, and distinguished by an incised pattern of curves running in double diminishing lines along three-fourths of its length.

4. A leaf-shaped javelin, 6½ inches long in the blade, which is 1½ inch wide in its broadest part, narrowing thence to the point and to the tong, the upper blade double-edged.

5. A remarkable javelin-head, the blade, 5½ inches long, widening upwards to a curved convex edge, an inch wide across; the bottom decorated with a raised rib 1½ inch long, studded with minute curved lines, and the sides for the same distance ornamented with beading and curved lines in pairs.

6. A plain javelin-head, the blade 3 inches long, but ending in an obtuse angle rather than a point.

7. A long spike-shaped arrowhead, four-sided but ending in a point, the bottom square, edged with straight and wavy lines, and fixed to a hollow socket, 2¼ inches long, the arrow-spike itself being 5 inches long and half an inch broad at base. Three other arrow-heads of this peculiar type were also found in the deposit, singularly perfect and well made. Arrow-heads of long triangular shape are also found in Nilgiri cairns, much of the same kind as are now used by the jungle tribes, but I have not heard of this spiky type being now in use.

Two pairs of twisted bronze or copper bangles were found in this deposit, and several other less noteworthy weapons and objects, the whole much better preserved than any others I have met with.

### III.

In 1848 when at K u n û r I received information of a large unopened cairn—an undisturbed example had even then become scarce,—and, on proceeding to examine it, was guided to an exceedingly high and steep hill over the R â l l i y â r, just above where the three roads from U t a k â m a n d, K u n û r, and K o t â g i r i meet. It was a very stiff pull up, especially towards the end, where the hill rose into an abrupt sugar-loaf peak. On the top there was a very large and massive cairn of the peculiar Nilgiri type—an immense heap of stones with a circular well in the centre; the sides of the well—built of large blocks carefully and accurately adjusted, the well—about five feet in diameter and six in depth; the wall enclosing it—nearly seven feet thick, and the same height above the ground outside. In fact the word "heap" applied to the structure is misleading; the stones were not loosely piled, but fitted so that the whole structure rather resembled a section of a truncated round-tower;—and none but those who have attempted it can appreciate the difficulty and skill required to build a wall of loose uncemented stones that will stand firm for even a short period, much more for ages. The central well was entirely filled with comparatively small loose stones rising into a pile. This, though conveying an assurance that the cairn was undisturbed, threatened a long and hard piece of work before it could be explored. And so it proved;

for though *shikáris*, coolies, and guides mustered a dozen men, it took them from tolerably early in the morning till much past midday before the centre of the cairn was cleared. In accomplishing this, one remarkable feature was observed: in the middle of the well there was a long large stone nearly four feet in length, of considerable thickness and tapering upwards, placed upright, filled in, and covered with the stones which filled the well. Whether this had any lingam, or other significance, I cannot say. After the circular central opening was at last cleared, nothing was found to reward the toil but some pieces of a large urn; a miniature buffalo's-head of hard-baked clay; a human head the size of a lime, of the same—the hair being represented by little dotted rings; and a small sickle-shaped iron-knife: the whole cairn had been built on the rock, and there were only two or three inches of soil at the bottom of the well. Considering the number of objects frequently yielded by cairns, I was much disappointed at this result. The hill-top was the most commanding of the many around, on almost every one of which a cairn was visible, and there was a magnificent prospect from it over Kotagiri and the low country beyond, extending to the distant Salem and Trichinâpalli hills. Hence one was led to conclude the cairn must be the burial-place of a great chieftain; and the enormous labour expended in carrying such multitudes of stones up a hill that was trying to ascend empty-handed, raised the expectation they would cover a rich and various funeral deposit.

9, *Randolph Crescent, London, June* 1873.

## MUSALMÁN REMAINS IN THE SOUTH KONKAN.

BY A. K. NAIRNE, Esq., Bo. C.S., BANDORA.

### I.—*Dâbhol.*

The Southern Konkan is a district which up to the time of the Marâṭhâs possessed little importance, and is but seldom mentioned in the earlier histories. The Musalmâns, who spread so gradually over India, would perhaps never have thought so barren and uncivilized a country worth conquering at all, if it had not been that its seaports gave travellers from Persia and Arabia easier access to the great cities of the Dekhan than could be had by any land-journey and it must have been necessary also to keep open certain routes from these ports to the Dekhan, without which the command of the coast would have been of little value. It is probable that these ports and routes were but few, and from the fact of nearly all the Konkan forts having been rebuilt and enlarged by Sivâji, the traces of the Musalmân occupation are even less than they otherwise would be. Yet it is possible, by searching books of old history and travel, and at the same time examining the few remaining ruins, to get some idea of what this district was in the days of Musalmân ascendancy, and to make out a few of the routes by which merchants and travellers from Persia, Arabia and Europe found their way to the capital cities of Bidar, Gulbargâ, Bijâpur, and Golkondâ. What I have collected I now give with tolerable confidence that, as far as it goes, it is correct, but it is no more than an outline which may perhaps help others to prepare a complete local history.

In his translation of Ferishtah, Briggs, speaking of the Muhammadan invasion of the Konkan in 1429, says: "It seems very doubtful if the whole of the Konkan had ever been attacked before this period, and this exploit seems to have been rather a marauding expedition than a conquest. The ports of Dâbul and Chaul are spoken of at a very early period as in the hands of the Muhammadans: but whether they occupied much of the interior of the country appears very doubtful. As I have no acquaintance with the district in which Chaul lies, I shall confine myself to that part of the Southern Konkan between Bânkot and Goa—that is, the Ratnâgiri collectorate and a small part of the Sâvantvâḍi State, and on all accounts it will be proper to begin with the history of Dâbul, as it is always spelt by the Musalmân and early English writers though it is written in Marâthi Dâbhol.*

This ancient port is situated above 85 miles

* Sádik Isfaháni, in his *Takwím al Buldán* (cir. 1635) says 'Dábul (دابل) a seaport of the Dekhan, long 85°0', lat. 45°30'.' Chivol (چیول) or Chaul, he places in long. 88 and lat 36°, and Bidar (بیدر) in long. 109°, lat. 47°.—Ed.

S. of Bombay on the N. bank of the river Vasishthi, just at the point where it opens out into a noble estuary, and about two miles higher up than the Marâthâ fort of Anjanvel, which guards the entrance on the southern side. Though exceedingly picturesque, no one would ever have chosen this as a situation for a large town: for the strip of land intervening between the river and the very high and steep hills is so narrow, that if Dâbul was ever as populous as is stated, the town must have extended three or four miles up the river. It is now like any other insignificant Konkan town, with no trade to speak of, and the houses entirely hidden among cocoanut trees. The only objects worthy of remark are a fine mosque, with dome and minarets, standing almost at the water's edge close to the present landing-place, a few tombs standing by themselves nearer to the sea, and a conical hill three or four miles further up the river, crowned by a mosque which from its position has a good deal the appearance of a Rhine castle. The earliest mention I have found of the place is in Dow's *History*, which professes to be a translation of Ferishtah, but is said to contain much that is not found in that author. He mentions Dâbul as one of the countries ravaged by Malik Naib Kaffur in 1312, along with Mahrât, Raichor, Mudkal, and others whose names I do not identify: all except the first evidently meaning the districts of which the places named were the chief towns. As it was scarcely twenty years before this that the Musalmâns had made their first great raid into the Dekhan, it may be concluded that this was their first acquaintance with the Southern Konkan, and there can be no doubt that they entered it by passing down the Ghâts, for it was not till several generations after this that they either took to the sea, or ventured on the very difficult land journey from Gujarât through the Northern Konkan.

In 1357, the then undivided kingdom of the Dekhan was made into four governments, and Dâbul is mentioned as the western limit of the first government, which included Gulbargâ itself. Chaul is also mentioned at this time, but no port south of Dâbul. Again, towards the end of the century, both towns are mentioned by Ferishtah as among the chief ones in the empire, and as having had orphan schools, with ample foundations for their support, established by king Muhammad Shâh Bâhmani.

In 1429, and again in 1436, two considerable expeditions were sent into the Konkan, and the country is said to have been subjugated and well plundered. No mention is made of Dâbul in connection with either of these, but of the second it is recorded that a beautiful daughter of the Râja of Rairi (*Raigadh*) was sent to court, where she became the queen of Ahmad Shâh Wali Bâhmani, and was long celebrated under the name of Perichehra, or Fairy-face.

The next events recorded of Dâbul are of a different sort, but not less calculated to show its importance in the 15th century. Mahmûd Khân Gowan, who afterwards became the celebrated minister of the Bidar kingdom, came from Persia as a merchant and landed at Dâbul in 1447. And about 1459 Yusuf Adil Khân, the founder of the Bijâpur dynasty, also entered India at Dâbul. His romantic story is given in full detail by Ferishtah, but it is sufficient here to mention that he was taken from Dâbul to Bidar as a slave by a Georgian merchant. Shortly after this, Dâbul is first mentioned by a European traveller, as neither Marco Polo nor Ibn Batuta mention any ports of the Konkan, and Marco Polo gives but a few lines to the whole of the coast of this Presidency, speaking of it under the name of the kingdom of Thana. But Nikitin, a Russian, who about the year 1470 spent three or four years in the south of India, landed at Chaul, and, from what he heard there, wrote as follows:—"Dâbul is a very extensive seaport where many horses are brought from Mysore, Rabast (Arabia), Khorassan, Turkestan, &c. It takes a month to walk by land from this place to Beder and Kulburga. It is the last seaport in Hindostan belonging to the Musalmâns." Three years later he made Dâbul his port of embarkation, and from here took ship to Hormuz, paying two pieces of gold for his passage, and spending a month at sea. He then wrote: "Dâbul, a port of the vast Indian Sea . . . it is a very large town, the great meeting-place of all nations living on the coast of India."

About 1482, Bahâdur Khân Gilâni attempted to make himself independent of the then declining kingdom of Bidar, and, among other towns, had for a long time possession of Dâbul and Goa, and command of the whole coast. He was at last, however, defeated by Muhammad Shâh Bâhmani II. in a battle which took place

somewhere near Kolhâpur, and after this the king and a few of his principal nobles marched down to Dâbul and enjoyed the (to them) novel amusement of sailing about up and down the coast. Within three or four years of this, however, the Bijâpur kingdom was established, and the whole Konkan passed to it.

In 1508 the misfortunes of Dâbul began, when it was bombarded by Almeida, the Portuguese Viceroy, who did not, however, succeed in taking the fort. Ferishtah says that in 1510 Goa was ceded by the king of Bijâpur to the Portuguese as the condition of their not molesting the other towns on the coast, and that they kept this treaty. The Portuguese historians, however, give a very different account; for according to themselves they were constantly marauding, and in 1522 landed and levied a contribution at Dâbul. Before this, in 1515, a Persian ambassador had embarked at Dâbul on his way back from Bijâpur, and this is the last event of the sort I have read of in connection with the place. The Portuguese claim to have burnt every town on the coast between Śrivardhan and Goa in 1548, and again in 1569, but they are discreetly silent about an event which Ferishtah records of 1571.* A Portuguese force then landed at Dâbul with the intention of burning it as usual, though one would suppose that, as only two years had elapsed since the last occasion, there would not be much worth burning. But the governor, Khwâja Ali Shirâzi, having heard of their intentions, laid an ambush and put to death 150 of them. Not many years after this, when the Portuguese had begun to be inconvenienced by the advances of the Dutch, they made peace with Bijâpur, and we then hear no more of Dâbul† till it was plundered by Śivaji in 1660. Its subsequent history has nothing to do with the Musalmâns, and need not therefore be referred to. Hamilton, a traveller of the beginning of the last century, mentions that the English had once a factory there, but of this I have found no confirmation.

It is not difficult to understand why it was that Dâbul declined in the later days of the Musalmâns, and still more subsequently. So long as the Musalmân capital was at Bidar or Gulbargâ, Dâbul was the nearest port, and there was no need to look for another. But when independent kingdoms were established at Bijapur and Golkonda, it would be natural to look for ports further south than Dâbul; and Râjapur, and especially the splendid harbour and creek of Gheria, would soon obtain the preference. And in Marâṭhâ days Dâbul was entirely eclipsed by the neighbouring town and fortress of Anjanvel, and thus, between near and distant rivals, fell into utter obscurity, as also did Chaul. Grant Duff says that in 1697 Dâbul was granted in inâm to the Sirkê family, and a greater proof of its decay is that some of the present Hindu inhabitants are said to have grants, dated in the last century, of some of the best sites in the town, described as waste ground. As showing the obscurity it has now fallen into, I may mention that Thornton's *Gazetteer of India* does not even contain the name of Dâbul, though, as not a single word is said about the ancient greatness or the ruins of Gulbargâ, this is, perhaps, not surprising. On the other hand, in a map of India published with Orme's *Historical Fragments* in 1782, Dâbul is marked conspicuously, while I find several lines given to it in a small *Gazetteer of the Eastern Hemisphere* published at Boston, U. S. in 1808.

So much for history, and from that we pass into the region of tradition and conjecture. The Muhammadan inhabitants of the present day are so poor that there is not very much to be got from them, but they say that there were formerly 360 mosques in the town—a purely mythical number of course—and profess to be able to show the sites of nearly a hundred: and wherever foundations for new houses are dug, remains of Muhammadan buildings are pretty sure to be turned up. The following account of the large mosque on the shore, was given by Ghulâm Çâheb Badar, one of the chief Muhammadan inhabitants, to Mr. G. Vidal, C.S.:—

"The mosk at Dâbhol, in the Dâpuli tâluqa of the Ratnâgiri Zilla, dates from the reign of Mahmúd Adil Sháh of Bijápur, and was built in A. Hej. 1070 (A.D. 1659-60) by the king's daughter—the princess 'Aáyshah Bíbí, or, as she was commonly called, the Má Çáheba.

"The princess had conceived a wish to visit the holy shrine at Mekkah before she came of age,

* Shaikh Zin-ud-din in the *Tohfat ul mujahidin*, places it in 1577. See *Tohfat*, p. 174—ED.

† Ferishtah mentions it in the following places (Briggs's translation),—vol. I. p. 379; vol. II. pp. 295, 350, 413, 483-4, 511, 542-3; vol. III. pp. 7, 49, 345, 507, 513; vol. IV. pp. 71, 533, 536, 540.—ED.

and, her father's consent having been obtained for the pilgrimage, she set out from Bijápur with a retinue of 20,000 horse under the command of the king's private minister, Bahirá Kháḳán, a native of Mekkah. The princess and her party, having crossed the Western Ghâṭs, arrived at Dábhol, which was at that time one of the principal ports of the Konkan and held by a Subadár of the Bijápur Government named Ibráhim Khán, who bore the title of Vezir ul Mulk. The princess intended to have embarked here on her voyage to Mekkah. While here, however, the news of many piracies committed on the coast reached her, and after much consideration it was deemed unsafe for her to proceed. So the pilgrimage was given up, and it only remained for the princess to determine in what manner she should spend the money she had brought with her for her expedition. The Maulavis and Qázis, who were summoned to advise her, suggested the building of a masjid at Dábhol for the glory of Islám, and to this she consented. The work was then undertaken, and completed in four years. The name of the builder was Kámel Khân, and the cost of the building was fifteen lakhs. It is currently reported that the dome was richly gilded, and that the crescent was of pure gold. The gold and the gilt have long since disappeared, but much of the beautiful carving and tracery remains. Eight villages—Bhopan, Śirol, Visapur, Bhosté, Shavoli, Mundhar, Bhudavle, and Pangári—were granted in *inâm* for the maintenance of the masjid. The grants were resumed on the overthrow of the Bijápur kingdom by Śivaji. The masjid still bears the name of its founder, the Má Çáheba, but it is no longer used for worship. Nothing is ever done for its maintenance or repair, and it is tenanted solely by pigeons and bats.* The Musalmáns of Dábhol are too poor to afford the cost of its preservation, and thus what is probably the only fine specimen of Muhammadan architecture in the Konkan will crumble away year by year till nothing is left but a heap of ruins.†"

The date A.H. 1070 corresponds to A.D. 1659-60. Mahmûd Adil Shâh had died in 1656, which would not of course make it impossible that his daughter should in that year have visited Dâbul and built the mosque. But between 1656 and 1660 Aurangzib and Śivaji were in alliance against the young king of Bijápur, and it seems scarcely possible that the kingdom could have at that time afforded either the 15 lakhs or the cavalry force for a mere sentimental expedition and building at Dâbul. Besides this, it was just about this time that Śivaji plundered Dâbul, and putting all this together it seems scarcely possible that the mosque could have been built at this time.

The figures given in the account are also apparently quite mythical. It is scarcely credible that the mosque could in those days have cost fifteen lakhs, and it is certain that 20,000 cavalry would have eaten up the whole Konkan in a week.

I am not aware whether there is a Persian inscription on the mosque or not. I think not, but it is said that the *sanads* and other documents referring to the Musalmân villages on this coast are chiefly among the records of the Habshi at Jinjirâ, so it is possible that a search there may settle this question. It is at all events certain that the mosque cannot have been built later than 1660, nor earlier than 1508, as if it had been before that time it would certainly have been destroyed by the zealous Roman Catholics under Almeida.

In the names of two small parganâs in this neighbourhood, one on each side of the creek, we find further traces of the Musalmân power. They are called Haveli Aḥmadâbâd and Haveli Jáfarâbâd, and I believe that the term Haveli signifies that they belonged to a city which was the capital of a kingdom or government. It is probable that the villages forming these parganâs were attached to Dâbul for the maintenance of the Government establishments, just as in 1756 eleven villages on the Bânkoṭ creek were ceded to our government for the support of Fort Victoria. No villages or towns called Ahmadâbâd or Jâfarâbâd exist in this neighbourhood, that I ever heard of. The traditions of the mosque already mentioned as standing at the top of a high hill in the neighbourhood, and known by the name of Bâlâ Pîr (from the Arabic *bala*, a hill) are vague and rather commonplace. The mosque is a small one, divided into two compartments, in one of which are the tombs of the Pîr, his wife and son. He is said to have been named Abdul Qâdr, and to have lived from 250 to 300 years ago. The mosque or tomb has a cash allowance from Government of Rs. 25-8 a year, and up to fifteen or twenty years ago it used to receive from every field in the village of Wanosi a *páyali* of grain. The inhabitants, however, appear now to have grown too

* The minarets are in a tottering condition, the mortar having long since crumbled away, and the stones becoming in consequence loosened are falling out of their places.

† See Note on next page.—Ed.

intelligent to continue such an act of piety. But vows are still made to the Pîr by those in distress, and especially by seafaring people, the mosque being a very conspicuous landmark; and, as in most places in the South Konkan, and probably elsewhere, Hindus make vows of this sort to Musalmân Pîrs without any exclusive bigotry. There is an assembly of villagers every year in the month of Rajab, and then only it is said to be safe to pass the night near the mosque, madness being the penalty of doing so at other times. Only one miracle is remembered as having been worked by the Pîr, and that not more twenty years ago, when a Musalmân having vowed a rupee and a quarter to the Pîr, basely paid only eight annas. As soon as he left the place he fell down senseless, and only recovered when the custodian of the tomb laid hands on him and uttered the Pîr's name. It is rather sad to have to announce that after this he paid no more than the twelve annas which he had previously defrauded the Pîr of.

I must close this long account with a little speculation as to the route taken in old times by travellers landing at Dâbul, or embarking there: for I am sorry to say I cannot trace this with such apparent certainty as is possible in the case of some of the more southern routes. Two of the oldest quotations I have given above speak of Dâbul in connection with Bidar, and the latitude of the two places is almost identical, Dâbul being about one minute south. The main river is navigable from Dâbul to Chipalun, and a northerly branch of it to Khed. The great prevalence of Musalmâns in Khed and the villages on that branch of the river make me think that that was the old route, particularly as that is nearest the direct line to Bidar. From Khed there is an easy road of only seven *kos* to the Amboli Ghât, and from the top of this Ghât a remarkably open tract of country towards Satârâ. This, then, would probably be the old route to Bidar. To Bijâpur the route from the top of the Ghât would pass more to the south, and probably through Karhâd, where there are considerable Musalmân remains. I have not, however, sufficient acquaintance with the country above the Ghâts to say anything with confidence about these routes, nor is it necessary for my purpose to do more than indicate the ultimate point to which travellers would tend.

*Note.*

Accompanying Mr. Vidal's paper was the following document, being a copy of a Persian paper in possession of Ghulâm Câheb Badar.—Ed.

قوانف آمد اما شاهزادي باسم عايشه بنا دختر
بادشاه سلطان محمود برين بيت الله از شهر
بيجاپور چند خاص وزير الملک سلطنت بهيرا خاقان
بيست هزار سنوار و غيره فوج سنه ۱۰۷۰ سبعين
و الف من هجري النبوي ة صوبه ابراحم خان
نواب وزير الملک بنا مسجد کعبة الله تيار کرده
چهار سال و خرچ عمارت مسجد روپئه پندرا
۰۰۰۰۰ ه لکهه اورد شهر بيجاپور بقضا اليه ماماجبر
شهزادي متسل مسجد است و در شهر بيجاپور و
ناموج بوري خرچ مسجد لنكر عمارت و ساختن از
سركار بادشاه علي عادل شاه

موضع بهوپن — موضع سرل — موضع ايساپور

موضع بهوستان — موضع چيوبلي — موضع مودر

موضع بيردلي — موضع پدکاري خرد

كاريگر كامل خان بنا مسجد ماماجبر

*Translation by E. Rehatsek, M.C.E.*

Crowds* arrived with the Shâhzâdi 'Aâyshah, the daughter of the Pâdeshah Sultân Mahmûd, on a visit to the house of God [at Mekkah] from the city of Bejâpûr:—several courtiers, Vezir-ul-mulk Sultanat, Bahirâ Khâkân, twenty thousand cavalry and other troops; in the year one thousand seventy after the prophetic emigration. The Subah[dâr] Ebrâhim Khân Nawâb Vezir-ul-mulk, finished the edifice of the mosk, the Ka'bah of God, in four years, and the expense of building the mosk amounted to fifteen lakhs of rupees.

* This is not a good specimen of composition, containing, besides the Hindostani expressions *pandra* ("fifteen") and *Mâ Câheb*, two orthographical errors: thus قوانف does not occur in any dictionary, and must therefore be قواصف which the *Muntakhab* explains by مردم بسيار و انبوه i. e. "crowds," and متسل ought to be spelt متصل "contiguous." The word سنوار ought to be سوار "cavalry" ابراحم stands for ابراهيم and the spelling هجري النبوي ة is barbarous. Here the word لنكر "anchor" appears to mean "foundation," but is also explained جاي كه در آنجا طعام همه روز بمردم دهند "a place where the whole day food is given to the people."—E.R.

By the decree of God, in the city of Bejápúr, [the mausoleum of?] the Má Çáheb Sháhzádi is contiguous to the mosk. In the city of Bejápúr and Námûjpúri the expenses of the mosk, the foundation of the edifice, and the building, were defrayed by the Sirkár of the Pádeshâh 'Aly 'Adil Sháh.

Múza' Bhostán, Múza' Aisapúr, Srol. Múza Bhopan. Múza' Pangári Khard, Múza' Bhuraviti. Múza' Mundrar, Múza' Chitili. Superintendent Kámel Khán built the mosk of Má Çáheb.

## TRACES IN THE BHAGAVAD-GÍTA OF CHRISTIAN WRITINGS AND IDEAS.

*From the Appendix to Dr. Lorinser's Bhagavad-Gíta.**

To prove that in the manifold and often surprising coincidence of thoughts and expressions in the *Bhagavad-Gíta*, as well with single passages in the *New Testament*, as with the common Christian ideas and principles, we have no accidental similarities, but that an actual borrowing has taken place, it may not be superfluous to exhibit in a collective form the results already won, and from them to draw some further conclusions which give such a high degree of probability to the opinion that the doctrines of the *Bhagavad-Gíta* are not only an eclectic mixture of different Indian philosophies, but have also a strong infusion at least of ideas and sayings taken over from Christianity, that it may almost lay claim to certainty

Up to the present time the means for an accurate chronology of Indian Antiquity are entirely wanting, and in judging of the age of the literary monuments we can only speak of relative dates. Our aim here then must be to establish that the *Bhagavad-Gíta* may be attributed to a period in which it is not impossible that its composer may have been acquainted with Christianity and its sacred writings, that is to say, with different books of the *New Testament.*

And here we do not need to depart from the results of modern criticism of the age of the *Bhagavad-Gíta*. On the one hand it is certain that it dates after Buddha, and on the other hand there is the strongest reason to believe that its composition must be attributed to a period terminating several centuries after the commencement of the Christian era.

The date after which it could not have been composed must, however, be left an open question till we are certain when Śankara, the renowned philosopher of the Vedánta school, lived. According to the usual hypothesis, resting, it must be confessed, on weighty reasons, which however can make no claim to irrefragable certainty, Śankara lived in the 8th century after Christ. Hence Lassen infers that the *Bhagavad-Gíta* must have been composed some five centuries earlier, *i. e.* in the third century after Christ. If this supposition is correct (and it must not be forgotten that it only professes to give the *earliest* date at which the *Bhagavad-Gíta* could have been composed), it is clear that the composer of the poem *might have had* some acquaintance with the doctrines and sacred records of Christianity. For we know that there were already at that time Christian communities in India, in which from Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. V. cap. 10) we learn that Pantænus, a missionary who had penetrated to India as early as the second century, found, and brought to Alexandria on his return, a copy of the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, which had apparently been taken there by the apostle Bartholomew. Further, and this is of peculiar importance in the present discussion, there already existed an Indian translation of the New Testament, of which we have positive proof in the writings of St. Chrysostom, which seems to have been till now overlooked by Indian antiquarians. The place in question† is *Evang. Joan., Homil.* I. cap. 1, and runs as follows:—

"The Syrians, too, and Egyptians, and Indians, and Persians, and Ethiopians, and innumerable other nations, translating into their own tongues the doctrines derived from this man, barbarians though they were, learnt to philosophise."

We might be tempted to regard the importance

* *Die Bhagavad Gíta uebersetzt und erläutert von Dr. F. Lorinser* (Breslau, 1869).

† Ἀλλὰ καὶ Σύροι, καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ Ἰνδοὶ, καὶ Πέρσαι, καὶ Αἰθίοπες, καὶ μυρία ἕτερα ἔθνη, εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν μεταβαλόντες γλῶτταν τὰ παρὰ τούτου δόγματα εἰσαχθέντα, ἔμαθον ἄνθρωποι βάρβαροι φιλοσοφεῖν.—(Ed. Montfaucon, tom. viii. pp. 11, 12.)

of this testimony as weakened by the addition of the words "and innumerable other nations." But such a consideration loses its force when we remember that all the translations mentioned by name in this passage, with the single exception of the Indian, are known to us from other sources and are still extant. We may be certain that Chrysostom would not have expressly mentioned the Indian if he had not had positive knowledge of a translation in their tongue. Now Chrysostom died in the year 407 A.D. The Indian translation of which he knew must have existed for at least a hundred years before information about it could in those times have reached him. But probably Pantænus, the teacher of Clemens Alexandrinus, who we know was himself in India, had brought this information to the West. The date of this translation then may possibly reach to the first or second century A.D. It would be difficult to ascertain whether it was composed in Sanskrit, the learned speech of the Brahmans, which had already died out in the mouths of the common people, or in one of the Indian popular dialects. This, however, is not of importance, since we must of course presume that the learned and highly-gifted Brahman who wrote the *Bhagavad-Gîta* knew the popular dialect also.

But even if we shut our eyes to the existence of an Indian translation of the *New Testament*, it would still be possible that a Brahman acquainted with the Greek language may have known and used the original text. And such a supposition may perhaps find confirmation in the circumstance that, besides the *New Testament*, there are traces of the use of the *Book of Wisdom*, which was originally written in Greek.

In this way the possibility that the composer of the *Bhagavad-Gîta* may have been acquainted not merely with the general teaching of Christianity, but also with the very writings of the *New Testament*, might be shown in a very natural way, without the necessity of having recourse to rash hypotheses.

But is it conceivable that a Brahman, who holds fast to the traditional wisdom of his caste and puts it above everything, as the author of the *Bhagavad-Gîta* does, should have condescended to take such special knowledge of Christianity, and even to use some of its doctrines, and maxims from its holy writings, in order to suit them to, and incorporate them with, his own system? Here too we must first show the possibility of such a thing before we can proceed to demonstrate the actual fact from the evident traces we can adduce.

The composer of the *Bhagavad-Gîta* belongs to the sect of the Vaishṇavas; for he transfers to Vishṇu all the attributes of supreme deity—of Brahma in the philosophical sense of that word—and sees in the hero Kṛishṇa an incarnation of this supreme nature. Now this incarnation of Kṛishṇa, which is perhaps more sharply defined in the *Bhagavad-Gîta* than in any of the other similar episodes of the *Mahâbhârata*, was, as Weber among others has shown in his *Indische Studien*, greatly influenced by contact with Christianity. Misled by the similarity of the name, they recognised in Christ the hero Kṛishṇa, and transferred to Kṛishṇa much of what the Christians related and believed of Christ.

In reference to this connection between the legend of Kṛishṇa and the doctrines of Christianity, Professor Weber, whose authority in the sphere of Indian philology and antiquities is recognised even in India, says (*Indische Studien*, I. 400):—"A supposition of a different nature here involuntarily occurs to me, namely, that Brahmans may have come across the sea to Alexandria, or even to Asia Minor, at the beginning of the Christian era, and that they, on their return to India, may have transferred the monotheistic doctrine and some of its legends to their own sage or hero, Kṛishṇa Devakiputra (son of Devakî, Divine *), whose very name reminded them of Christ, the son of the divine (?!) maiden, and to whom divine honours may already have been granted, replacing in other particulars the Christian doctrines by those of the Sankhya and Yoga philosophies, as these in their turn may perhaps have had an influence in the formation of Gnostic sects. The legends of the birth of Kṛishṇa, and his persecution by Kaṅsa, remind us too strikingly of the corresponding Christian narratives to leave room for the supposition that the similarity is quite accidental. Nor does chronology oppose us in the

* This derivation of Devakî is, however, only apparently correct, as Weber shows in his recent treatise on *Kṛishṇa's* ... word should rather be translated

matter. According to Lassen (I. 623), the passages in the *Mahâbhârata* in which Krishṇa has divine honours attributed to him are of later origin (belong in fact, as I think, to the Purâṇa epoch), and the Krishṇa-cultus proper is not found before the fifth or sixth century." Again (*ibid.* II. 398, &c.): "Individual Christian teachers, if they had an imposing personality, such as I believe I trace in the legend of S v e t a, would not be without influence in the early time, even if after their death, without any pressure from outside, their doctrine became more and more indefinite, losing its originality and suiting itself to the Indian conception. Still greater however, as has been the case in all lands and at all times, must have been the influence exerted by natives of India, who filled up in their own way what they had learned in foreign countries. Not that such were themselves Christians. But in their hearts, sufficiently prepared by the current tendency of Indian philosophy towards a concrete unity, the doctrine of faith (*bhakti*) in the incarnate Christ found fruitful soil. In him they may have at once recognised their own hero, Krishṇa, just as the Greeks discovered everywhere their Heracles and Dionysos. If till then they had honoured Krishṇa as a hero—and he seems to have been originally a clearly defined human personality—the fact that in a strange land they found a god of the same name so highly honoured would of itself be proof of his divinity. The whole question, I think, turns on the following points:—(1) The reciprocal action and mutual influence of Gnostic and Indian conceptions in the first centuries of the Christian era are evident, however difficult it may be at present to say what in each is peculiar to it or borrowed from the other. (2) The worship of Krishṇa as sole god is one of the latest phases of Indian religious systems, of which there is no trace in Varâhamihira, who mentions Krishṇa, but only in passing. (3) This worship of Krishṇa as sole god has no intelligible connection with his earlier position in the Brahmanical legends. There is a gap between the two, which apparently nothing but the supposition of an external influence can account for. (4) The legend in the *Mahâbhârata* of Svetadvîpa, and the revelation which is made there to Narada by Bhagavat himself, shows that Indian tradition bore testimony to such an influence. (5) The legends of Krishṇa's birth, the solemn celebration of his birthday, in the honours of which his mother, Devakî, participates, and finally his life as a herdsman, a phase the furthest removed from the original representation, can only be explained by the influence of Christian legends, which, received one after the other by individual Indians in Christian lands, were modified to suit their own ways of thought, and may also have been affected by the labours of individual Christian teachers down to the latest times."*

Nor does Weber stand alone in his view concerning the influence of Christianity on the legends of Krishṇa. The English writer Talboys Wheeler, in his *History of India*, calls some of these legends (pp. 470, 471) "a travesty of Christianity," and asserts of others that they have been borrowed directly from the Gospel. "The healing of the woman who had been bowed down for eighteen years, and who was made straight by Christ on the sabbath day, and the incident of the woman who broke an alabaster box of spikenard and poured it upon his head, seem to have been thrown together in the legend of Kubja."† Noteworthy also are the words of the anonymous reviewer of Wheeler's book in the *Athenæum* (No. 2076, 10th Aug. 1867), who says expressly: "It must be admitted, then, that there are most remarkable coincidences between the history of Krishṇa and that of Christ. This being the case, and there being proof positive that Christianity was introduced into India at an epoch when there is good reason to suppose the episodes which refer to Krishṇa were inserted in the *Mahâbhârata*, the obvious inference is that the Brahmans took from the Gospel such things as suited them."

From these quotations it is clear that the influence of Christian doctrines and "legends" (as Weber calls the relations in the Gospel) on the development of later Brahmanical wisdom has already been recognised by Indian anti-

* Weber does not seem to me to lay sufficient stress on this last point. A somewhat trustworthy tradition carries the labours of Christian teachers to introduce their religion into India back to the apostles Thomas and Bartholomew. We know for certain that there were numerous Christian communities in India in the first century of the Christian era, which continued under the name of Thomas Christians, and were found by the Portuguese. And the Brahmans would much more readily become acquainted with the writings of the *New Testament* through native Indian Christians than by journeys of Brahmans to Alexandria and Asia Minor.

† Conf. *Luke*, xiii. 10-17; *Mark*, xiv. 3; *Matthew*, xxvi. 6, 7; *John*, xii. 3.—ED. *I. A.*

quarians. In particular it cannot be denied that this influence was of great importance in the worship of Krishṇa as an incarnation of Vishṇu, and that much of what is related of Christ in the Gospels was transferred to Krishṇa. We can no longer doubt, therefore, the possibility of the hypothesis that the composer of the *Bhagavad-Gita* also, in which this deification of Krishṇa reaches, in a measure, its climax, used Christian ideas and expressions, and transferred sayings of Christ related in the Gospels to Krishṇa, from the same motive and by the same right by which the story of the life of Krishṇa was adorned with incidents which the Christians narrated of Christ. If now we can find in the *Bhagavad-Gita* passages, and these not single and obscure, but numerous and clear, which present a surprising similarity to passages in the *New Testament*, we shall be justified in concluding that these coincidences are no play of chance, but that, taken all together, they afford conclusive proof that the composer was acquainted with the writings of the *New Testament*, used them as he thought fit, and has woven into his own work numerous passages, if not word for word, yet preserving the meaning, and shaping it according to his Indian mode of thought, a fact which till now no one has noticed. To put this assertion beyond doubt, I shall place side by side the most important of these passages in the *Bhagavad-Gita*, and the corresponding texts of the *New Testament*. I distinguish three different kinds of passages to which parallels can be adduced from the *New Testament*: first, such as, with more or less of verbal difference, agree in sense, so that a thought which is clearly Christian appears in an Indian form of expression—these are far the most numerous, and indicate the way in which the original was used in general; secondly, passages in which a peculiar and characteristic expression of the *New Testament* is borrowed word for word, though the meaning is sometimes quite changed; thirdly, passages in which thought and expression agree, though the former receives from the context a meaning suited to Indian conceptions.

*I.—Passages which differ in expression but agree in meaning.*

| *Bhagavad-Gita.* | *New Testament.* |
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| He who has brought his members under subjection, but sits with foolish mind thinking in his heart of the things of sense, is called a hypocrite. (iii. 6.)* | But I say unto you that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart. (*Matt.* v. 28.) |
| But know they who, scorning it, do not keep my decree, are bereft of all understanding, senseless, lost. (iii. 32.)† | A man that is an heretick . . . reject; knowing that he that is such is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself. (*Tit.* iii. 10, 11.) |
| In every object of sense, desire and inclination are inherent. Let a man not subject himself to them, they are his foes. (iii. 34.)‡ | Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof. (*Rom.* vi. 12.) Because the carnal mind is enmity against God. (*Rom.* viii. 7.) |
| Thy birth is later, that of Vivasat was earlier; now am I to understand that thou didst declare it in the beginning? (iv. 4.) | Then said the Jews unto him, Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham? (*John* viii. 57.) |
| Many are my births§ that are past, many are | I know whence I came, and whither I go: but |

* There is in this śloka a polemical allusion to the abuse made of the Yoga, by regarding abstinence from external works as the main point. *Lassen* remarks,—"even now indeed India abounds with men, who, either carried away by the fame of sanctity, or by the resolution to extort rewards from the gods as it were by force, bind themselves by the strictest vows, and in fasting, silence, and immoveable positions of the body, yet indulge lascivious desire within and dream of pleasures in the future." In the *Bhagavad-Gita*, the peculiar stress laid on the inner purity of the mind, which, in this form, scarcely occurs elsewhere in Indian literature, would itself alone suggest the influence of Christian ideas, even if other vestiges of it could not be pointed out.

† Also *John*, xiv. 23-24. We often meet with the *śraddhá* and *bhakti*, which, as in the Christian πίστις and ἀγάπη, point to a believing in and trustful to a person. There appears to be no doubt that these ideas are not originally Indian representations (as they are not found anywhere else in heathendom), but that they have been taken over from Christianity, as Dr. A. Weber among others (*Indische Studien*, II. 398 ff.) supposes, and has partly demonstrated.

‡ In this śloka is expressed with almost dogmatic precision the Christian doctrine of concupiscence, which becomes sin only when man willingly obeys its inspirations. Conf. also *James*, i. 14-15. With reference to the expression 'enemies' conf. also *Matt.* x. 36, which, by ascetic authors, is applied mystically to lust which dwells in man.

§ The *avatáras* all belong to the time of the *Puráṇas* (hence to a post-Christian age), and Thomson believes also that many of them owe their origin 'to the Land of the Bible,' but whether before or after the Christian era is a question he does not venture to decide, 'though doubtless many points of resemblance exist between Krishṇa and our Saviour'; the tenth avatára (*Kalkin*) is said strongly to

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| thine too, Arjuna! I know them all, but thou knowest them not. (iv. 5.) | ye cannot tell whence I come, and whither I go. (*John*, viii. 14.) |
| For the establishing of righteousness am I born from time to time.* (iv. 8.) | To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the Truth. (*John*. xviii. 37.) For this purpose the Son of God was manifested that he might destroy the works of the devil. (1 *John*, iii. 8.) |
| The ignorant, the faithless, and he of a doubting mind is lost. (iv. 40.) | He that believeth. . . shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned. (*Mark*. xvi. 16.) |
| "I *do nothing*, let the absorbed think, who knows the truth, whether he sees, hears, touches, smells, eats, goes, sleeps, or breathes. . . . He who, performing his actions in Brahma, acts free from inclination, is not stained by sin. (v. 8, 10.)† | Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God. (1 *Cor.* x. 31.) And whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus. (*Col.* iii. 17.) |
| Knowledge is enveloped in ignorance, therefore the creatures err. (v. 15.) | Having the understanding darkened. . through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart. (*Eph.* iv. 18.) |
| Yet the knowledge of those in whose minds this ignorance has been destroyed by it, illuminates like the sun the highest. (v. 16.) | Until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts. (2 *Pet.* i. 19.) God . . . hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. (2 *Cor.* iv. 6.)‡ |
| He who can bear in this world, before he is forced from the body, the pressure of desire and anger, he is absorbed, a happy man. (v. 23.)§ | Blessed is the man that endureth temptation. (*James*, i. 12.) |
| Let the Yogi always exercise himself in secret. (vi. 10.) | But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and, when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy father which is in secret. (*Matt.* vi. 6.) |
| Absorption is not his who eats too much, nor his who eats not at all. (vi. 16.) | Why do the disciples of John fast often . . . but thine eat and drink? (*Luke*, v. 33.) The Son of man came eating and drinking. (*Matt.* xi. 19.) |
| Besides thee there is no one who can resolve this doubt. (vi. 39.) | Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. (*John*, vi. 68.) |
| Hear, now, how thou mayst know me wholly, Partha! *That* knowledge ... I shall declare to thee | I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ. (1 *Cor.* ii. 2.) |

savour of the prophecies of the *Revelation*. In my opinion there can, at present, be no doubt whatever that the incarnation of Vishnu as Krishna—the only one represented as a truly human incarnation of the person of the god—is an imitation of the Christian dogma regarding the person of Christ, pointed to, not only by the similarity of the name *Krishna* to *Christ*, and the many coincidences in the legends about Krishna with the life of the Saviour, as has also already been supposed by Fra Paolino à S. Bartolomeo in his *Systema Brahmanicum* (Romæ, 1791), by H. Windischman and others, and lastly also by Weber (*Ind. Studien*, I. 400, II. 399 ff., and by Wheeler, *Hist. of India*, I. 464 ff.), but also, as may be specially shown, by the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ* itself.

* Conf. *Śvetâśvatara Upanishad*, vi. 6 (*Biblioth. Ind.* vol. XV. p. 60): 'Who is the establisher of virtue and the destroyer of sin.'

† Conf. iii. 30; *Psalm* liv. 23, and specially *Heb.* xii. 1-2. Compare further with the doctrine here adduced, Thomas à Kempis, *de Imit. Christi*, II. iv. 2: "No good action would be difficult if thou wert free within from inordinate affection. When it is the one simple intention of thy mind to obey the will of God and do good to thy fellow-man, thou wilt enjoy this inner freedom;" conf. (*ibid.* II. v.): "If you are simply intent on union with God, what you see in the world will little move you. Nothing will be lofty, or great, or pleasant, or to be desired, except simply God or of God." The same thought also occurs in the *Śvetâśvatara-Upanishad*, the doctrine of which is closely related to the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*, and in which also traces of Christian influence may be pointed out. There it says (*Biblioth. Ind.* vol. XV. p. 63, 6. 4): "Whoever after he has performed works endowed with qualities, places them and all his fondness upon God—for if they do not exist, the effects also cease—obtains, by the cessation of work, that which is different from the principles (of nature), (that is to say, he becomes like Brahma)." One should notice also the specification of individual actions (ἐν λόγῳ, ἐν ἔργῳ—εἴτε ἐσθίετε, εἴτε πίνετε) in the passages cited, and the enumeration of corporeal functions in the 8th and 9th *ślokas* which stand in the closest connection with the 10th.

‡ Compare also Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrept.* § 114 (ed. Sylburg, p. 31) cap. xi.—"Let us put away, then, let us put away oblivion of the truth, viz. ignorance; and removing the darkness which obstructs, as dimness of sight, let us contemplate the only true God. For in us light has shone forth from heaven, . . purer than the sun, sweeter than life here below."

§ *Sukhî nara*,—conf. also the expression of Paul, 1 *Cor.* vii. 40. The idea enunciated in this śloka bears an entirely Christian stamp, and reminds us of the words of Chrysostom (*de Virginitate*, cap. xi.), ed. Montfaucon, tom. viii. p. 337: "Do you understand then the glory of virginity? of those who living on the earth, strive after a life like that of the celestials, clothed in the body, suffer not the incorporeal to excel them in virtue, and render mortals the rivals of angels."

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| ... *which* when thou hast learnt there remains nothing else to learn here. (vii. 1, 2.)* | |
| Only they who come to me will overcome illusion. (vii. 14.) | Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. (*Matt.* xi. 28.) |
| Evil-doers, fools, and the lowest of men come not to me...following their demoniacal nature. (vii. 15.) | Light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light because their deeds were evil. For every one that doeth evil hateth the light. (*John*, iii. 19, 20.) Ye are of your father the devil. (*John*, viii. 44; see also ver. 23.) |
| The oppressed and they who hunger for knowledge, they who desire wealth, and the wise (honour me). (vii. 16.) | Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden. (*Matt.* xi. 28) Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice. (*John*, xviii. 37.) The poor have the gospel preached to them. (*Matt.* xi. 5.) |
| And then he receives from me the good he wishes. (vii. 22.) | Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights. (*James*, i. 17.) |
| I know the beings who have passed, those who are, and those who are to come. (vii. 26.) | Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight; but all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of Him. (*Heb.* iv. 13.)† |
| By the double illusion arising out of desire and aversion, ... all beings in the world fall into error. (vii. 27.) (*Kena-Upanishad*, i. 3 in *Bibl. Ind.* vol. XV. p. 78). | . . deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures. (*Tit.* iii. 3.) |
| Who honour me, firm in their devotion. (vii. 28.) | . . in the faith grounded and settled. (*Col.* i. 23; see also 1 *Cor.* xv. 58.) |
| Who, seeking to be freed from old age and death, have fled unto me. (vii. 29.)‡ | If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death. (*John*, viii. 51.) |
| With heart and mind set upon me, thou wilt come to me without doubt. (viii. 7.)§ | All that the Father giveth me shall come to me, and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out. (*John*, vi. 37.) |
| He is far from darkness. (viii. 9.) | God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. (1 *John*, i. 5.) |
| In whom are all beings, by whom this universe was spread out. (viii. 22.) | In Him we live, and move, and have our being. (*Acts*, xvii. 28.) |
| The most hidden knowledge will I teach them with understanding. (ix. 1.) | Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God; but to others in parables. (*Luke*, viii. 10. Conf. also *Matt.* vii. 6.) |
| Fools despise me in a human form. (ix. 11.) | He was in the world...and the world knew him not. (*John*, i. 10.) Who, being in the form of God... took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men. (*Phil.* ii. 6, 7.) |
| Not knowing my highest nature......full of vain hopes, vain works, vain knowledge without understanding; following after their demoniacal, ungodly, deceitful nature. (ix. 11, 12.) | Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. (*John*, viii. 43.) He that is of God heareth God's words: ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God. (ib. v. 47.) |
| They who conforming to the law of the Veda, cherish desires, receive only the transient. (ix. 21.)‖ | Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye |

* Cap *Svetâśvatara-Upanishad* (u. s. p. 50): "This (the absolute nature of Brahma) should be thought as eternal, and as abiding in one's own soul; *for beside him there is nothing to be known.*

† Conf. also *Book of Wisdom*, viii. 8: "She (*wisdom*) knoweth things of old, and conjectureth aright what is to come." Also 1 *Tim.* vi. 16.

‡ That taking refuge in Krishna liberates from old age and death, is an idea so foreign to Indian Philosophy, that its origin can only be Christian. Conf. also *John*, xi. 26. Old age (*jarâ*, γῆρας) is also probably mentioned here as a preparation—as it were, the beginning of death. The idea of eternal virtue is necessarily connected with that of immortality.

§ See also iv. 9. These passages remind one too clearly of the Christian doctrine of faith to overlook the Christian trace; conf. *John*, xvii. 3 and iii. 36. Remarkable also is the designation, *karma divyam*, which Krishna applies to his incarnation, without taking into account that according to the Indian conception the action and work of the highest divinity is otherwise excluded. The similarity to the expressions of Christ is again u[illegible] conf. *John*, xvii. 4 and iv. 29; also xii. 26.

‖ Compare also *Svetâśvatara-Upanishad*, [illegible] *Ind.* vol. XV. p. 59).

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| (Compare also *Śvetâśvatara-Upanishad*, iv. 8 in *Bibl. Ind.* vol. XV. p. 59). | shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven. (*Matt.* v. 20; also ver. 17.) |
| They who, honouring other gods, sacrifice to them in faith, sacrifice to me also, Partha, though not in the right way. (ix. 23.) | Whom, therefore, ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you. (*Acts* xvii. 23.) |
| With me there is neither friend nor foe. (ix. 29.) | There is no respect of persons with God. (*Rom.* ii. 11.) |
| If a very wicked man honours me, and me only, he is to be thought good. (ix. 30.)* | I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. (*Matt.* ix. 13.) |
| In this fleeting and joyless world honour me, ... so shalt thou come to me, being absorbed in me. (ix. 33.) | In the world ye shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world. (*John*, xvi. 33.) |
| Listen still to the glorious words I shall say from a desire for your good. (x. 1.) | When I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation. (*Jude*, 3; also *Acts*, xiii. 26.) |
| He who knows me without birth or beginning, the great soul of the world, ... is free from all sin. (x. 3.) (See *Śvetâśvatara-Upanishad*, iv. 21.) | And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent. (*John*, xvii. 3.) |
| From compassion for them I dispel the darkness of ignorance . . . . . . . by the shining light of knowledge. (x. 11.) | I have compassion on the multitude. (*Mark* viii. 2.) God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. (2 *Cor.* iv. 6.) |
| Thy manifestation neither gods nor demons know; thou thyself alone knowest thyself. (x. 14, 15.) Conf. *Śvet.-Upan.* iii. 19 in *Bibl. Ind.* vol. XV. p. 57. | No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him. (*John*, i. 18.) |
| At the sight of thy wondrous and awful form the three worlds tremble. Those troops of the gods come to thee; some in fear fold their hands and murmur. 'Hail,' say the troops of the blessed Rishis, praising thee in glorious songs. (xi. 20, 21.) | That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth. (*Phil.* ii. 10.) And the four and twenty elders shall fall down before him that sitteth upon the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and shall cast down their crowns before the throne, saying, Thou art worthy, Lord our God, to receive glory and honour and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasures they are and were created. (*Rev.* iv. 10-11.) |
| Demons and blessed ones see thee, and wonder seizes them all. (xi. 22.) | The devils believe and tremble. (*James*, ii. 19.) |
| The gods themselves ever desire to see that form of mine, hard to be seen, which thou hast seen. (xi. 52.) | Unto whom (the glory of Christ) was revealed, that not unto themselves, but unto us, they did minister the things which are now reported unto you . . which things the angels desire to look into. (1 *Pet.* i. 12.) |
| Soon shall I lead those whose minds are fixed on me out of the ocean of the world of mortality. (xii. 7.) | Who shall deliver me from the body of this death? Thanks be to God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. (*Rom.* vii. 24-25.) |
| Give thine heart to me; fix thy mind on me: so shalt thou live with me on high. (xii. 8.) | Seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth. (*Col.* iii. 1-2.) |
| Giving heart and understanding to me. (xii. 14.) | Bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ. (2 *Cor.* x. 5.) |
| Light of lights, far from darkness is his name. (xiii. 17.) (See also *Muṇḍaka-Upanishad*, II. ii. 9 in *Bibl. Ind.* vol. XV. p. 160.) | God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. (1 *John*, i. 5.) |
| Dwelling in the heart of every man. (xiii. 17.)† | Sanctify the Lord God in your hearts. (1 *Pet.* iii. 15.) |

* Conf. iv. ii. 36, and both with *Isaiah*, i. 18.

† [illegible] xiv. 17, 18; also 2 *Cor.* iv. 6; 2 *Pet.* i. 19; and on xi. 13-17, *Iśâ-Upanishad*, 8 (*Bibl. Ind.* vol. XV. p. 72).

Adhering to what they hear. (xiii. 25.)*

Faith cometh by hearing. (*Rom.* x. 17.)

By this (highest knowledge) they become like me; in a new creation they are not born again; when all things perish they tremble not. (xiv. 2.)

Where I am, there shall also my servant be. (*John* xii. 26.) Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years. (*Rev.* xx. 6.)

When, after his nature is fully grown, man goes to dissolution, he obtains the pure seats of those who know the highest. (xiv. 14.)

We know that, if our house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. (2 *Cor.* v. 1)

In all the Vedas I am to be known. (xv. 15.) (Conf. also *Śvet.-Upan.* v. 6 in *Bibl. Ind.* vol. XV. p. 63.)

Search the scriptures . . . they are they which testify of me. (*John*, v. 39.)

The man who, delivered from error, knows me in this way as the highest spirit, he, knowing everything, honours me in every way. (xv. 19.)

That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith, that ye . . . may be able . . to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God. (*Eph.* iii. 17-19.)†

Sorrow not! for a divine lot art thou born, son of Pâṇḍu. (xvi. 5.)

Let not your heart be troubled! . . . In my Father's house are many mansions . . . I go to prepare a place for you. (*John*, xiv. 1, 2.)

Senseless and of small understanding are evil-doers, ... given up to thoughts that end in death. (xvi. 9—11.) ‡

Neither were (they) thankful . . . therefore God also gave them up to uncleanness, through the lusts of their own hearts. (*Rom.* i. 21, 24.)

Caught in the myriad snares of hope,... they seek to pile up riches by unrighteousness to satisfy their lusts. "This I got to-day, *that* desire I shall obtain to-morrow; I am lord, I shall sacrifice, give gifts, and make merry." So speak these blind fools. (xvi. 12, 15.)

And he thought within himself, saying, What shall I do? because I have no room where to bestow my fruits. And he said, This will I do; I will pull down my barns, and build greater; and there will I bestow all my fruits and my goods. And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry. But God said unto him, Thou fool! this night thy soul shall be required of thee. (*Luke*, xii. 17-20.)

Therefore let the law be thy rule....If thou knowest that a work is commanded by the law, do it. (xvi. 24.)

Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. (*Matt.* v. 17.)

That is called a true gift which is given to him who cannot return it. (xvii. 20.)

And thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee. (*Luke*, xiv. 14)

The sacrifice-gift, penance done without faith... is called non-existence. (xvii. 28.)

Whatsoever is not of faith is sin. (*Rom.* xiv. 23.)

Man attains perfection by honouring, *each in his own work*, him from whom are all, by whom this universe was spread out. (xviii. 46.)

Do all to the glory of God. (1 *Cor.* x. 31.)

In serving me he learns how great I am, and who I am in reality. (xviii. 55.)

He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me . . . and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him. (*John*, xiv. 21.) If any man will do his (the Father's) will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself. (*John*, vii. 17.)

This you must tell to no one who is without penance and reverence, is disobedient, nor to the blasphemer. (xviii. 67.)§

Give not that which is holy unto dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine. (*Matt.* vii. 6.)

* Conf. also iii. śl. 31; iv. śl. 34, 40; ix. śl. 3.

† Also 1 *Cor.* ii. 2.

‡ Conf. with śl. 9, *Genesis*, vi. 5ff., *Matt.* xxiv. 12, and *Luke*, xvii. 26-30. Also on śl. 8-11 conf. *Wisdom*, ii. 2, 5 ff.

§ Conf. also *Wisdom*, i. 4: "For into the malicious soul wisdom shall not enter; nor dwell in the body that is subject to sin;" and *Śvetâśvatara-Upanishad*, vi. 22.

Although these passages, to which several more might easily be added, do not perhaps (with the exception of some, where, as, e. g. *Bhagavad-Gîta* xvi. 12-15 compared with *Luke*, xii. 16-20, this agreement is striking), taken separately, exclude the possibility of an accidental similarity, yet the frequent occurrence of such coincidences on the one hand, and the specially Christian character of the thoughts we find in them on the other, must appear suspicious. When to this we add the fact that, independently of the contents of the *Bhagavad-Gîta* we can prove from other sources the influence of Christian traditions on the development of the Krishṇa-cultus, we cannot consider the hypothesis of an external connection of these passages with the similar or almost identical expressions of the *New Testament* a very far-fetched one. There are, however, other passages in the *Bhagavad-Gîta* where it is much more difficult, if not impossible, to think of a simply accidental coincidence, and which make what till now seemed only a likely hypothesis almost certain. To this class belong passages in which an expression almost peculiar to the *New Testament* is repeated word for word. On such an agreement in expression we must, as I think, lay still greater weight than on a similarity of meaning, even where such an expression is used in a sense which is quite different from the Christian one. If the sense is the same, or at least similar, the proof is so much stronger. Of course we cannot demand that the sense be completely adequate to that of the expression in the *New Testament*, since the composer of the *Bhagavad-Gîta* was very far from being a Christian, or understanding rightly the doctrines of Christianity, since he only used Christian maxims to illustrate his Indian Sankhyá and Yoga doctrines, which are quite distinct from Christianity. The following passages will justify these assertions:—

*II.—Passages which contain a characteristic expression of the New Testament with a different application.*

| *Bhagavad-Gîta.* | *New Testament.* |
| --- | --- |
| But if I were not constantly engaged *in work*, unwearied . . . . these worlds would perish *if I did not work my work*. (iii. 23, 24.) | My Father *worketh hitherto, and I work.* (*John*, v. 17.) |
| In everything men *follow in my way*. (iii. 23.) | If any man *will come after* me. (*Matt.* xvi. 24.)* |
| Only they who in faith *ever follow my doctrine*, and *blaspheme not*, will be delivered. (iii. 31.) | If a man *keep my saying*. (*John*, viii. 51.) That the *word of God be not blasphemed*. (*Tit.* ii. 5.) |
| He who truly knows my birth, *and my divine work*, goes, when he leaves the body, not to a new birth; *he goes to me*. (iv. 9.) | I have finished *the work which thou gavest me to do*. (*John*, xvii. 4.) This is *the work of God*. (*John*, vi. 29.) All that the Father giveth me *shall come to me*. (*John*, vi. 37.) |
| *Leaving every possession*, ... he takes to himself no sin. (iv. 21.) | Whosoever he be of you *that forsaketh not all that he hath*, he cannot be my disciple. (*Luke*, xiv. 33.) |
| As the kindling of fire burns wood into ashes, so the fire of knowledge turns all *works into ashes*. (iv. 37.) | *The fire shall try* every man's *work* of what sort it is . . . *If any man's work shall be burnt*. (1. *Cor.* iii. 13, 15.) |
| *They who eat the nectar of the leavings* of the sacrifice pass into the eternal Brahma. (iv. 31.) | If any man *eat of this bread, he shall live for ever*. (*John*, vi. 51.) |
| There is no *purifier* like *knowledge*. (iv. 38.) | *Purifying their hearts by faith*. (*Acts*, xv. 9.) |
| Dividing with the *sword of knowledge*. (iv. 42.) | Take . . the *sword of the Spirit*. (*Eph.* vi. 17.)† |
| Who conquers himself, is quiet, and fixes his mind on the highest, in cold, heat, pleasure and sorrow, *honour and dishonour*. (vi. 7.) | In all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in *tribulations*, in *necessities, in distresses, . . . through honour and dishonour*. (2 *Cor.* vi. 4, 8, and conf. *Rom.* viii. 35.) |
| I who am the highest *way*. (vii. 18.) | I am *the way*. No man cometh unto the Father but by me. (*John*, xiv. 6.) |
| Whose *sin is destroyed*. (vii. 28.) | That the *body of sin might be destroyed*. (*Rom.* vi. 6; conf. also *Eph.* ii. 5.) |
| I will teach thee, if *thou revilest* not, this *royal learning*, royal secret. (ix. 1, 2.)‡ | Do not they *blaspheme* that worthy name by the which ye are called? If ye fulfil the *royal law*, &c. (*James*, ii. 7, 8.) |

* Conf. also *John*, viii. 12; and *Luke*, ix. 57. † Also *Heb.* iv. 12. ‡ Vide et sup. iii. 31; also 1 *Cor.* ii. 2.

They who follow a divine nature *honour me with their whole heart.* (ix. 13.)

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God *with all thy heart.* (*Matt.* xxii. 37.)

They who honour me *go to me.* (ix. 25; conf. also v. 37.)

Every man . . that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, *cometh unto me.* (*John*, vi. 45.)

They who come to me, though they come from a sinful womb—*women, Vaiśyas, and Śûdras even*—obtain the highest happiness. (ix. 32.)

I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh: and *your sons and your daughters* shall prophesy . . . and *on my servants, and on my handmaidens,* I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy. (*Acts*, ii. 17, 18; also *Joel*, ii. 28.)

*Dead in me.* (x. 9.)

Ye *are dead*, and your life is hid with Christ in God. (*Col.* iii. 3.)

I am the seed of all beings. Arjuna! *Without me there is no being, moveable or immoveable.* (x. 39.)

All things were made by him, and *without him was not anything made that was made.* In him *was life.* (*John*, i. 3, 4.)

*He who forsakes all he has undertaken, and is devoted to me,* is dear to me....*Houseless,* firm of purpose, full of reverence, he is dear. (xii. 16, 19.)

They *forsook all, and followed him.* (*Luke*, v. 11.) There is no man that hath left *house*, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more, &c. (*Luke*, xviii. 29; conf. also *Matt.* v. 3-10.

To *be free from inclination, and from love for children, wife, and house*...this is called knowledge. (xiii. 9, 11.)*

If any man come to me, *and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children,* . . . he cannot be my disciple. (*Luke*, xiv. 26.)

It (the highest Brahma) is *far and yet near.* (xiii. 15.)†

Though he (God) be not far from every one of us. (*Acts*, xvii. 27.)

Neither *sun, nor moon, nor fire is the light* of the place, and from it there is no return; this is my highest home. (xv. 6.)‡

And the city *hath no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it:* for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. (*Rev.* xxi. 23.)

Threefold is this *gate of hell that destroys the mind,—lusts, anger,* and *avarice.* (xvi. 21.)

Wide is *the gate,* and broad is the way, *that leadeth to destruction.* (*Matt.* vii. 13.) For all that is in the world, *the lust of the flesh,* and *the lust of the eyes,* and the *vainglory of life,* . . is of the world. (1 *John*, ii. 16.)

But the borrowing appears most clearly in the following places, which agree in expression and in meaning with the corresponding passages in the *New Testament*, and in the most of which it is impossible to think upon accidental coincidence, *because the context of the parallel sentences and thoughts is the same.*

## *III.—Passages which agree in expression and meaning.*

*Bhagavad-Gîta.* / *New Testament.*

As they turn to me, so I honour them. Every day, Partha, men follow my steps. (iv. 11.)

And he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him. (*John*, xiv. 21.) If any man serve me, let him follow me; and where I am, there shall also my servant be: if any man serve me, him will the Father honour. (*John*, xii. 26.)

Let him raise himself by himself . . . . . . The soul is a man's friend; it is also his foe. It is the friend of him who has conquered himself by it; by its hostility to that which is not spiritual, it is like a foe. (vi. 5-6.)

If any man desire to come after me, *let him deny himself* . . . For whosoever desireth to save his life (soul) shall lose it: and whosoever shall lose his soul for my sake shall find it. (*Matt.* xvi. 24-25.) He that loveth his soul shall lose it; and he that hateth his soul in this world shall keep it unto life eternal. (*John*, xii. 25, also *Rom.* vii. 23.)

I am dearer to the wise man than possessions, and he is dear to me. (vii. 17.)

He that loveth me shall be loved by my Father, and I will love him. *John*, xiv. 21. *Luke*, xiv. 33.)

* Conf. Thomas à Kempis, *de Imit. Christi*, I. xx.
† Conf. also *Mundaka-Upanishad*, iii. 1. 7 (*Bibl. Ind.* vol. XV. p. 126), so also *Iśa-Upanishad*, 6 (*ibid.* p. 72).
‡ Conf. *Katha-Upanishad* 5, valli 15; also *Śvetâśvatara-Upanishad*, vi. 14, and *Mundaka-Upanishad*, ii. 2, 10.

| | |
|---|---|
| No one knows me. (vii. 26.) | No man hath seen God at any time. (*John*, i. 18.) Dwelling in light unapproachable; whom never man saw, nor can see. (1 *Tim.* vi. 16.) |
| Easy to understand, sweet to do. (ix. 2.) | My yoke is *easy*, and my burden is *light*. (*Matt.* xi. 30; see also *Psalm* cx. 10.) |
| I am the way, beginning, end. (ix. 18.) * | I am the way. (*John*, xiv. 6.) I am the first and the last. (*Rev.* i. 17.) |
| I make warm, I hold back and let loose the rain. (ix. 19.) | He maketh his *sun* to rise. . . . and sendeth rain . . . (*Matt.* v. 45.) |
| I never pass away from him, nor he from me. (vi. 30.) (Conf. *Iśa-Upanishad* 6 in *Bibl. Ind.* vol. XV. p. 72). | He dwelleth in me, and I in him. (*John*, vi. 57.) |
| They who honour me are in me, and I in them. (ix. 29.) | I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one. (*John*, xvii. 23; also *John*, vi. 56.) |
| None who honour me shall perish. (ix. 31.) | That whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life. (*John*, iii. 15.) |
| Gentleness, equanimity, contentment, penance, almsgiving, honour and dishonour, these are the characteristics of beings, and are all of them from me. (x. 5.)† | The fruit of the Spirit is—love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance. (*Gal.* v. 22-23.) |
| I am the origin of all, from me everything proceeds. (x. 8.) | Of him, and through him, and unto him, are all things. (*Rom.* xi. 36.) |
| Thinking of me . . . . instructing one another, ever speaking with me, they rejoice and are glad. (x. 9.) | Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly; in all wisdom teaching and admonishing each other with psalms, hymns, spiritual songs, in grace singing in your hearts to God. (*Col.* iii. 16.) |
| I am the beginning, the middle, and the end of beings. (x. 20). | I am the first and the last. (*Rev.* i. 17.) |
| Among letters I am *A*. (x. 33.) | I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the ending. (*Rev.* i. 8.) |
| From all sins will I free thee: be not sorrowful! (xviii. 66.) | Son, be of good cheer; thy sins are forgiven (*Matt.* ix. 2.) |

That the composer of the *Bhagavad-Gita* knew and used the *New Testament*, the coincidences which have been pointed out between single thoughts and expressions have been sufficient, as I believe, to prove. In confirmation, however, of the results already won, I make the further observation that some larger sections of the Gospel narrative have been imitated in the *Bhagavad-Gita*.

Among these imitations I reckon first and chiefly that of the transfiguration of Christ; further that of Peter's confession of the divinity of Christ, and also of his own unworthiness to be in the company of the Lord after the miracle of the fishes. To these may also perhaps be added that of the so-called *eight beatitudes*.

That the 11th chapter, in which, at Arjuna's request, Krishna shows himself in his infinite divine glory, in which he comprehends the universe in himself, is a copy of the Gospel narrative of the transfiguration of Christ, is on the one hand probable, because, as has been mentioned above, other characteristic and prominent incidents in the life of the Saviour (as, for example, his persecution by Herod, and the washing of the feet at the last supper, etc.) have been transferred to Krishna, and is confirmed by the expression borrowed from the Gospel with which this glorification of Krishna is related in the *Bhagavad-Gita*. Compare the following passages:—

| *Bhagavad Gita.* | *New Testament.* |
|---|---|
| If light were suddenly to rise from a thousand suns in heaven, that would be like the light of this great Lord. (xi. 12.) Having on (ibid. ll.) heavenly garments and garlands. | And he was transfigured before them; and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light. (*Matt.* xvii. 2, and conf. *Mark*, ix. 3.) |

* With the different epithets in this *śloka* compare also *Hosea*, xi. 13; *Rev.* iii. 14; *John*, i. 18; *Psalm* vii. 11. and *Heb.* xiii. 8; *Luke*, vii. 34, and xii. 4; *Rev.* i. 18; *Acts*, xvii. 28; *Col.* ii. 3; and *John*, xii. 24.

† Conf. *Svetâśvatara-Upanishad*, vi. 6 (*Bibl. Ind.* u. s. p. 65), and *John*, i. 1.

Full of astonishment, and with hair erect, he bent his head before the god, and, folding his hands, spoke. (xi. 14.)

When I see thy countenance, I know no place, I feel no joy. (xi. 25.)

Then he comforted again that astonished one, for the great spirit was merciful. (xi. 50.)

And when the disciples heard it, they fell on their face, and were sore afraid. (*Matt.* xvii. 6.)

He wist not what to answer; for they were sore afraid. (*Mark* ix. 6.) Conf. *Mark,* ix. 3.

And Jesus came and touched them, and said, Arise, and be not afraid. (*Matt.* xvii. 7.)

The speech of Arjuna in the tenth song (śl. 12) has a striking resemblance to Peter's confession of the divinity of Christ in connection with his answer in *John,* vi. 68:—

Arjuna said, Thou art the highest Brahma .... all the sages call thee the eternal divine spirit, the highest God. All that thou sayest to me I believe to be true. (x. 12-14.)

And Simon Peter answered and said, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' (*Matt.* xvi. 16.) Simon Peter answered him, Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. (*John,* vi. 68.)

As unmistakable is the similarity between the apology of Arjuna for having held familiar intercourse with Krishna without knowing his divine glory, and the exclamation of Peter when he has witnessed the miracle of the fishes. Although the words are different, the situation is exactly the same:—

"Forgive me, O immeasurable one, for the eager words I spoke when I thought you my friend. Ho Krishṇa, Jâdava, my friend; for the honour I withheld from you." (xi. 41, 42.)

When Simon Peter saw it, he fell down at Jesus' knees, saying, Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord. (*Luke,* v. 8.)

Finally there seems a certain similarity, which may be accounted for by an intentional imitation, between the conclusion of the twelfth chapter (śl. 13-20) and the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount. The repetition of the words "Blessed are" are paralleled by "Such a one is dear to me," and in both places there is an enumeration of virtues and perfections which men are exhorted to attain.

If we look for a moment in conclusion at the single parts of the *New Testament* of whose use there are traces in the *Bhagavad-Gitâ,* we find that it is the *Gospel of John* in particular from which the composer has taken the most important and the greatest majority of phrases. But he has also taken a good deal from the other three gospels, the *Acts of the Apostles,* and the *Revelations.* The Epistles of St. Paul, too, with the exception of those to the *Thessalonians* and to *Philemon,* as well as the letters of *Peter, John, James,* and *Jude,* have been used. Of the *Old Testament* (apart from some curious coincidences with passages in the *Proverbs* and *Psalms* which scarcely justify the hypothesis of a direct borrowing), only the *Book of Wisdom* was probably known to the composer. Compare the following passages:—

Infinitely strong and of great power, thou comprehendest everything. (*B. G.* xi. 40.)

She (Eternal Wisdom) reacheth from one end to another mightily: and sweetly doth she order all things. (*Book of Wisdom,* viii. 1.)

It is hard for those in the body to obtain the invisible way. (*B. G.* xii. 5.)

For the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthly tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things. (*Wisdom,* ix. 15.)

Before concluding this investigation, we must answer two objections which may be raised. My commentary has indicated that several passages which bear a Christian stamp, and even some of those which agree in *expression* with passages of the *New Testament,* are to be found in some *Upanishad,* sometimes word for word, sometimes with insignificant discrepancies. As the *Upanishads* which are considered parts of the Vedas have a relatively high antiquity ascribed to them, and are regarded as older than the oldest Christian records, the supposition that those expressions and thoughts were borrowed from Christianity seems to be excluded. A thorough discussion of the age of those *Upanishads,* and their relation to Christian doctrines and ideas, would overstep the limits of these observations. I content myself with a short statement of my view of the *Upanishads* in question, and their relation to Christianity and the *Bhagavad-Gita,* and leave the further investigation to others. The *Upanishads* which are chiefly in question are the *Śvetâśvatara-, Katha-, Muṇḍaka-* and *Praśna-Upanishads.* All these *Upanishads,* as far as their contents are concerned, stand in close connection with themselves and the *Bhagavad-Gita;* they have several passages in common; they all reverence

(as Dr. Roer, *Bibl. Ind.* vol. XV. pp. 37 and 97, asserts of the *Śvetâśvatara* and *Katha Upanishads*) a system which, like the *Bhagavad-Gîta*, seeks to unite the doctrines of the *Sânkhya*, *Vedânta*, and *Yoga* schools; they belong to the latest of the *Vedas*—the *Atharva-Veda*—and in the case of none of them is there any convincing reason for looking on the hypothesis of their post-Christian origin as impossible. On the contrary, with regard to the most important, and, as I believe, the oldest, of them—the *Śvetâśvatara-Upanishad*—there are external indications of Christian influence. On this point Dr. Weber says, in his *Indische Studien* (I. p. 421ff.): "With regard to the name of this *Upanishad*, we read at the conclusion of the sixth chapter, 'By the power of his penance and the grace of God, the wise *Śvetâśvatara*, who knew Brahma, communicated this excellent means of purification to the neighbouring hermits. This highest secret in the Vedânta, coming from the times of old, is not to be communicated to an unconsecrated person, or to an unlearned man, for he who consecrates the highest humility to God, and to his teacher as to God, he is illuminated by the things related here.' The name of this sage, *Śvetâśvatara*, I have nowhere else met with. It may be the honorary title of some priest whose proper name has not come down to us." And in the note, "According to Wilson (*As. Res.* XVII. 187) Śvetâśva is a scholar of Śiva in his appearances as Śveta (white), in which he is to appear at the commencement of the Kaliyuga in order to instruct the Brahmans. He dwelt on the Himalaya, and taught the Yoga. Besides Śvetâśva, he had three scholars, of whom the one was called Śveta (white), the other two Śvetaśikha (white hairs) and Śvetalohita (white blood). *Perhaps we have here a mission of Syrian Christians.* That their doctrines would be put by their Indian scholars into a Brahmanical dress, and that of Christianity only the monotheism would remain, is natural. In the *Mahâbhârata*, XII. 5743, the example of a *Śvetâsya rájarsheḥ* (white king), who, because he was *dharmanishtha*, raised his son to life again, is adduced to prove the possibility of the resurrection of the dead. Here too perhaps we have traces of a Christian legend."*

The *Grantha-Upanishad* is regarded by Weber as older, yet the mention of Vishṇu (iii. 9), and the expression *Śraddhá* (faith, iii. 4), as well as the whole contents, seem to point to the conclusion that this *Upanishad* also dates from the time at which the Vishṇu-cultus began to develop itself under the modification of Christian ideas.

As to the relation of the *Bhagavad-Gîta* to the *Upanishad*, I look on the former as later, principally because in the *Bhagavad-Gîta* the use of Christian ideas and expressions is much more common and evident than in those *Upanishads* in which, as I think, we have only the first weak traces of such a borrowing.

A second objection which might be raised rests on the similarity, pointed out in the commentary, of several passages in the *Bhagavad-Gîta* with sayings of Thomas à Kempis's theological doctrines† which emerge in Christianity only in later times as the results of theological science. We might be confronted with the maxim "He who proves too much proves nothing." If we are to look upon the passages that remind us of the *New Testament* as borrowed, those that remind us of Thomas à Kempis must also have been borrowed, and so the date of the *Bhagavad-Gîta* must be put later than according to probability it can be.

To this I answer (1) that between the parallels cited in the commentary from Thomas à Kempis and those from the *New Testament* a careful comparison will show an important difference in the kind and degree of coincidence, which is much more distinct and significant in the latter than in the former. (2) That Christian asceticism and Indian Yoga have in many things internal points of contact, which of themselves would lead to similarity of expression, so that we need not assume any external influence to account for this similarity. (3) That even in the first centuries asceticism was already so far developed that we need not be surprised if

* That the author of the *Śvetâśvatara-Upanishad* calls the highest divine being Rudra (Śiva), and therefore does not, like the author of the *Bhagavad-Gîta*, belong to the Vaishṇavas, but to the followers of Śiva, does not alter the contents of his doctrine. That agrees in all important points with the *Bhagavad-Gîta*, and the mention of Rudra has not prevented the author of the latter book from making copious use of this *Upanishad*.

† Conf. *Bhag. Gîta*, ii. 57 with *De Imit. Chr.* III. xxvi.; *B. G.* ii. 58 and *I. C.* III. i.; *B. G.* iii. 60 and *I. C.* III. xxiii.; *B. G.* ii. 64 and *I. C.* III. xii.; *B. G.* ii. 71 and *I. C.* III. xxxii.; *B. G.* iii. 30 and *I. C.* II. iv.; *B. G.* iii. 29 and *I. C.* III. iv.; *B. G.* v. 7 and *I. C.* II. i.; *B. G.* v. 29 and *I. C.* iii. 37; *B. G.* vi. 29 and *I. C.* II. viii.; *B. G.* vii. 3 and *I. C.* II. ix.; *B. G.* xii. 11 and *I. C.* III. li.; and *B. G.* xiii. 11 and *I. C.* I. xx.—Ed.

thoughts and sayings found in Thomas à Kempis were current among the old Indian Christians.

Of much greater importance, in my mind, are the coincidences with later Christian theological doctrines—as, for example, the doctrine of the *lumen gloriæ* (xi. śl. 8*), the *credo ut intelligam* (iv. śl. 39†); and with Christian formulas, as, for example, the well-known division of moral acts into *thoughts, words, and deeds*, and of good works, into *prayer, fasting, and almsgiving* (xvii. śl. 28‡). Yet here it must be observed that all these expressions and ideas§ existed in Christianity long before they can be pointed out in Christian writers, although I do not think it impossible that in case Śankara's date, which future investigations may perhaps give us, be later than the 8th century, the date of the *Bhagavad-Gita* also may be later than we are warranted by the data we have at present in putting it.

## NOTES ON INSCRIPTIONS AT GADDAK, IN THE ḌAMBAḶ TÂLUKÂ OF THE DHÂRWÂḌ DISTRICT.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S.

Situated in the neighbourhood of Dambaḷ and Lakkuṇḍi, a part of the Dhârwâḍ District that contains many most interesting relics of former times, Gaddak itself possesses in its inscriptions antiquities that will well repay an investigation of them.

There are two large and somewhat famous temples in the town; one of Nârâyaṇadêva in the modern bazaar, and one of Trikûṭêśvaradêva in the old fort. The former is not remarkable from an architectural point of view, and probably is not of any great age: the chief object of interest about it is a large gateway in the eastern wall of the courtyard, into the construction of which some curious carvings, evidently the remains of some former building, have been built. The temple of Trikûṭêśvaradêva, however, is manifestly of considerable antiquity, and, though it is now a linga or Śaiva shrine, the style of its architecture proves it to have been, as is the case with most of the old linga temples of these parts, originally a Jain temple. Tradition ascribes the construction of it, as of nearly all the temples in this part of the country, to the half-mythical architect Jakkaṇâchârya.¶

The two temples mentioned above contain between them eleven old Sanskrit and Canarese inscriptions, all more or less of interest. My stay at Gaddak was not sufficiently long to enable me to copy more than one of them, but a brief notice of the rest and of the contents of each, so far as I had leisure to make them out, may prove of use to others who may visit the place.

Two of the inscriptions are in the courtyard of the temple of Nârâyaṇadêva. No. 1. leans up against the western wall. It consists of seventy-two or seventy-three lines, each line containing about sixty-three letters. The characters, which are Old Canarese, are somewhat small. The surface of the stone has been so much worn away that the inscription can hardly be traced at all in some places, and it would require much time and patience to decipher any portion of it. The emblems over it represent Vîrabhadra, Nârâyaṇa, Gaṇapati, Sarasvatî, a cow and calf, and the Sun and Moon. It is probably about four hundred years old. No. 2, which also is in the Old Canarese characters, stands up against the eastern wall of the courtyard. It consists of sixty-nine lines, each line

* Compare with the words,—'yet with this eye of thine thou art not able to see me: a divine eye give I thee',—the doctrine of the theologians of the *lumen gloriæ*, by which the blessed in heaven are enabled to see God. S. Thomas Aquin. *Summ Theol.* 1 q 12, art 2: "Dicendum, quod ad videndum Dei essentiam requiritur aliqua similitudo ex parte visivæ potentiæ, scilicet lumen divinæ gloriæ confortans intellectum ad videndum Deum, de quo dicitur in *Psal.* xxxv.: in lumine tuo videbimus lumen." Conf. also *Rev.* xxi. 23.

† Thomson explains—'Faith is the absence of all doubt and scepticism, confidence in the revelation of religion, ready and willing performance of its precepts.'—I hold the idea of faith (*śraddhâ*) in this sense just as that of *bhakti* and iv. 10; and see Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II. 1099; Weber, *Stud* II. 393 ff.) as a representation adopted from Christianity, and doubt if *śraddhâ* is used in this sense in the earlier Indian works in which a Christian influence cannot yet be pointed out.—The sentence expressed here: *Śraddhâvâ'llabhate jnânam* (Schlegel: qui fidem habet, adipiscitur scientiam) is nothing else than the well-known *Credo, ut intelligam*, a fundamental formula which can only have arisen upon Christian ground, and which, where it again recurs in the original works of Indian Brahmanism, plainly bears its Christian origin on its forehead.

‡ The words,—'It avails not after death nor here,' forcibly remind us of the Christian doctrine of the dead meritless works which are performed without the *habitus caritatis*

§ The juxtaposition of prayer, almsgiving, and fasting, occurs in the book of *Tobit*, xii. 8: "Prayer is good with fasting and alms and righteousness."

¶ See vol. I. p. 44.

containing about forty-two letters. This inscription, which is probably of about the same age as the preceding, is rather more legible; in the centre portion the letters are somewhat indistinct, but at the sides and on the upper part of the stone they may be read with tolerable ease. I, however, had no time to read any portion of this inscription, or even to search for its exact date. I have not met elsewhere with emblems similar to those on the top of this tablet; they are very well carved, and represent Krishṇa playing on a pipe in the centre and many figures of human beings and animals dancing on each side of him.

The remaining inscriptions are in and about the courtyard of the temple of Trikûṭêśvaradêva. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 stand up against the back wall of the temple. No. 1, the characters of which are Old Canarese, and the substance of which is partly Sanskṛit and partly Old Canarese, consists of fifty lines, each line containing about thirty-seven letters. The inscription is in a state of good preservation, except in one or two places where the surface of the tablet has been chipped. It commences with a description of the Agrahâra* village of Kratuka (Gaddak) in the Beḷvola Three-hundred,† and finally records a grant made in Śaka 1135, the Âṅgirasa Saṁvatsara, to the god Trikûṭêśvaradêva, while the Yâdava prince Singhaṇadêva was governing the country. The emblems over it are:—In the centre, a linga and a priest within a shrine: to the right, a cow and calf with the sun above them; and to the left, a figure of Basava‡ with the moon above it. No. 2 is the inscription of which a transliterated version and a translation are given below. It will be noticed in detail farther on. No. 3 is another inscription in the Old Canarese characters and language. It consists of thirty-two lines, each line containing about forty-three letters. The characters are large and slanting. The tablet is chipped here and there, but on the whole the inscription is well preserved, though it is not an easy one to read. It records a grant made in Śaka 984, the Śubhakṛit Saṁvatsara, to Trikûṭêśvaradêva, while the great chieftain king Sâbhana, or perhaps, Sôbhana, was governing the Beḷvola Three-hundred, and some other districts, under Âhavamalladêva. Some doubt is thrown upon the date of this inscription by the opening portion, which is:—"While the victorious reign of Iṛivibhujangadêva, the favourite of the whole earth, the ornament of the Châḷukyas, the forehead-ornament of the Satyâśrayakuḷa, &c., was continuing," and by expressions which represent the chieftain Sâbhana as being the subordinate of both Iṛivibhujangadêva and Âhavamalladêva. Iṛivibhujangadêva, or the Châḷukya king Satyâśrî, flourished, according to Elliot, from Śaka 919 to Śaka 930 (?); while Âhavamalladêva or the Châḷukya king Sômêśvaradêva I. flourished, according to the same authority, from Śaka 962 (?) to Śaka 991 (?). The portion of this inscription containing the date is somewhat indistinct, but I could not read it otherwise than as I have given it above. The emblems at the top of this inscription are:—In the centre, a shrine containing a linga with a priest on the right and a figure of Basava on the left of it; to the right, two figures seated,— one of them is a man holding a Vîṇâ or lute, the other is a woman: to the left, a cow and calf; and above the central shrine, the Sun and Moon. No. 4, which is the most eastern of this row of inscriptions, is another inscription in the Old Canarese characters and language. It consists of forty-five lines, each line containing about fifty-one letters. The inscription is not altogether in bad order, but there are many flaws in the tablet, and it is rather hard to read. It mentions the names of the Châḷukya kings Jayasiṁha, Âhavamalla, and Vikramâditya II. or Tribhuvanamalla, and and also gives the name of a princess, Bâchaladêvî, who would appear to be the wife of Âhavamalla. The inscription records a grant made in the Vikrama Saṁvatsara, the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Tribhuvanamalladêva, *i. e.* Śaka 1023, by some chieftain subordinate to him. The

* Agrahâra, lands or villages conferred upon Brâhmans for religious purposes.

† *i. e.* the Beḷvola district consisting of three hundred villages. *Beḷvoḷa* or *beḷpola*, an Old Canarese word, means literally 'a field of standing corn;' the name was given to the fertile district in about the centre of which are Gaddak, Dambal, and Lakkuṇḍi.

‡ Basava, the founder of the Lingâyat religion in its present form, is looked upon as an incarnation of Nandi, the bull of Śiva. The story of his birth and life is to be found in a Canarese work called the *Basava-purâṇa*. Basava, though in his incarnation he assumed the form of a man, is always represented in Lingâyat temples by the figure of a bull, and the name itself is a corruption of the Sanskṛit *vṛishabha*, bull.

emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a linga and priest; to the right, a cow and calf; and to the left, Basava.

No. 5, which is another inscription in the Old Canarese characters and language, is contained on a stone tablet which I found lying on the edge of a small tank just outside the temple enclosure. For the sake of better security I had it removed and placed up against the outer side of the south wall of the courtyard of the temple; the stone was too large and heavy for it to be safe to attempt to carry it inside the courtyard and place it by the other inscriptions there. This inscription consists of fifty-seven lines, each line containing about thirty-eight letters. It records a grant in Śaka 1121, the Siddhârthi Saṁvatsara, by the great chieftain Râyadêva, the supreme lord of Âsatimayûrapura, the prime minister of the Hoysaḷa king Vîraballâḷadêva, the son of Bammidêva, who was the son of Râyadêva, and the governor of the Beḷvola Three-hundred. The emblems at the top of this tablet are:—In the centre, a linga and priest; to the right, a figure of Basava with the moon above it; and to the left, a cow and calf with the sun above them.

Inscriptions Nos. 6, 7, and 8 are half-buried in the back wall of a house that adjoins the southern or back wall of the courtyard of the temple. No. 6, which is in the Old Canarese characters and language, has about fifteen lines visible above the ground; each line contains about thirty-seven letters. The inscription is in a tolerably good state of preservation. It refers to the time of Sankamadêva (Śaka 1098-1104) of the Kaḷachuri family, the supreme lord of the city of Kaḷanjarapura, who is spoken of in terms that are usually applied to great monarchs such as the Châḷukya kings. The emblems at the top of this tablet are:—In the centre, a linga with a figure seated on the right of it and another figure standing on the left of it; to the right, a figure of Basava with the sun beyond it; and to the left, a cow and calf with the moon beyond them. No. 7 is an inscription in the Nâgarî or Grantha characters and in the Sanskrit language. There are eleven lines above the ground; each line contains about thirty-one letters. The inscription is in good order, but the portion of it above the ground is not sufficient to indicate its contents. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a linga and priest; to the right, a cow and calf with the sun or moon above them; and to the left, a figure of Basava with the moon or sun above it. No 8 is another inscription in the Old Canarese characters and language. It refers to the time of Tribhuvanamalladêva. There are eighteen lines above the ground; each line contains about twenty-five letters. The first seven or eight lines of the inscription are in good order; after that, the letters are rather faint, and a large portion of the surface has been chipped off in the centre of the tablet. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a linga and priest; to the right, a cow and calf with the sun above them; and to the left, a figure of Basava with the moon above it. These three inscriptions are worth removing, cleaning, and reading, but to remove them would be an operation of some difficulty and would be attended by great risk to the safety of the building into the wall of which they have been sunk.

No. 9 is an inscription in the Canarese characters and language on a tablet standing just inside the western gateway of the courtyard. It consists of fourteen lines, each line containing about thirty-five letters. It is dated Śaka 1461, the Vikâri Saṁvatsara, and records a grant made by, or at the order of, one of the kings of Vijayanagari. The letters of the inscription are not at all well cut, and, being rather hurried when I examined it, I am not quite certain about the name of the king; it appeared, however, to be Avyayaramahârâya, though this name is not included in the list of the kings of Vijayanagara (Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, vol. II. p. 281, Thomas' ed. 1858). The emblems at the top of this tablet, which are very coarsely cut, are:—In the centre, a linga; to the right of it, a figure of Basava with the sun above it; and to the left of it, a cow and calf with the moon above them.

It remains to notice in detail inscription No. 2 and its contents. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a man worshipping three heads on an altar; to the right a figure of Gaṇapati, beyond which is a figure of Basava; and to the left, a Śakti or female deity, beyond which are a cow and calf and a crooked knife. The meaning of the name Trikûṭêśvaradêva is by · means and certainly

is not elucidated by the fanciful explanation of it given in line 35 of the inscription. The word *kûṭa* has a variety of meanings; *trikûṭa* may denote a mountain with three peaks, or a temple with three cupolas; but *Trikûṭêśvara*, as a name of Śiva, can have no allusion to mountains, and, I think, has no particular allusion to temples; 'trikûṭa' in this compound appears to me to be probably a symbolisation of the three powers of creation, preservation, and destruction, as personified by the well-known triad of Brahma, Vishṇu, and Śiva; the three heads on the altar among the emblems will then denote Śiva as representing, in the eyes of the worshippers of the linga, this triad, the Śakti to the left of the altar being his goddess or female principle, Pârvatî.

The inscription, which has been extremely well preserved, consists of fifty-six lines of about fifty-four letters each. Though the characters are Old Canarese, the language is Sanskrit. A copy of it will probably be found in the Elliot collection, as it is apparently the one alluded to by Elliot in the notes to his essay on inscriptions at Gaddak No. 2. The substance of it also has been given by Dr. Bhâu Dâji.* As, however, it is always desirable for purposes of comparison to obtain copies of inscriptions by different hands, and as Dr. Bhâu Dâji's version is anything but correct in some of its details, a transliteration and a translation of this inscription are appended.

The inscription relates to the Hoysaḷa dynasty of Dvârâvatîpura, an offshoot of the Yâdava race, and gives the following genealogy:—

Yadu.
:
Hari (Krishṇa).
:
Saḷa or Hoysaḷa.
:
Vinayâditya.
|
Ereyanga.
|
Ballâḷa. — Vishṇuvardhana. — Udayâditya.

(Vishṇuvardhana)
|
Narasiṁha m. to Êchaladêvî.
|
Vîraballâḷa.

The meaning of lines 8 and 9, in which the sons of Ereyanga are mentioned, is not very certain. It seems pretty clear that he had three sons, but Udayâditya may be the eldest or the youngest of the three, according as we take the word *udayâditya-paschimau* as a Tatpurusha or as a Bahuvrîhi compound. I have followed Elliot in making him the youngest of the three, and I think that this view is borne out by the context. I am also aware that Narasiṁha and his successors are given by Elliot as the descendants of Udayâditya; but this is certainly not supported by the present inscription, which is clear enough on the point of Narasiṁha being the son of Vishṇuvardhana.

The grant recorded in the inscription is made to the god Trikûṭêśvaradêva in Śaka 1115† (A.D. 1193), the Paridhâvi Saṁvatsara, by Vîraballâladêva, who, having wrested the country of Kuntaḷa from the Yâdava dynasty of Dêvagiri, had fixed upon Lokkigundi, the modern Lakkuṇḍi, as his capital.

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TRANSLITERATION OF GADDAK INSCRIPTION No. 2.

Svasti || Trailokyaṁ pâlyatê yêna sadayaṁ satva-(ttva)vṛittinâ | Sa dêvo Yaduśârddûlaḥ Śrîpatiḥ śrêyasê 'stu vaḥ || Dêvaḥ samastasâmantamastakanyastaśâsanaḥ | Âchaṁdrârkkaṁ nṛipaḥ pâyâdbhuvamambhôdhimêkhalâm || Âsîtkshitau kshatriyapuṁgavânâ[ṁ] śirômaṇiḥ Śrîyadunâmadhêyaḥ | Yadauvavâyê sa Harirddha(rddâha)-ritribhârâvatârârtthamajô 'pi jâtaḥ || Tadanvavâyê bahavô babhûvurbbhû(rbbhû)jôdbhavâ viśrutakîrttibhâjaḥ | Adyâpi lôkê charitâdbhutâni yêshâṁ purâṇêshu paṭhaṁti saṁtaḥ || Kâlakramêṇâtha babhûva kaśchinmahîpatistatra Salâbhidhânaḥ | Kulasya kṛitvâ vyapadêśamanyaṁ vismârito yêna Yadustadâdyaḥ || Kênâpi bra(vra)tipatinâ svadêvakâryyê śârddûlaṁ grasitumupâgataṁ nihantum | Âdishṭaḥ Śaśakapurê sa Hoysaḷêti prâpattaṁ kila vinihatya Hoysaḷâkhyâm || Tataḥ prabhṛiti tadvaṁśê pravṛittaṁ Hoysaḷâkhyayâ | Śârddûlaśchâ dhvaja-syâsîdaṁkaḥ śatrubhayaṁkaraḥ || Aparêshu cha tadrâjyaṁ bhuktavatsvatha râjasu | Vinayâditya ityâsîtkramaśaḥ pṛithivîpatiḥ || Ereyaṁgâbhidhânô 'sya bhûnṛipatistasya châtmajaḥ | Guṇairananyasâmânyaiḥ prakhyâtaḥ pṛithivîtalê || Atha tasyâpi Ballâḷavishṇuvarddhananâmakau | Abhûtâmâtmajanmânâvu-

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* See *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. Asiatic Soc.* vol. IX. p. 321; *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 158.—Ed.

† According to the original, "eleven hundred and fourteen of the years of the era of the Saka king having elapsed."

(va)dayâditya-paśchimau || Têjasvinau bhûtahitapravṛittau lôkapûjitau | Yâvabhâsayatâṁ viśvaṁ sûryyâ(ryya)chaṁdramasâviva || Raṇaśirasi yêna balinâ gajapatimâkramya nijaturaṁgêṇa [10] vinipâtya Jagaddêvaṁ saptâṁgaṁ tasya châpahṛitam || Tatrâgrajê nijaṁ râjyamupabhuktavati kramât | Anujô pi chiraṁ râjyaṁ bubhujê Vishṇuvardhdha-(rddha)naḥ || Yô dêśamagrahâ-[11]rikṛitya samastaṁ nijaṁ svarâjyârttham | Âchakrâmôchchaṁgipraṇbhṛitinanyândvishaddêśân || Ârabhya nijanivâsadbeḷvolaparyyaṁtamakhilamahivishayam | Âkramya [12] yêna dhautaṁ turagavapuh Kṛishṇavêrṇṇâyâm || Yaḥ smâryyatê niyuktaiḥ pratyapachâraṁ nṛipêshvasâdhyatayâ | Paramardidêvanṛipatêrhoysaḷamava-[13]dhârayêti muhuḥ || Yênâgrahârâḥ kratavô mahâdânâni shôḍaśa | Anyânyapi cha puṇyâni paunaḥpunyêna chakrirê || Narasimha iti khyâtô jâta-[14]stasyâtmajô nṛipaḥ | Yasya varṇṇayituṁ naiva śakyante mâdṛiśairgguṇâḥ || Tasya Śririva Daityârêḥ Śaṁkarasyêva Pârvvatî | Âsidêchaladêvîti mahâdêvî kulôdgatâ || [15] Tênâpi tasyâmatuḷaprabhâvô Vajrêśvarârâdhanalabdharâjyaḥ [?] | Jâtaḥ sutô dôrvva-(rbba)ḷachakravarttî Śrîvîraballâḷa iti prasidhdhaḥ (ddhaḥ) || Mâdhyasthyênônnatyâ kâṁchana-[16]vibhavêna vibudhasêvyatayâ | Yô jaṁgama iva Mêrurmahîbhṛitâmagraṇirjjagati || Sîmâtikramabhîrôratigambhirasya vipuḷasatva(ttva)sya | Ratnâ-[17]karasya yasya cha na kôpi Lakshmîvatôrbhbhê(rbbhe)-daḥ || Charitaṁ Bharatâdinâmapi bhuvanê tâvadêva bôdhyamiha | Lôkôttarâ na yâvaddṛiśyaṁtê yasya sâdhugu-[18]ṇâḥ || Vishṇunisarggasidhdhâṁ(ddhâṁ) bhaktiṁ yasyâdya paśyatâṁ puṁsâm | Prahrârâdikathâ api na vismayâya prakalpantê || Tanna tapastannêshtaṁ tanna hutaṁ tanna dânamastiha | [19] A-sakṛinna yêna vihitaṁ dêśê kâlê cha [pâ]trê cha || Strîshvarbhbha(rbbha)kêshu Śûdrêshvanyêshvapi 'yêshu kêshuchijjagati | Sô 'sti na jaṇô vidhattê yaḥ pâpaṁ yatra śâsitari || Shaṭtark-[20]ka-kâvyanâṭakavâtsyâyanabharatarâjanîtishu cha | Anyêshu têshu têshu cha śâstrêshvakhilêshu yaḥ kuśalaḥ || Sarvvêshu darśanêshu cha bhuvi târkkikachakravarttinô [21] yasya | Naivâsti prativâdî vâdimadadviradakêsariṇaḥ || Sarvvâyudhâjîvapuraḥsarêṇa samastavidvajjanavallabhêna | Śastrâṇi śâstrâṇi cha yêna lôkê sa-[22]nâthatâmadya chirâdgatâni || Yannâmadheyamapi viśva[vi]lasinînâṁ lôkê vaśîkaraṇakarmaṇi siddhamaṁtraḥ | Tasya pragalbhavanitâkusumâyudhasya [23] saubhâgyavarṇṇanavidhau katamaḥ samarthaḥ || Vishvadhvâ(dvâ)jikhuraprahâradaḷitakshôṇitaḷaprôchchaladhdhû(ddhû)lidhvâ[n]tanimilitâkhiḷadiśi dvaṁhva(dva)pradôshâgamê | Dûti-[24]vâtipadiyasî muhuriha svassuṁdarîbhiḥ samaṁ vîrâ'nnamabhisâ- · vitanutê yatkhaḍgayashṭirdvishâm || Sa-[25]śvadyatsamarâvatârapiśunêshvâhanyamâ-nêshvitastûryyêshu svapatipraṇâśachakitâḥ kshubhyantyarâtistriyaḥ | Apyêtâḥ subhaṭasvayaṁvarakṛitê maṁdâramâlâmitô hastâbhyâṁ parigṛihya nâka-[26]vanitâḥ sajjîbhavantyambarê || Yasminhoysaḷabhûmipâladharaṇisâmrâjyasiṁhâsanâdârûḍhê sati mattavâraṇapatêryyadhdhâ(ddhâ)sya pûrvvâsanam | Sadya(dyaḥ) sva-[27]svakulakramâgatamahisâmrâjyasiṁhâsanâtpratyartthikshitipâlakairapi raṇe valmîkamârubyatê || Yasmindigvijayârtthamudyatavati prasthânabhêrîravê [28] gambhîrê sphuṭamuchcharatyavanibhṛitsvanyêshu vârttê(rttai)vakâ dûrâdaṁgakaḷiṁgavaṁgamagadhâśchôḷâstathâ Mâḷavâḥ Pâṁḍyâḥ Kêraḷagûrjjaraprabhṛitayô pyujjhanti sadyô dhṛi-[29]tiṁ || Nyakkârêṇa pituḥ śriyaṁ Kaḷachurikshatrânvayâtkarshatâ yênaikêna pitûbarêṇa kariṇâ shashṭirjjitâ dantinâm | Taṁ cha Brahmachamûpatiṁ gajaghaṭâ-[30]vashṭabdhasainyaṁ haṭhâdyênâśvairapi kêvalairbhbhu(rbbhu)-jahṛitâ [ni]rjjitya râjyaṁ hṛitam || Uchchhidya Jaitrasiṁhaṁ dakshiṇamiva tasya Bhillamasya bhujam | Vîrêṇa yêna labdhaṁ Kuntaḷadeśâdhi-[31]patyamapi || Sa cha samastabhuvanâśrayaśrîpṛithvîvallabhamahârâjâdhirâjaparamêśvaraparamabhaṭṭârakadhvâ(dvâ)râvatîpuravarâdhîśvarayâdavakulâmbaradyu-[32]maṇisamyakta(ktva)chûḍâ-maṇimalaparâ(? ro)lgaṁḍakadanaprachaṁḍa asahâyaśûra êkâṁgavîra śanivârasidhdhi(ddhi) giridurggamalla chaladaṁkarâma ityâdisamastapraśastanâmâvaḷîvi-[33]râjamânaśrîmatpratâpachakravarttiśrîvîraballâḷadêvô Lokkigaṁḍinivêśitavijayaskaṁdhâvâraḥ || Asti svayambhûḥ Kratukâbhidhânê grâmê Trikûṭêśvara-[34]nâmadhêyaḥ Śivaḥ samastakshitipâḷamauḷimaṇiprabhâraṁjitaramyapîṭhaḥ || Tasya sthânâchâryyaḥ Kâḷamukhâchâryyasaṁtatiprabhavaḥ | Sidhdhâ(ddhâ)ṁtichaṁdrabhûshaṇapaṁ-[35]ḍitadêvâbhidhô 'sti muniḥ || Taṁ Trikûṭêśvaraṁ dêvaṁ liṁgai[ḥ] svaiḥ sthâvaraistribhir (bhiḥ ! ) jaṁgamêna samayêna (? tamanyêna) chatuḥkûṭêśvaraṁ viduḥ || Satataśarîrârdhdha(rddha)-sthitagaurîbhṛiśasaṁgamâ-[36]dvadhû dhva (?) pya (?) | Śiva iva virajyamânô yô bhâti brahmacharyyastu || Yaścha || Ku[la]śailêshu chalatsvapi maryyâdâmatipatatsu siṁdhushu cha | Satyaṁ na satyavâkyadvitîya-[37]nâmâpati tyajati || Anyatra kâbya-(vya)nâṭakavâtsyâyanabharatarâjanîtyâdau naiva kathâsidhdhâ(ddhâ)ntêshvakhiḷêshvapi yasya nâsti samaḥ || Yêna cha || Âdṛiśyôta kadâ-[38]chidviśrâmô gatishu taraṁgâṇâm | Na tvêva kṛipâbhâjâpradîyamânê 'śanatâṁ satrê(ttrê) || Annênaiva na kêvaḷamapi tu suvarṇṇaushadhâmbuvastrâdyaiḥ | Antô nâsti ja-[39]nânâṁ nirantaraṁ tapyamânâ(nâ)nâm || Yêna châtra sthânê || Udhdhṛi(ddhṛi)tya jîrṇṇamakhiḷam nirmmâya cha nûtanapuraṁ ramyam |

Dêvântikamâuitâ vêśyâvîthî sthitâ parataḥ || [40] Âmṛitôpamapânîyapûrṇṇâ pushkariṇî kṛitâ | Vanam cha Naṁdanasâmyaṁ nânâpushpalatâvṛitam || Kiṁ jalpêna bahunâ grâva(ma)prâkâravaḷayabâhyami-[41]ha | Yadyatsamasta[ṁ] tattatsamastamapi tasya nirmmâṇam || Tasya bhagavataś-charâcharaguroḥ Śrîsvayambhûtrikûṭêśvaradê-vasyâṁgaraṁgabhôgakhaṁḍasphuṭitajîrṇṇôdhdhâ-(ddhâ)-[42]râdyartthaṁ vidyâdânârtthaṁ tapôdhanabrâhmaṇâdibhôjanârtthaṁ Beḷvolatriśatântarggatahoṁbâlalunâmadhêyagrâmaṁ pûrvvaprasidhdha-(ddha)sîmâsamanvitaṁ nidhinikshêpa-[43]jaḷapâshâṇârâmâdisahitaṁ tribhôgyâbhyaṁtaramashṭabhôgatêja(jaḥ)svâmyayukta[ṁ] śulkadaṁḍâdisakaḷadravyôpârjjanôpêtam Śakanṛipakâlâtîtasaṁvatsaraśa-[44]têshu chaturddaśâdhikêshvêkâdaśasu aṁkatôpi 1114 varttamânaparidhâvisaṁvatsarâṁtarggatamârggaśirshapaurṇṇamâsyâṁ śanêścharavârê sômagrahaṇê tasya Kâḷamukhâ-[45]châryyasômeśvaradêvapraśishyasya Vidyâcharaṇadêvaśishyasya Satyavâkyâparanâmadhêyasya Śrîmadâchâryyasidhdhâ(ddhâ)ntichaṁdrabhûshaṇapaṁḍitadêvasya pâdaprakshâ-[46]lanaṁ kṛitvâ râjnâ râjakîyairapyanaṁguliprêkshaṇîyaṁ sarvvanamasyaṁ kṛitvâ dhârâpûrvvakaṁ bhaktyâ dattavân || Asya cha dharmmasya saṁrakshaṇê phaḷamida-[47]mudâharanti sma tapômahimasâkshâtkṛitadharmmasthitayô Manvâdayô maharshayaḥ || Bahubhirvvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagarâdibhiḥ | Yasya [48]yasya yadâ bhûmistasya tasya tadâ phalam || Gaṇyaṁtê pâṁsavô bhûmêrggaṇyaṁtê vṛishṭiviṁdavaḥ | Na gaṇyatê Vidhâtrâpi dharmmasaṁrakshaṇê phalam || Apa-[49]ha-rataḥ samartthasyâpyudâsînasya tairêva cha paritaṁ phalamudâhṛitaṁ || Svadattâṁ paradattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasuṁdharâm | Shashṭiṁ varshasahasrâṇi vishṭâ-[50]yâṁ jâyatê kṛimiḥ || Paradattâṁ tu yô bhûmimupahiṁsêtkadâchana | Sa labdhô vâruṇaiḥ pâśaiḥ kshipyatê pûyaśôṇitê || Kulâni târayêtkartâ [51]sapta sapta cha sapta cha | Adhô 'dhaḥ pâtayêddhartâ sapta sapta cha sapta cha || Api Gaṁgâditîrtthêshu haṁturggâmathavâ dvijam | Nishkṛitiḥ syânna dêvasvabrahmasvahara-[52]ṇê nṛiṇâm || Viṁdhyâṭavîshvatôyâsu śushkakôṭaraśâyinaḥ | Kṛishṇasarppâh hi jâyaṁtê dêvadravyâpahârakâḥ || Karmmaṇâ manasâ vachâ yaḥ [53]samartthô pyupêkshatê | Sa syâttadaiva chaṁḍâla[ḥ]sarvvadharmmabahishkṛitaḥ||Athâ êvaha Râmachaṁdraḥ || Sâmanyô yaṁ dharmmasêturnṛipaṇâṁ kâlê kâlê [54]pâlanîyo bhavadbhiḥ | Sarvvânêtânbhâvinaḥ pârtthivêṁdrânbhûyô bhûyô yâchatê Râmachaṁdraḥ || Madvaṁśajâ[ḥ] paramahîpa-[55]ti-vaṁśajâ vâ pâpâdapêtamanasô bhuvi bhavibhûpaḥ | Yô pâlayanti mama dharmmamimaṁ samagraṁ têshâṁ mayâ virachitô 'ṁjalirêsha [56]mûrdhni || Ballâḷadêvanṛipatêrâdêśâdagniśarmmaṇâ rachitâ | Śâsanapaddhatirêshâ Sârasvatasârvvabhaumêna ||

TRANSLATION.

Hail! May that deity (Vishṇu),—the most excellent of the race of Yadu; the husband of Fortune; he who, being the abode of the quality of goodness, tenderly preserves the three worlds,—confer supreme happiness upon you! May the deity, as a King, imposing his commands upon the heads of all chieftains, protect, as long as the sun and moon may last, the earth encircled by the ocean!

In former times there was in this world he who bore the name of Śrî-Yadu; in his family was born even the Unborn, Hari,* for the purpose of sustaining the burden of the earth. In his lineage there were many heroes, possessing well-known reputations; good people still read in the Purâṇas of their wonderful achievements.

In course of time there was born in that race a certain king named Saḷa, who, having gained a title for his family, caused even Yadu, the first of it, to be forgotten. For when, in the city of Śaśakapura, with the words "Slay†, O Saḷa," he was commanded by a certain ascetic to destroy a tiger that had come to devour him in the performance of his religious rites, he slew it and acquired the name of Hoysaḷa. From that time forth the name of Hoysaḷa was attached to his race, and the emblem on its banner, causing fear to its foes, was a tiger.

Other kings (of his race) having ruled his kingdom, at length there was a king named Vinayâditya.

His son was king Ereyanga, celebrated for virtues possessed in common by no others.

To him there were born two sons, Ballâla and Vishṇuvardhana, whose younger brother was Udayâditya. Glorious, intent upon the welfare of created things, worshipped by mankind, like the sun and moon they cast a lustre over everything.

He (Ballâḷa)‡, the mighty one, charging with his horse a lordly elephant in the van of battle, overturned Jagaddêva and despoiled him of his sovereignty

The elder of the two having ruled the kingdom, after him his younger brother also, Vishṇuvardhana, reigned for a long time. For the sake of (ensuring the continuance of) his power, he gave

* Vishṇu, who became incarnate, as Krishṇa, in the race of Yadu.

† Hoy, imperative of hoyyu or poyyu (Canarese), to beat, kill. The name is also spelt Poysaḷa, Hoysaṇa, and Poysaṇa.

‡ The construction here is very obscure. In the preceding verse we have the relative pronoun in the dual, referring to the two brothers; here the relative is in the singular and is without an antecedent. From the following verse, however, the elder brother, Ballâḷa, appears to be referred to.

away the whole of his own territory in religious gifts, and then invaded Uchchangi and other countries belonging to his enemies. Commencing from his own abode*, and invading the whole earth as far as Belvola, he washed his horse in the Krishṇavêṇâ.† Again and again, with the words "Reflect upon Hoysaḷa," he was reminded by his servants of the necessity for ingratiating himself with king Paramardidêva‡ who was unassailable among kings. Again and again lands were given by him for religious purposes, and sacrifices, the sixteen great gifts, and other holy actions were performed by him.

His son was the celebrated king Narasiṁha, whose virtues cannot be described by men like me. As Śri was the wife of the Foe of the demons (Vishṇu), and as Pârvati was the wife of Śankara (Śiva), so Êchaladêvi, born in a noble race, was his consort.

A son was born to him from her, renowned under the name of Śri-Vîraballâḷa, who was of unrivalled dignity, who acquired his kingdom through worshipping the lord of thunderbolts (Indra), and who was a very universal emperor in respect of his prowess. Through his occupying ever a central position, (or, the position of an arbitrator,) through his loftiness, and through his golden wealth, and through his being done homage to by wise men, (or, by gods,) he was as it were a moving Mêru§ and so was preëminent among kings. Fearing to transgress the boundaries (of good behaviour), of a very profound nature, and abounding in the quality of mildness, there was no difference between him and the Possessor of Lakshmî (the Ocean‖), which hesitates to overflow its bounds, which is very deep, and which abounds in living creatures. The achievements of Bharata and others are to be recognised only up to the time when the superhuman qualities of this man were first beheld. In the present day, when men regard his faith in Vishṇu, which was implanted in him by nature, even the legends of Prahrâda and others fail to excite astonishment. There is no penance or sacrifice, no offering and no gift, that was not performed or given by him repeatedly when the proper time or place or object presented itself. While he was ruling, there was none who committed sin among women or children, or even Sûdras or any others. He was well versed in poetry, in the drama, in the writings on regal polity of Vâtsyâyana and Bharata, and in all other divisions of literature. In all the systems of logic he was a very universal emperor in the science of reasoning; and there was no one to oppose him, for he was a very lion towards the infuriated elephants that were disputants. Preëminent amongst all whose profession is that of arms, the favourite of all learned people, both weapons and the sacred writings at length found in him a master (who knew how to use them properly). His very name was as potent as a magic charm in captivating all lovely women; who is able to describe the good fortune of him who was a very Kâmadêva to women inclined to flirting? When, at the approach of battle and of twilight, the regions are darkened by night and by the clouds of dust rising up from the earth which is pulverised by the blows of the hoofs of his prancing horses, his sword, like a swift-footed procuress, causes his brave foes to keep assignations with the nymphs of heaven. When the musical instruments that always announce his setting forth to fight are sounded, the wives of his enemies, anticipating the slaughter of their husbands, tremble, and the women of the gods, taking garlands of the flowers of the Mandâra tree in their hands, prepare themselves for the purpose of choosing lovers from among the warriors (about to die). When for the purpose of going to war he leaves the throne of the universal sovereignty of the Hoysaḷa kings and takes the chief seat upon an infuriated royal elephant, straightway each hostile king also descends from the throne of universal empire that has come down to him by the succession of his race and takes his stand upon a molehill. When he prepares himself for conquering the regions, and the deep-voiced drum that announces his marching forth is sounded clear, afar off Anga, Kalinga, Vanga and Magadha, Chôḷa and Mâlava, Pâṇḍya, Kêraḷa, Gûrjara and the rest straightway lose their courage; then how can other kings endure? At the contemptuous command of his father, (or, perhaps, because his father had been treated with contumely,) he despoiled the warrior race of Kaḷachuri and with one elephant . . . . . .¶ slew sixty elephants; and conquered, through his violent onset with cavalry only, the famous general Brahma,* whose army was strengthened with numbers of elephants, and

* Dvârâvatîpura or Dvârâsamudra, now Halabidu in Mysore.—Elliot.

† The Krishṇâ at its junction with the Vênyâ or Vêṇâ near Sitârâ.

‡ The Châḷukya king Vikramâditya II. or Permâdidêva, Saka 998-1049.

§ The epithets apply equally to the king and to Mêru, mountain in the centre of the seven continents, and . . . on words is in the expression mahîbhritâm agraṇîḥ, as mahîbhrit, supporter of the earth, means either a king or a mountain.

‖ Lakshmî or Śrî sprang from the ocean when it was churned by the gods for the purpose of obtaining nectar. The epithets in this verse apply equally to the king and to the ocean, and the use of the word *Lakshmî* indicates his regal splendour.

¶ 'Pitûbarêna'; this word is unintelligible, unless Pitûbara was the name of Vîraballâḷa's war-elephant.

* The leader of the Kaḷachuri army.

seized his kingdom. Having destroyed Jaitrasimha*, who was as it were the right arm of Bhillama, he, the brave one, acquired the supremacy over the country of Kuntaḷa.

And he, the fortunate and mighty universal emperor, Śrî-Vîraballâḷadêva,—who is adorned with all the glorious titles commencing with "The refuge of the whole earth, the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the excellent ruler of the city of *Dvârâvatîpura*, the sun of the sky of the Yâdavakuḷa, having propriety of conduct for his crest-jewel, Malaparoḷ gaṇḍa,† he who is fierce in war, he who is a hero even without any to help him, he who is brave even when alone, Śanivârasiddhi,‡ the conqueror of hill-forts, a very Râma in war,"—established his victorious capital at Lokkiguṇḍi.

In the village named Kratuka there is, under the name of Trikûṭêśvara, the god Śiva, the self-born, whose charming seat is adorned with the lustre of the jewels of all rulers of the earth. The high-priest of his shrine is the saint Siddhântichandrabhûshaṇapaṇḍitadêva, born in the lineage of Kâḷamukhâchârya. They have named the god Trikûṭêśvara (the lord of three abodes, pinnacles, or, perhaps, temples,) because of his three stationary lingas; and they call him Chatuhkûṭêśvara (the lord of four, &c.,) because of one more which is capable of motion (or, perhaps, which is his priest). That priest is glorious as a chaste ascetic, ever restraining his passions, though, like Śiva who is possessed of a wife through his perpetual contact with Gaurî who always constitutes half of his body, he is possessed of a wife through the perpetual contact of the turmeric that is always spread over his body. Though even the great mountains may commence to move and the oceans may overflow their bounds, he truly never abandons in any calamity his second name of Satyavâkya (he whose speech is the truth). And, again, there is no one equal to him in knowledge of poetry, the drama, the works on regal polity by Vâtsyâyana and Bharata, and in all the lessons taught by legendary tales. The motion of the waves may sometimes be observed to cease, but no cessation in feeding the hungry is ever to be observed on the part of this charitable man. Not only in respect of food, but also in respect of gold and medicines and water and clothes, there is never any want to the people who are perpetually performing penance there. And at that holy place he removed all the ruins and built up a new city, and he brought close to the temple the street of the dancing-girls which had been in another place. He constructed a reservoir full of water like nectar, and planted a grove full of flowering creepers and rivalling the grove of Nandana. What need is there of saying any more? ; whatever there is outside the circuit of the walls of the village, it is all his work.

Eleven hundred and fourteen, or in figures 1114, years of the era of the Śaka king having elapsed, during the Paridhâvi Saṁvatsara, on Saturday the day of the full moon of the month Mârgaśirsha, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, (the king,) after that he had washed the feet of the holy priest Siddhântichandrabhûshaṇapaṇḍitadêva, whose other name was Satyavâkya, who was the disciple of Vidyâcharaṇadêva, the disciple of Kâḷamukhâchâryasômêśvaradêva, having made it a grant to be respected by all and not to be even pointed at with the finger by the king or any of the king's people, gave§, in his devotion, with oblations of water, the village of Hombâḷalu, which was included in the Beḷvola Three-hundred, with its boundaries that were known from of old, with the right to treasure-trove, water, stone, pasturage, &c.,‖ . . . . . . . . . . , with the proprietorship over the eight objects of enjoyment, and with the right of appropriating all taxes, fines, &c., for the sake of the angabhôga and rangabhôga of the god Śrî-Svayambhûtrikûṭêśvaradêva, the holy one, the object of veneration of all moving and immoveable things, for the purpose of repairing anything that might be broken, torn, or worn out through age, for the purpose of providing for instruction, and for the purpose of providing food for ascetics, Brâhmaṇs, and others.

(The remainder of the inscription is taken up with the usual moral verses on the result of continuing or reappropriating religious grants, which need not be translated here. It ends with the words—)

The writing of this tablet has been composed by Agniśarmâ Sârasvata Sârvabhauma at the command of the king Ballâḷadêva.

* Probably Jaitugi the son of Bhillama, who was the first of the Yâdava chiefs of Dêvagiri, Śaka 1110-1115.

† The meaning of this title is not clear; it may be *Malavaral gaṇḍa*, 'the destroyer of the Malavaras,' in which case it is exactly equivalent to 'Malavaramâri,' which is apparently a title of the Kâdamba chief Jayakêśi III. (See *Journal Bomb. Br. R. A. Soc.* vol. ix. page 240.)

‡ ? "He whose wishes are accomplished on a Saturday."

§ *Sa cha, &c.*, in line 31, is the nominative in apposition with *dattavân* in line 40.

‖ 'Tribhôgâbhyantaram;' this is a term the explanation of which I have not been able to ascertain; I shall be glad if any one will define it accurately.

## MISCELLANEA.

### DR. BÜHLER'S REPORT ON SANSKRIT MSS. IN GUJARAT.

We extract the following from Dr. Buhler's Report for 1872-73 to the Director of Public Instruction:—

Two new fascicles, Nos. III. and IV., of this work have been published during the past year. The materials collected in 1868-69 have now been exhausted. The issue of a supplementary number, giving addenda, indices, etc. is still required. This part, as well as a fascicle of the catalogue of Jaina works, is still in preparation.

Several large collections of Jaina books in Cambay, Limḍi, and Ahmadâbâd have been partly catalogued. The extent and the condition of those libraries prevent me, however, from causing complete lists of their contents to be made. Several of them contain upwards of 10,000 manuscripts, and sometimes hundreds of copies of one and the same work are found in one library. Thus a library at Ahmadâbâd contains, according to the statement of the cataloguing Shastri, four hundred copies of the Âvaśyakasûtra. This assertion will appear neither astonishing nor incredible if it is borne in mind that devout Jainas frequently give or bequeath large sums of money to the superintendents of monasteries for copying books, and that the multiplication of the sacred writings is held to be highly meritorious. To make complete catalogues of such libraries is out of the question.

In the course of 1873-74 I hope to finish the exploration of two out of the three large Jaina libraries at Ahmadâbâd and of those at Vaḍhvan, and to begin with the Bhandhârs at Siddhapur Pâthan. But I despair of finishing my task during either the current or the next following year.

During the period under report I have bought or procured copies of 200 manuscripts, out of which number 75 belong to Brâhmanical literature and 123 to the Jainas, while 2 contain famous Gujarâti prose-works. Among the Brahmanical works there are several novelties and rare works, to which I beg to call special attention. Thus No. 2, the Bhâshya on the Mantras, quoted in the Pâraskara-grihya-sûtra (I. II. 3) of the White Yajurveda, attempts a task which is usually neglected by the writers on Vedic ceremonies, and it is, at all events, highly interesting to see what meaning a Brahminical writer attributed to the prayers which the Bhaṭṭas usually mutter without understanding or caring to understand them. Among the Purâṇas the Vahnipurâṇa is new to me. It is not identical with the Agnipurâṇa

The *Sarasvatipurâṇa* is a complete copy of the fragment noticed in last year's report.

The list of manuscripts of poetical works contains several original compositions and commentaries, which I have not seen mentioned elsewhere. The most important among them are the Vṛihatkathâ of Kshemendra and the Parthaparâkrama. The honour of the first discovery of the former work belongs to A. Burnell, Esq., M.C.S., not to myself (as stated in the *Indian Antiquary*). But the copy in my list appears to be the only other known manuscript besides that of Mr. Burnell, and, though incomplete, it contains very important portions of the original, which are wanting in that gentleman's manuscript. In an article in the *Indian Antiquary* I have pointed out how great the importance of the Vṛihatkathâ is for the history of the Indian collections of apologues. I may add that further researches have convinced me that it settles completely the question which of the many versions of the Panchatantra is the original one, and that it allows us to ascertain the form of that work as it stood in the 4th century A.D. The Panchatantra, at that period, closely resembled the so-called Southern redaction.

The second work mentioned above, the Pârthaparâkrama, is a drama of the class called Vyâyoga, a military piece celebrating the deeds of Arjuna. Its author, the Yuvarâja or heir-apparent Prahlâdana, who lived under a king of the name of Dhârâvarsha, is quoted by Sârangadhara, the author of a large collection of elegant extracts made in the 14th century.

King Dhârâvarsha, from whose unnamed capital the mountain Nandivardhana could be seen, lived probably in the 10th century A.D. The play is important, as only one other Vyâyoga was hitherto known. The manuscript was found in a Jaina library.

Among the works pertaining to the Shâstras, the Agniveśasaṁhitâ, one of the oldest works on medicine, written in the Sûtra style, and the Viśrântavidyâvinoda, a work on veterinary surgery attributed to King Bhoja, deserve to be noted specially. The latter work is different from the short popular treatise usually called Śâlihotra, and attributed likewise to the famous king of Mâlwa.

As regards the Jaina books, I stated already in last year's report that the purchases of 1872-73 promised to become highly important. My hopes in this respect have been completely fulfilled. I have obtained some very old palm-leaf manuscripts, Nos. 78-80, 113-114, 128-132, which are all between five and six hundred years old. The

oldest, containing the Vṛihatkalpasûtra with its commentaries, is dated 1334 Vikrama, or 1278 A.D. It was written in Cambay, where it had been preserved until it came into my hands.

The other manuscripts likewise came from that town.

Copies of all the forty-five sacred works of the Jainas, with the exception of three very small treatises, have now been obtained, and Sanskṛit commentaries on most of them. Among this year's purchases the complete collection of the Pâinnâs or Prakîrṇakas (No. 141), the Pannâvaṇâ with a commentary, the Nandi adhyayana with two commentaries, the commentary on the Jñâtâdharmakathâ, deserve to be noticed. These commentaries, as well as several others, are particularly valuable, as their authors belong to the oldest and most esteemed exponents of Jaina doctrines. Haribhadra, the son of Yâkinî (vide Nos. 104, 110, 114, and 150), is stated to have lived in the first half of the 6th century A.D.; Abhayadeva (vide Nos. 91, 103, 121) wrote, according to his own statement, in the 11th century at Pâṭhan the Navâṅgi vṛitti, i. e. commentaries on nine Aṅgas (copies of five have been acquired for Government); Malayagiri, the most voluminous of all Jaina commentators, lived in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Special notice deserve also the copies of the Niryuktis, the oldest expositions of the Aṅgas, which are attributed to Bhadrabâhu, the author of the Kalpasûtra, and reputed contemporary of Aśoka. The Sanskṛit commentary on the large collection called Oghaniryukti by Droṇâchârya goes back considerably beyond the time of Hemachandra. The Mâgadhî Bhâshyas and Avachûrṇis (Nos. 105, 114, 129, 130), which are considerably older than the Sanskṛit glosses, are important for the history of the sacred books.

Of more general interest and higher importance than any of the acquisitions already enumerated are the Deśîśabdasaṁgraha of Hemachandra, No. 184 and the Pâialachhî nâmamâlâ, No. 185. These two works are dictionaries of the ancient Prâkṛit language, and contain several thousands of hitherto unknown words, which, in more or less modified forms, occur in the modern Prâkṛits. They are indispensable for the correct interpretation of the Jaina and all other true Prâkṛit works, and promise important results for the history of the living Aryan languages of India. I may add that I have now succeeded in obtaining the loan of a second copy of the Deśîśabdasaṁgraha, and that it will be possible to prepare an edition of it.

## PERSIAN STANZAS ON ATTRACTION AND REPULSION.

*Selected and translated by E. Rehatsek, Esq., M.C.E.*

No. V. *From the Mesnavy of Jellâl-al-dyn Râmy.—3rd Duftur.*

میل تن در سبزه و آب روان
زان بود کہ اصل او آمد ازان
میل جان اندر حیات و روحي است
زانکہ جان لامکان اصل ویست
میل جان در حکمتست و در علوم
میل تن در باغ و راغ و در کروم
میل جان اندر ترقّي و شرف
میل تن در کسب اسباب و علف
میل و عشق آن شرف هم سوي جان
زین یحب و یحبّون را بدان
گر بگویم شرح این بیحد شود
مثنوي هفتاد من کاغذ شود
آدمي حیوان نباتي و جماد
هر مرادي عاشق هر بیمراد
بیمرادان بر مرادي مي تنند
وان مرادان جذب ایشان میکنند
کهربا عاشق بشکل بي نیاز
کاه میکوشد در ان راه دراز
این رها کن عشق ان بسته دهان
تافت اندر سینهٔ صدر جهان
رحمتش مشتاق آن مسکین شده
سلطنت زین لطف مانع آمده
عقل حیران کاین عجب اورا کشید
یا کشش زانسو بدانجانب رسید

Fine brooks and meadows do the body lure.
Because they both the body did produce.*
All life and souls the spirit doth attract—
The universal Spirit gave it birth!
Science and wisdom fascinate the soul,
Vineyards and gardens please the body much;
The soul aspires to virtue and to worth,
The body groans for wealth and earthly pelf;
And virtue to the soul inclines with worth:
Good men by God are loved and cherish him.†
Here explanation boundless would become,
This book to many *redge* would swell in weight:—

* Water and meadows produce nourishment for animals and men; part of this vegetable and animal food becomes sperm, from which the body of man is produced.

† Qorân, V. 59.

Man is a brute, a plant, a mineral:
Each hopeful part must love each hopeless one;*
The hopeless ones around the hopeful spin
Just as the hopeful ones these do attract.
The Lover, straw-attractor,† needs no shape—
The straw contends on that far distant way.
Abandon this.—Mute adoration's love
Into the heart of God most brightly shines;
His mercy pities human creatures all,
His glory from this perfect grace will shrink.
Man's reason is astonished to know
Is this attraction human or divine?

## CHAND'S MENTION OF ŚRÎ HARSHA AND KÂLIDÂSA.

It may safely be said that there is not a single date in Sanskrit chronology which is not, or has not been, disputed. Not many years ago, if the question had been asked, When did the famous poet Kâlidâsa live? the unhesitating answer would have been, 'At the time when Vikramâditya established his era, about 50 years before Christ:' and probably this is still the Hindu belief. But all modern scholars are unanimous in concluding that he must be referred to a much later period, and that the king Bhoja, at whose court he flourished, was the second of that name, whose reign is fixed as commencing in 483 and terminating in 538 A.D. This shows how desirable it is to abstain from any positive assertion in matters of the kind until every particle of evidence has been carefully collected and weighed. It is decidedly premature for Bâbû Râm Dâs Sen to state dogmatically that the king of Kanauj under whose patronage Śrî Harsha wrote the *Naishadha*, was *evidently* a contemporary of Prithirâj: for if the evidence to the fact were generally accepted as conclusive, the controversy, which has now filled some pages of the *Antiquary*, could never have arisen. The lines which I quoted *à propos* to the previous discussion bring forward Chand as a perfectly new and independent witness, and his testimony cannot be so summarily set aside.

I am convinced that no unprejudiced person can read his list of elder authors without recognising that it is intended to be arranged in chronological order. The names are only eight in number, viz. Śesh-nâg, Vishnu, Vyâsa, Suka-deva, Śrî Harsha, Kâlidâsa, Danda-mâli and Jayadeva. No orthodox Hindu will deny that the first four are correctly so placed at the head of the list. Similarly the two that he names last are unmistakeably modern writers; for Danda-mali is referred, at earliest, to the end of the tenth century, and Jayadeva to a still more recent date. Wilson even took him to be a disciple of Râmânand—an extreme theory which cannot now be maintained, since we find him mentioned by Chand, who on the most moderate computation preceded Râmânand by a full century. There remain only the two names of Śrî Harsha and Kâlidâsa: the latter, as observed above, flourished at the beginning of the 6th century after Christ; he therefore preceded the two last names in the catalogue and came after the first four, and is so far unquestionably placed in his proper chronological rank. Thus the sole exception—if it is an exception—to the correct sequence is in the case of Śrî Harsha, whose precise date is the very matter in dispute.

The most natural conclusion to be drawn from the passage is that in Chand's opinion Śrî Harsha was a writer of considerable antiquity. It is possible that he may have been in error in placing him before Kalidâsa; but he clearly indicates that he was by no means a contemporary writer, and this is a point about which he could not possibly be mistaken. His attribution of the *Bhoja-prabandha* to Kâlidâsa is of course not strictly correct. The work, as we have it, is known to have been compiled by Ballâla Miśra, who at least supplied the prose framework. But a great part of the poetical extracts which form the bulk of the work, may with considerable probability be ascribed to Kâlidâsa.

Mr. Beames' letter scarcely needs a reply; and he admits that I have succeeded in explaining the allusion in both the passages I quote, which is the matter of most importance. And until some reasonable explanation can be given of the two forms *naramrûva* and *shaddha*—a contingency which I do not regard as imminent—I shall continue to look upon both as mere clerical errors, and read for the one *naramrûpa*, and for the other *śuddha*. The literal translation of the couplet is: 'Fifth, the excellent Śrî Harsha, paragon of men, who dropt the ennobling wreath on king Nala's neck.' This is identical with my metrical version, since the excellence intended is clearly excellence as a poet. In the line referring to Kâlidâsa, the phrase *setabandhyan*—literally, 'built up the pile'—means nothing more than 'constructed.' It was selected by Chand solely on account of its similarity in sound to the name of the book, Bhoja-*prabandha*. A similar alliterative phrase in English would be, '*composed* a *posy* of sweet song.' The only difficulty in the line is the word *ti*, which I take to be a mere expletive.

F. S. Growse.

*Mathura, N. W. P., July* 31, 1873.

* Hopeful = immortal, hopeless = mortal; *i.e.* spiritual and material.

† This is the literal translation of the Persian word for which, together with *Lover* in the simile, stands for God, and straws for man, to express the attraction exerted by the Creator on the creature. There occur figures of speech still more strange and incongruous to our notions; the translator has accordingly omitted *four* lines here.

# ON THE KARNÂTAKA VAISHNAVA DÂSAS.

BY REV. F. KITTEL, MERKARA.

IN connection with the interesting articles on the early Vaishṇava Poets of Bengal that are appearing in the *Indian Antiquary*, it may not be out of place to offer a few remarks on the Karṇâṭaka Vaishṇava Dâsa literature.* In doing so, I confine myself to a collection of 402 *Dâsa padas* (servant-songs) that appears to have been made chiefly by Dr. Moegling. A selection of 174 of them was printed at Mangalûr twenty years ago, and reprinted at Bangalûr in 1871.

The *Karṇâṭaka Dâsa Padas* are composed in the Raghaṭâ or Raghaḷâ metre, a subdivision of the Mâtrâ Chhandas, that is expressly stated to be used for poems that are to be sung. Each of the songs has a refrain (*pallava* or *palla*) which, in the manuscripts, is put at the head; the number of verses (stanzas) in the different songs varies much—some consisting of only two, others of more than fifty. Each song has also a more or less clear *mudrikâ* or signature, as it is called. This is a final verse that contains the name of the author combined with a homage, or an exhortation not to neglect the homage, due to his cherished deity, or rather idol. For instance, one Dâsa's name is Kanaka, and a signature of his runs thus: "Hear ye all Kanaka's words! Understand ye all, and repeat! If ye do not understand what has been said in pure Kanarese, Âdi Keśava (a Krishṇa idol at a place called Kâgi nĕlĕ) himself doubtless knows (it)." If he does not put down his own name (frequently: Kanaka's Âdi Keśava), he signs with "Kâgi nĕlĕ's Âdi Keśava," or "Âdi Keśava of Baḍa," or simply with "Âdi Keśava" (or "Keśava"). In one *mudrikâ* he uses the expression "Âdi Keśava of Chanḍa nĕlĕ."

Thus it is found that 160 songs of the collection belong to Purandara Dâsa, 98 to Varâha Dâsa, 43 to Kanaka Dâsa, 20 to Viṭhala Dâsa, 18 to Vĕṅkaṭa Dâsa, 9 to Vijaya Dâsa, 7 to Madhva Dâsa, 5 to Uḍupu's Krishṇa Dâsa, 5 to Vaikuṇṭha Dâsa, etc. The remaining signatures, however, are less precise; for instance, I cannot decide whether the Dâsa who three times signs "Viṭhala Râya" is different from the Viṭhala mentioned above. Besides there are five songs, as the headings state, in *Hindusthâni*, with the signature of Kapîr Gulâm.†

The language of most of the Kanarese songs is simple and popular; some four or five Hindusthâni words only have I met with. Many songs, however, are rather unpolished. Not a few are frequently sung or quoted by all sorts of people.

Regarding the history of the Karṇâṭaka Dâsas I know only a little that is certain. The apparently general tradition is that Kanaka Dâsa belonged to the tribe of the Bêḍas, a low class of Dravidians that live by the chase. He is believed to have been born about 300 years ago. Some say that his birthplace was Kâgi nĕlĕ (*i. e.* crow-ground) in the Chitledurg division of Maisûr, others that it was the small *grâma* of Bâḍa in the Kôḍa Tâluk of the Dhâravâḍa (Dhârwâḍ) Zilla. Both traditions place his death at Kâgi nĕlĕ, the second locating this village also in the Dhâravâḍa Zilla. There is a Bâḍa (or Baḍa?) not far from Baṅkâpura; and one song that has the refrain: "What is good, O god? Thy member (aṅga), O god, Lakshmi's Narasiṅga of Baṅkâpura!" and indicates Âdi Keśava in its *mudrikâ*, points to that direction, as would also the not unfrequently occurring *mudrikâ*: "The Âdi Keśava of Baḍa," if Baḍa and Bâḍa meant the same. But Baḍa, *i. e.* North (scil. Tirupati or Vĕṅkaṭa,) might mean Baḍa Vĕṅkaṭa, *i. e.* Tirupati of the north,‡ there being another one to the south near Madhurâ; or

* The first mention of a Hari Dâsa in a Liṅgâita (Śaiva) work, that I remember, occurs in the Kanarese *Channa Basava Purâṇa* (of A.D. 1585), where it is stated that the Hari (or Vaishṇava) Dâsa, called Kâṭi Nâyaka of Suggalûru, became a Liṅgâite, and then assumed the name of Mahâ Liṅga Devayya. This happened towards the end of the rule of the Ballâḷas. By the way, regarding the extent of the Ballâḷa dominions, I remark that not far from the private sanitarium of Mangalûr gentlemen, on the Ghats, to the east of that town, on the Kudure mukha (horse-face) mountain, there are the ruins of a Ballâḷa Râja Durga. The Ballâḷas have been alluded to in *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 40 seqq., p. 158, p. 369; and vol. II. p. 151.

† This personage possibly is Kabir, the disciple of Râmânanda, 1380 A.D.; see *Ind. Ant.* vol. II p. 389. The Kanarese write also "Viṭhâpa" instead of "Viṭhôba."

‡ This place of pilgrimage is in the Arkâḍu (Arcot) district. "Tiru" is the Sanskrit "Śrî." Tirupati (Śrîpati, Vishṇu) means the idol and the place itself. See *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 162. A common name for the whole Karî Malĕ (black hill) range of ghats from Tirupati to Śrî-

Baḍada (genitive) Âdi Keśava simply is the Âdi Keśava of the north, in opposition to his southern places in general. Kanaka knew and adored also the idol of Channiga* at Bêlûru, sanskritised Velâpura,† and the idol of Krishṇa at (Baḍa) Tirupati, which he once calls also the Vĕṅkaṭa‡ of Śeshagiri, the specific name of the idol there. There is no song in the collection in which he mentions Uḍupu (Uḍapi) on the western coast; but in a series of his songs in one of the manuscripts there is one that, in its *mudrikâ*, has: "Krishṇa, the lord of Madhva," and "Keśava" (not "Âdi Keśava"); and another that has: "Madhva deśis," people of the country of Madhva, and "Âdi Keśava." Madhva (or Ânandatîrtha) is the well-known guru of Uḍupu, who died A.D. 1273.

Purandara Dâsa is said to have been born at Purandaragaḍa, and to have changed from a Smârta to a Vaishṇava. One tradition connects him with Krishṇa Râja of Vidyânagara on the Tuṅgabhadra.§ The saying that he spent many days in Paṇḍaripura, is confirmed by one of his songs in which he calls his deity "the lord of Paṇḍari." According to other songs, he knew also the idol-places of Bêlûru, Tirupati or Tirumalĕ, a Hurukal, Aḷagiri,‖ Uḍupu, and Kârkaḷa to the south-east of Uḍupu.¶ It is significant that he often calls Tirupati "Mûḍal giri," *i. e.* the hill of the East, or "Mêl giri," *i. e.* the hill above (the Ghats), thus indicating the position of his usual residence.

The Dâsa whom I have called Varâha may perhaps be as properly called Varâha Timmappa, as this signature of his may mean either "the Timmappa of Varâha" or "the deity that is Varâha Timmappa." His beloved place was Tirupati's or Timmappa's hill,* to which he gives also the names of Ahirâja giri, Uraga giri, Nâga giri, Phaṇi giri, Śeshâdri, Kaṇḍali giri, Baṅgârâdri (gold-hill), Añjanâdri, Vedâchala, Śrî śaila, Śrîpati giri, Vĕṅkaṭâchala, Atiśreshṭha giri, and sometimes only Giri, or Bĕṭṭa (hill). Like Purandara he calls the hill also Mûḍal giri and Mêl giri, occasionally Mûḍal Kaḍĕ giri, *i. e.* the hill towards the East. He thought also very highly of Uḍupu, saying, for instance: "The feet that ascend the hill on which Varâha Timmappa is, are the feet that remain firmly standing in Uḍupu." Timmappa, as another name for the idol Tirupati or Vĕṅkaṭa Ramaṇa, was also used by Purandara.

Vĕṅkaṭa Dâsa's songs exclusively refer to Vĕṅkaṭa Ramaṇa on the Śeshâdri. Viṭhala Dâsa, Vijaya Dâsa, and Madhva Dâsa belonged, it seems, to the establishment at Uḍupu. Viṭhala may have lived after Purandara, for one of his *mudrikâs* runs thus: "Having said: 'O Viṭhala, Viṭhala (Krishṇa)! Victory, victory! O new (*abhinava*) Purandara Viṭhala (*i. e.* O Viṭhala of the new Purandara)!' take refuge with Hari!" This supposition may derive a little support from the Dâsa song *Viṭhôpa* (Vithôba) *Charita*, in which the deity is Śrî *Viṭhala*, who says to the unfortunate child of the story: "Ha, child! listen well! Ha! They call me Śrî Viṭhala in the three worlds. My place is Paṇḍari nagara. I have come to save thee." Śrî Viṭhala may point to Viṭhala Dâsa being the author of the song, and Paṇḍari nagara, where

śaila formerly, as it seems, was Śrîśaila (conf. the *Dharmá liṅga malĕ*, *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 174), and according to the Kanarese *Basava Purâṇa* (of A.D. 1369) the Śrî śaila (or Śrî giri) once was a great Liṅga-place (the liṅga being called Mallikârjuna). Towards the end of the reign of the Ballâḷas the Liṅga-worship there began to decline.

* Channiga is a translation of Raṅga, an epithet of Krishṇa.

† I do not know which Bêlûru or Vêlûru is understood. Conf. the Vellur of the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 172, as this is probably meant.

‡ Veṅkaṭa sometimes means the sacred hill of Tirupati, sometimes the idol there.

§ Significant regarding Purandara's age is the circumstance of his mentioning in connection with the *pûjâ* at Uḍupu (α) the firing of guns (*kôvi*); (β) the Pâraṅgi (Faraṅgi) *palasu*, the Jack-fruit of the Franks, *i. e.* the pine apple; (γ) the *Gôve mâvu*, *i. e.* the Mango of Goa, a superior kind of mango which comes from the grafted trees of that Portuguese locality.

‖ This may be a corruption (perhaps a mistake in writing) of Aḷagar malĕ (malĕ = giri), near Madhurâ in the south, that is one of the 108 celebrated Vaishṇava places. In one song Purandara calls his Raṅga "the Raṅga of the Kâvêri," a name that points to Śrîraṅga, near Tiruchinâpaḷḷi.

¶ Of this place he sings: "On the earth in the town called Kârkaḷa, opposite to a good Śrî Veṅkaṭeśa, firmly stands a Hanuma, by the grace of Purandara Viṭhala." There was once a large Jaina establishment at Kârkala; the huge Gumuṭa (a stone image of Jaina worship) there was, according to Mr. A. C. Burnell, erected A. D. 1431. A similar image, that, according to tradition, was executed somewhat later and as a rival, is at Yênûru, not very far from Kârkaḷa.

* The Timma in Timma appa (father Timma), in this case, I take to be "Tiru," *i.e.* *Śrî*, and "ava" *i. e.* he; Tiru-ava = glorious one.

Purandara lived, to his being posterior to Purandara. That Madhva Dâsa was later than (or contemporaneous with) Purandara appears certain from his *Abhimanyu Kâḷaga*, a song which he composed "having remembered the feet of the excellent Purandara Dâsa."

There are seven songs more or less connected with Uḍupu, the author of which I am inclined to call Hayavadana, as this is the constantly recurring epithet of Krishṇa in the *mudrikâs*. The songs of Vaikuṇṭha Dâsa in the collection all state that his idol, the Vaikuṇṭha Keśava or Vaikuṇṭha Channiga (*i.e.* Rañga), was in Velâpura; in one he speaks of a Śrî Rañga Yâtrâ (pilgrimage to a town Śrî rañga? or generally pilgrimage connected with Krishṇa?), calling, however, his deity Velâpurâdhiśa. Another place referred to by one song is Kōra vâsi pura, where Śrî Subrahmaṇya (Śañkara) resides, who in another one is entitled Subba Râya, and in the *mudrikâ* of this is spoken of as follows: "On earth in Kukkōpura who has seated himself, he, Îśa, is, and no other." At the renowned place of pilgrimage, I may remark, at the north-western foot of the Coorg mountains, called Subrahmaṇya, the general cry is: "Govinda, Govinda!"

I do not know who were the originators of the Vaishṇava Dâsa movement in the south; but it seems to have been only a new effort for the development of what had been begun already in Râmânuja's and Madhva's time, in opposition to the Smârtas or Advaitas, Śañkarâchârya's followers. Let us see.

Madhva Dâsa says: "From love to man in the Kali age Vishṇu came down. He, the best of all, took care of the Ûrdhva Puṇḍra* doctrine (*mata*) that had become unstable (*chalita*), and remembered Madhva muni. Remember ye our Madhva muni, who is the slave (*kiñkara*) of the feet of the Narahari Gopâla that is very firm on the coast of the excellent (*pûrva*) sea, which is great in the world!" And in a song of 66 verses he goes on: "Bow to the lord of the guru Madhvâchârya! Say with praise that Hari is truly the supreme deity! Except Hari there is no perceptible supreme deity. You must read Hari's tale, you must read the *veda* that says there is Duality (*dvaya*) in the One. Have continual intercourse with the Vîra Vaishṇavas†! Do not adore all the deities you see! Join the Hari Dâsas, saying: 'They are my relations!' Burn thy bad deeds in the fire of Hari's tale! The name of Govinda is the orb of the sun for all darkness. Go to emancipation (*moksha*) by steadily following the Madhva doctrine! Say the world is the imperishable Viṭhala (*Krishṇa*)! Continually remember the thousand names of Hari! Perform Madhva's *pûjâ* with devotion! Say, that of all which is going on, Rañga's pilgrimage is the best! As Râdhâ put her desire on Rañga, quickly place your love in Mukunda (*Vishṇu*)! To overcome the fear of death, daily think of and bow to him who is one with the eternal spirit! Love Narasiñha, and thus burn the germ-body (*liñgâñga*), and thus burn the dreaded births connected with Advaita! Look upon Madhva's doctrine as the true Hari doctrine! See the Hari Dâsas in this Kali age, and thus get rid of your sins you have committed from want of (Hari) knowledge! Observe the doctrine of the Guru that favours the Tuḷu Brahmans! He who knows the sweetness of Hari's name knows indeed; to him who knows it, sugar and honey do not match it. Come and eat the dainties of Hari's tale! The charm (*mantra*) that raises the unknowing ignorant is the charm that the Hari Dâsa is kind enough to give." And in other places he says: "In a ship our Rañga came, he came to Uḍupu and remained there. See, O mother!" "Say: Hari, Govinda, thou who, in the world, tookest thy seat in Uḍupu, didst found the Madhva doctrine in the world, didst fulfil the wishes of devotees, Krishṇa, lord of Madhva, who art with thy followers (*saṅga*)!" "Treating with contempt the twenty-one (?) doctrines, telling people the

* The perpendicular sectarian mark; the Smârtas put horizontal marks on their foreheads.

† Compare the Vîra Śaivas! According to the Kanarese *Basava Purâṇa*, the struggles between Śaivas and Vaishṇavas existed under the Chôḷa kings; and later, under the Bijjaḷa of Kalyâṇa, they were still fighting against each other. According to the *Channa* (=*Prabhu*) *Basava Purâṇa* (of A.D. 1585), the fight was also continually going on still later. For their service to Jañgamas the Liñgâitas (Śaivas) accepted the term dâsôham, using it as a declinable substantive. Instead of dâsa the Liñgâitas generally use śaraṇa; the Vaishṇavas, as far as I know, do not make so much use of this term, at least in the *Dâsa Padas*. Vîra Vaishṇavas or Śuddha Vaishṇavas are Brahmans prominently or wholly devoted to Vishṇu.

Madhva śâstra, and being a full servant of the great Hayavadana, the strong Madhvâchârya shone on earth." "Believe in the good master of the best guru, Madhva muni!" "On the orbit (of the earth), in the great Kuduma pura (*Uḍupu?*), excessively shines and appears to devotees the love of Krishṇa, who is the lord of Madhva."

(Madhva—) Hayavadana sings: "Quickly kill the wicked people, O good (*nalla*) lord of Madhva! If thou dost not kill, the wicked people of the Kali age will remain. All were throwing stones at thy *pûjâ*, yes! Beautiful Hayavadana, kill, kill them! Make us victorious!" "Madhava's doctrine is necessary; the difference (*bheda*) regarding Hari is necessary; to dispute with the wicked people is necessary."

Vithala, in describing Uḍupu, says "The Yatis (or *Svâmis*) of Uḍupu's eight residences (*maṭha*) are performing, for Krishṇa, the *pûjâ* which the most excellent Srîmadâchârya, Guru of the Vîra Vaishṇavas, commenced. If ye adore Vithala, who stowed away the untruth of the *Advaita śâstras*, and who is the most excellent and the chief life-lord of the Śuddha Vaishṇavas, he, being in Uḍupu, will support you all."

Some of Varâha's expressions are: "Where the lord of Madhva sits, is Kâśi." "People, seeing (him), say with a sneer: 'Pray near Varâha Timmappa who is on the eastern hill, eats jungle fruit, and plays on the summit!' (Wait only!) The Kali king has come!" (*i. e.* probably Kalki.) "Varâha Timmappa, as the son of Nanda Gopa, saw the austerities of Anandatîrtha (Madhvâchârya), and seated himself in Chandrapura (*i. e.* Uḍupu)." "The glorious Madhva Râya became a Śuddha Vaishṇava, raised the world, brought the dear idol of Krishṇa (to Uḍupu), and put it up. Bow down all to Madhva Râya! All the doctrines of all the Ṛishis hid themselves; the doctrine of Madhva Ṛishi became apparent." "Thou, O Krishṇa, placedst thy foot and seatedst thyself in Uḍupu, that is the best place in the world." "On the throne, called Siddhânta Vaishṇava, he (Krishṇa) appears in his lovely form. Accepting the pleasing *pûjâ* with the sounds of musical instruments, Madhva's Krishṇa came to Chandrapura. No doubt, as if one had brought and put up Varâha Timmappa, well dost thou stand (there, O Krishṇa!)." Speaking somewhat allegorically about the ashes used for the marks on the forehead, Varâha Dâsa observes: "That Smârtas put on the name (the sectarian mark on the forehead of Vaishṇavas) and largely spread the name of Hari, is a right thing! Put on ashes! Śuddha Vaishṇavas have heard and know the root of them."

Vijaya Dâsa utters the following: "He who joins the feet of the glorious Ânandatîrtha, and remembers the lotus-feet of Śrî Vijaya Viṭhala, gets rid of the fetters of hell." "The good luck of all the Dâsas is to be born as Brahmans, to be instructed in the doctrine of Madhva, and with distinction to perform the aversion (to the world, virakti) connected with devotion (bhakti)."

Purandara says: "Remembering Purandara Viṭhala is sufficient; why should one go to Vâraṇâsi?" "He who sees and does not worship Purandara Vithala is a great fool." "May Purandara Viṭhala have compassion, he who came to Uḍupu, took a firm seat there, and from love gives the true devotees what they wish for," "he the beautiful (*chēlva* = *Rañga*) Krishṇa of Uḍupu." "In this country, since old times, there were no knowers of the Veda (*vedajña*), they saw (*i.e.* used to study) the *Vedânta śâstras;* in the places of the Âdi mûrti was only the name of Śrîdhara (*Vishṇu*), and *pûjâ* in abundance. O Vishṇu, who art to be known by the *Vedânta!*" "The stupid Paṇḍita ought not to say: *I am the Brahma.* Ha, ha, O man! Why didst thou become ruined? Ha, ha, thou left'st Hari's worship!" "In the Kali age Madhvâchârya came down to the earth, did away with the '*I am He,*' broke Śañkara's *doctrines into* pieces, reviled the Mâyâs (the doctrines concerning the *mâyâ*), and did away with the meshwork of the *Moha śâstras* (heresies). Without delay have it proclaimed by beat of drum: 'Among the *gurus* there is none like *guru* Madhvâchârya! In the whole world none are like the Vaishṇavas!' In the whole world I see not any who had the same power as guru Madhvâchârya." "To do service to Hari is the highest state (*parama pada*)." "He who does not adore Purandara Vithala is indeed a thorough low-caste fellow (*hōlēya*)!" As a specimen of one of

stand, the tongue is the pen; now and then to write and present the account of the glory of Hari's name is my occupation."

Regarding the service (*sevâ*) of the Dâsas, Varâha prays: "Through Vyâsa is the Veda service, through Parâśara the Smṛiti service, the wholesome Vrata (vow) service through Rukmâṅgada; make thou the service to become a Dâsa rise in me! I will become a servant (*sevaka*)!" "Thy service (*sevâ*), thy worship (*pûjâ*), thy name are on my tongue, O Varâha Timmappa!" "If Hari's thought (*dhyâna*), Hari's worship (*pûjâ*), the praise (*kîrtana*) of Hari's name, the dance (*nartana*) of Hari's devotion (*bhakti*), Hari's services (*sevâ*) do not appear (to thee) severally, with perseverance call Varâha Timmappa, O mind!" And, in a refrain, Vijaya sings: "This is the Dâsas' lot: they fill all countries."

Some of the songs are didactic, reminding of the sure approach of death or of hell, and thus exhorting to worship Kṛishṇa; or inculcating some sort of judicious (sometimes quaint) or also moral conduct. Others refer to the feats of Bâla Kṛishṇa; others enjoin the *pûjâ* of the Tulasi or that at Daśamis, Ekâdaśîs, Dvâdaśis, &c; others contain an enumeration of the ten incarnations (*daśâvatâra*), others relate how Krishṇa helped the Pâṇḍavas and killed the Kauravas (as the partisans of Śiva); others are rather impatient prayers under difficulties; one or two are morning songs to awaken the idol to receive the offerings brought; others describe the dress of the idol; others recommend a pilgrimage to Tirupati or give a description of such a one, &c. Purandara, in three songs, containing together 237 verses, paints the different *pûjâs* connected with the Uḍupu establishment, as they take place under ordinary circumstances or at festivals. Idolatry has, to a large extent, been promoted by the Karṇâṭaka Dâsa movement.

A reference to Chaitanya, the Baṅgâli, I have found nowhere in the *Karṇâṭaka Dâsa padas*; Chaitanya as an epithet of Krishṇa, however, occurs a few times.

*Merkara, 22nd July 1873.*

## LEGENDS OF THE EARLIER CHUDÂSAMÂ RÂS OF JUNÂGAḌH.

BY MAJOR J. W. WATSON, ACTING POLITICAL SUPERINTENDENT, PAHLANPUR.

The bards relate that Vâḷâ Râma Râjâ, son of Vâḷâ Warsingji, reigned at Junâgaḍh and Vanthalî. He was famed for his munificence, and it is told of him that when his beard was shaved for the first time, he gave in charity twenty-one villages and distributed fifty lakhs of rupees as alms to the poor. Râma Râjâ was of the Vâḷâ race. It is said in Saurâshṭra that previous to the rise of the kingdom of Junâgaḍh-Vanthalî Valabhinagar was the capital of Gujarât. The rise of Valabhi is thus told by the bards. The Gupta kings reigned between the Ganges and Jamnâ rivers. One of these kings sent his son Kumâra Pâl Gupta to conquer Saurâshṭra, and placed his Viceroy Chakrapâṇi, son of Prîndat, one of his Amirs, to reign as a provincial Governor in the city of Wâmanasthalî (the modern Wanthali). Kumâra Pâl now returned to his father's kingdom. His father reigned 23 years after the conquest of Saurâshṭra and then died, and Kumâra Pâl ascended the throne. Kumâra Pâl Gupta reigned 20 years and then died, and was succeeded by Skanda Gupta, but this king was of a weak intellect. His Senâpati, Bhaṭṭâraka, who was of the Gehlotî race, taking a strong army, came into Saurâshṭra and made his rule firm there. Two years after this Skanda Gupta died. The Senâpati now assumed the title of King of Saurâshṭra, and, having placed a Governor at Wâmanasthali, founded the city of Valabhinagar. At this time the Gupta race were dethroned by foreign invaders. The Senâpati was a Gehlot, and his forefathers reigned at Ayodhyâ Nagarî until displaced by the Gupta dynasty. After founding Valabhi he established his rule in Saurâshṭra, Kachh, Lat-desh, and Mâlwâ. The Vâḷâs were a branch of the Gehlots. After the fall of Valabhi the Vâḷâ governor of Wâmanasthali became independent. Râm Râja had no son, but his sister was married to the Râja of

mappa (if Uḍupa, and not Tirupati, is understood, Uḍupa's idol would bear the same name), (*i.e.*) Śiva, the great Rudra, the fire-eyed, the husband of the daughter of (Hima) giri." This plainly refers one to another song of Purandara wherein he says that in Uḍupu there is a temple (*guḍi*) of the three gods, so that it is Brahmapura, Kailâsa, and Vaikuṇṭha, there being guru Brahma, guru Vishṇu, and guru Mahâdeva. I have inquired and learned that Brahmans called Uḍupi also Rajatapura.

Nagar Thaṭhâ, who was of the Sammâ tribe. This sister's son was named Râ Gârio, and Râm Râja bequeathed to his nephew Râ Gârio the kingdom of Junâgaḍh-Wanthali, and Râ Gârio was the first of the Chuḍâsamâ Râs of Junâgaḍh. Râ Gârio collected an army and attacked the Râja of Kanauj, Devgar by name, and after a great battle defeated Devgar and took Kanauj, Devgar fleeing to the banks of the Ganges. The following poetry commemorates this conquest:—

દુહો.

કાલીંદ્ર મંદીરમે દેવગર દરપે સઠ્ઠર્ણંક લલકે સહી ॥
ગઢ છાત્રીસ રાજી ગરનારે ગારીઓ કનોજ ગ્રહી ॥
પંકગજેંદ્ર દલ પાંગલો લીઆવંતો સહેસ લીધો ॥
કાઢે અરી ભુજ કલાધર પુર્વ સાગર જળ પીધો ॥
સઠ વેદેરા તણો રાઅ ચુડ હરા બોલાવી થાનકે
બેસારીઆ ॥ પ્રસવ વેરાટના વઢ્ઠુસે પરેધર ગઢ
પરબત અણુગારીઆ ॥ ગઢ પરબત ગવાલેર
ગંગ લઈ આપી પુરવ ધર કરી આપણી ॥
અસપત ગજપત નરપત ધર ઊભે ગારીઓ થયો
ધણી ॥

King Devgar was proud and happy as Kal-Indra in his abode.

Gârio Râo of Girnâr conquered Kanauj, the principality of thirty-seven forts.

He, the exalter of his family, easily defeated this happy lord of innumerable forces;

And thus extirpating his enemies, drank the water of the Eastern Ocean (Jamna or Ganges).

Gârio, grandson of Rai Chuḍa, a descendant of Vairat, and destroyer of the best of kings,

He having called all kings of that country who had been deprived of their kingdoms, replaced them on their thrones,

And subjugating the city of Parbatgadh, he occupied all the eastern country from the cities of Parbatgaḍh and Gwalior up to the banks of the Ganges,

And thus became the lord of horses, elephants, and men, both of Girnâr and Kanauj.

After the subjugation of Kanauj, Râ Gârio took the city of Dohad in Mâlwâ, and caused himself to be proclaimed king there. At this time Râ Gârio married a daughter of a Râthod Rajput. His descendants by this wife are called Râṇâs, and are still to be found in Mâlwâ.

Kanauj and Dohad being conquered, Râ Gârio returned to Junâgaḍh, where he reigned till his death.

The third from Râ Gârio was Râ Dyâs, or Dyâchh, as he is also called. His favourite wife was Soraṭh Râṇî. Râ Dyâs was famed for his munificence, and the bards declare that he gave away his head in charity to a Châran. This story is probably invented to conceal or account for the conquest of Junâgaḍh by a king of Paṭṭan. If Anhilwâḍa Paṭṭan is meant, this king can have been none other than Wan Râj Chaura, as Râ Dyâs is said to have died in 860-61. The story runs as follows:—

The daughter of the king of Paṭṭan had come on a visit to Somnâth. Râ Dyâs saw her, and, becoming enamoured of her, endeavoured to compel her to marry him. The king of Paṭṭan, hearing of this, sent a large army against Râ Dyâs and defeated him in the field. Râ Dyâs, however, shut himself up in the impregnable fort of Girnâr, and laughed to scorn the efforts of the Paṭṭan army. The king of Paṭṭan, after a long siege, despaired of reducing the fort. He was about to return to his own country, when a Châran named Bijal offered to put him in possession of the place, on condition of being given a large reward. The king offered him an enormous reward, and Bijal agreed to give him the head of Râ Dyâs, and it was agreed that when the garrison were occupied with the funeral ceremonies the Paṭṭan army should attack the fort. The Châran, knowing the munificent character of the Râ, determined to ask of him his head as a gift, and in his capacity of a Châran easily obtained admission into the citadel. The night before this plot was formed, Soraṭh Râṇî dreamed that she saw a headless man. On consulting the astrologers they told her that her husband would shortly cut off his head and give it away in alms. As Soraṭh Râṇî had much influence in Junâgaḍh, she ordered her husband into captivity and imprisoned him in a bastion until the fated time should be past. During this time no one was allowed to have access to him except they who supplied him with food. The Châran therefore went outside the bastion and there began to chant verses in praise of Râ Dyâs, and to [illegible] on a musical instrument called a *jantra*. [illegible] Dyâs hearing him looked out, and, see[illegible] Gadvi, threw out of the window a *lodh*[illegible] with a stout stick at the end, on whi[illegible] The Gadvi sat on the stick and held [illegible] with his hands and thus Râ Dyâs d[illegible]

into the bastion. The following *duho* is said regarding this:—

દુહો.

ચારણ ચઢીયો લોઢ મથો ગઢે માગણે

સોરઠ રા દયાસસ હણે ન કદી કોડ ॥૧॥

The Châran climbed the rope to beg the head
in the fort.

Thus the desire of Dyâs Râ of Sorath was never
frustrated.

The Châran was asked by Râ Dyâs to name his own reward, and demanded as his guerdon the head of the Râ, and the Râ consented to give it to him. In the meantime, however, *Sorath Rânî was informed that a Châran had* gained access to the Râ, and that he had asked for the Râ's head. She accordingly came quickly to the bastion where the Râ was confined, and thus addressed the Châran:—

દુહો.

અદાતુ અહો થીએ ભાઈ છે મંગણહાર.

તાજી દઊં તકડા દઊં હાથી દઊં હલકાર

ગળના ચંદન હાર દે છંડીદાં સરદાર.

Oh! Sir Beggar, thou art both my father and
my brother.

I will give thee horses, *bracelets, elephants,*
and messengers,—

I will even give thee the necklace from off
my neck, if thou wilt give up my Sârdhâr.

The Châran however replied:—

ગૈમરઆંઈ ઘણા તાજીઆંઈ તબેલમે

મોકે નાંઈ મણા આલો સરવાલો અબે ॥

There are here many elephants and many horses
also in the stables.

I have no lack of them, but give me now the
beloved head.

At this time the sister of Râ Dyâs, hearing of what had happened, came to *the bastion*, and thinking it was useless to attempt to dissuade her brother she thus addressed him:—

દુહો.

વઢી દે ને વીર મથો મંગણહારકે

દાતારાં મન ખીર અદાતા ઘણું કઠણ જે ॥ ૧ ॥

Brother, cut off your head and give it to the
beggar:—

To the munificent to act thus is sweet as *khir,*
to the miser it is most difficult.

Last of all came the mother of Râ Dyâs, and she too, seeing his fixed determination, encouraged him and addressed to him this *duho*:—

દુહો.

માથું મંગણહારકે જો તું દયાસ નદે

કેડે બંધી કીનરો કીરત કેમ કરે ॥

If thou give not, O Dyâs, thy head to the
beggar,

How will the Bhâts and Kinnaras be able to
praise thee hereafter?

After this Râ Dyâs caused his head to be cut off and given to the Châran. The Châran received the Râ's head and was carrying it off, when Sorath Rânî demanded it of him as a gift. As *sat* had come upon her, the Châran dared not refuse, and accordingly gave her the Râ's head. Sorath Rânî *took the head*, and coming to the Dâmodar Kuṇḍ caused a pile to be constructed, and there became a *satî*. The King of Pattan after the death of Râ Dyâs easily became master of the city. The King of Paṭṭan now placed a Thânadâr in Junâgaḍh and returned to Paṭṭan. The second Queen of Râ Dyâs was of the Wajâ tribe, who are still to be found at Jhânjmir. She and her son Noghaṇ were residing at Wanthali, as it was held ominous for Râ Dyâs to see the face of his son until he were twelve years of age.

*After the conquest of Junâgaḍh by the Râja* of Pattan, Râjbâî, for that was the name of the Wajî, concealed her son Noghaṇ at the house of Devait Bodar, an Âhir of Alidar Boḍidhar. The brother of Devait was at enmity with him, and informed the King of Pattan's Thâṇadâr at Junâgaḍh that Noghaṇ was concealed in Devait's house. The Thâṇadâr at once sent for Devait and demanded the surrender of Noghaṇ. Devait replied that he knew nothing of Noghan, but in case he might have come to his house he would send a note directing him to be sent. He then wrote this couplet and gave it to the messenger:—

દુહો.

ગાડું ગાલણ ગા ગાડાવત રાખે ગળે

ખાંધ ખુબસીયાં જે ઉચેટીએ ઊદાણ ॥

The cart has sunk. The driver must be protected at all hazards.

O grandson of Uda! give your shoulder and
raise it up.

When this couplet was read, the Âhirs collected together at Devait Bodar's house and prepared to fight. The Thâṇadâr, however, becoming impatient as Noghaṇ did not come, went

with a force to Alidar Bodidhar and took with him Devait Bodar. Devait, seeing that resistance would be useless, brought his own son Uga, who was of Noghan's age, to the Thâṇadâr. The Thâṇadâr at once put him to death and returned to Junâgaḍh. After the departure of the Thâṇadâr, Devait Bodar sent for his son-in-law Sanstio, an inhabitant of Alidar, and confided to him the fact of Noghan being concealed at his house, and requested his advice as to the best mode of seating him on the throne of Junâgadh. Sanstio replied, "Let us collect Âhirs on the occasion of my marriage to your daughter, and let us then invite the Thâṇadâr to the wedding, and at that time proclaim Noghaṇ king with the aid of our army." This being determined on, a day was fixed for the nuptials, and the Thâṇadâr was invited. He came with his army to Alidar Bodidhar. His men were placed separately in a large enclosure, and pretended preparations for the feast were made. Suddenly the Âhirs fell upon them and put them all to the sword. Râ Noghaṇ was now proclaimed king, and seated on the throne of Junâgadh. The following *duho* is said in praise of Devait:—

દુહો.

અપરે અપાય નહીં દોકડ એકજ દાન ॥
દીધો તે દેવાયત ઉગો ઉગમ સીઆવત ॥
બોદરડી બાધા જસ એંગત રહો જડે ॥
ઉગો આપો આપીઓ રાખો નવઘણ રાએ ॥

When none could give even a *dokra* in alms,
Devait Bodar gave his son Ugo the grandson of Ugamsi.
May fame always attend on all the Bodardas,
Who giving Ugâ as a substitute saved Rae Noghaṇ.

Râ Noghaṇ ascended the *gâdi* in Saṁvat 874. In Saṁvat 875 there was a terrible famine in Sorath, and the Âhirs went to Sindh to obtain food, and Jâsal daughter of Devait accompanied them. Hamir Sumro, the king of Sindh, seeing her beauty, was enamoured of her, and carried her off by force. Hearing this, Râ Noghaṇ collected an army and went to Sindh and defeated Hamir and rescued Jâsal. He then returned to Junâgaḍh and reigned there till his death, in Saṁvat 916. Râ Noghaṇ had four sons: 1, Bhim; 2, Sedo; 3, Kavât; and 4, Khengâr. Khengâr, the youngest son, succeeded him, and it is this Khengâr whose queen, the beautiful Ranik Devî, became a *sati* at Wadhwaṇ after her husband's defeat and subsequent death.

In this bardic account of the rise of the Chuḍâsamâs the principal feature of interest is the extremely old Gujarâti of the poetry. The translations are perhaps liable to correction,—indeed it is very difficult to make anything out of the first set of verses. I may here mention that the legend of Râ Dyâs under different forms is extremely common throughout Gujarât, Kâṭhiâwâḍ, Kachh, and Sindh. The Sindhi version of the legend will be found in Captain G. Stack's *Sindhi Grammar*.

There is considerable difficulty in assigning a correct date to Râ Gârio. In one version of the verses regarding Râ Gârio's conquest of Kanauj the word Jayachandra occurs instead of Râj-Indra. Now if this were the Jayachandra whose daughter was carried off by Prithirâja Chohân, Râ Gario's date would be about the end of the 12th century of the Christian era. Again, if the ballad quoted by Mr. Kinloch Forbes in the *Râs Mâlâ* be accepted as correct, and as the year of the accession of Siddhrâja was A.D. 1094, and as only Râ Noghaṇ intervened between Râ Dyâs and Râ Khengâr, it would be impossible to accept the date of Saṁ. 860-61 (A.D. 803-4) as the date of Râ Dyâs. The following explanation may perhaps throw some light on the question. In the Sindhi version the king (of Pattan) is called Anerâi. It is well known to all who have consulted bards that though almost always correct in their main facts, they are almost always incorrect in details. Especially regarding the kingdom of Anhilwâḍâ Paṭṭan the greatest confusion prevails. To the kings of this capital are assigned almost all the famous deeds performed in Gujarât, and among these kings Kumâr Pâla and Siddhrâja Jesingh are the ones most frequently quoted. They are assigned by one legend to the 9th, by others to the 10th, 11th, even 12th centuries. If then in the case of Râ Dyâs, his foe be simply made some mighty Râja—possibly Anerâi of Somnâth Pattan or of Dhank, known also as Preh Paṭṭan and Rehewâs Pattan—the difficulty vanishes, especially if in the case of Mr. Forbes's legend Siddhrâja's name be considered merely as a synonym of some mighty king,—and numerous instances might be given of Siddhrâja's name being used in this way. An instance occurs to me in the Jeṭhvâ chronicles where the name of

Kumâr Pâla is thus used. The Jethvâ chronicles say that the title of Râṇâ was derived from a defeat by Jethva Sangji of the Wâghelâ Râṇâ of Anhilwâḍâ Paṭṭan, Kumâr Pâla's son Karsanji or Krishṇaji. The Jethvâ is said to have defeated Karsanji and taken him prisoner, but to have released him at the intercession of the neighbouring chieftains, among whom was Akhèrâji of Sirohi. A condition of the release was that the Wâghelâ should resign the title of Râṇâ, which has from that day been held by the Jethvâ Chief of Porbandar. The bardic couplet regarding this battle is as follows:

સંગજી લીધી શાખ અંગ જેવી આદીત્ય
રાણો: બલે શાખ રણમાં જે રાણો અવતર.

Saṅgaji, with a body like the sun, founded a (new) title;
While the Râṇâ who descended into the Raṇ had his title of Râṇâ burned to ashes.

Now as Akhèrâj of Sirohi ascended the *gâdi* in Saṁvat 1580 (A. D. 1524), it is clear that this could not be Kumâr Pâla of Anhilwâḍâ Paṭṭan, and it is highly probable that the Wâghelâ Râṇâ in question was Râṇâ Maṇḍanji of Gedî in Waghar, or possibly Râṇâ Vîsal Dê of Morwâḍâ, both of whom were Wâghelâ Râṇâs and contemporaries, being both of them sons of Râṇâ Vanoji of Gedî. Râṇâ Vîsal Dê's date is known from the inscription on the Râṇâ Wâv near Morwâḍâ, to have been Saṁ. 1516, or A.D. 1460. His younger brother Maṇḍanji succeeded to the *gâdi*, and is in all probability the Râṇâ in question, if it be not Vîsal Dê himself, who may have essayed to conquer Morbî after his establishment at Morwâḍâ. If this slight alteration then be made in the names of the sovereigns of Pattan in the legends in question, the dates given in Ranchodji Devân's history may be accepted as the approximately correct ones. The legend about Râ Gârio styles him grandson of Râe Chuda, who was probably Chudachand Yâdav, and who is well known in the contemporary annals of the Râjput houses. Tod assigns to Râo Chuḍachand the date Saṁ. 960 (A.D. 904), whereas if he were grandfather of Râ Gârio, Sam 760 (A.D. 704) would be nearer the mark. This discrepancy is difficult to reconcile, but as in the main features of the legend respecting Râ Gârio there is no striking improbability, I would be inclined to assign to Râo Chudachand the date Râo Chudachand is said to have originated the name Chuḍâsamâ, his descendants being called Chuḍa-Sammâs. Râ Gârio would thus be the second Chuḍâsamâ. Looking also at the antiquity of the Chuḍâsamâ dynasty, its introduction into Kâṭhiawâḍ at about the middle of the eighth century of the Christian era seems also probable, and this account fits in with the Vâlâ and Gehlot chronicles. However it may be, these legends may, in abler hands than mine, form a connecting link between the era of the Valabhi kings and the consolidation of the Chuḍâsamâ rule in Saurâshtra. A better translation also of the Gujarâti verses might throw more light on the subject, and this I doubt not might be furnished by many of the readers of the *Antiquary*. Possibly, however, the king of Pattan who fought with Râ Khengâr was Mula Râja Solanki. In the account by Kinloch Forbes of Mula Râja's warfare in Saurâshtra (see *Râs Mâlâ*, vol. I. pp. 53 etc. and 154 etc.), quoting from both the *Dvyâshrâya* and the *Prabandh Chintâmaṇi*, the Lord of Wâmanasthalî is described as a Shepherd King, or Âhir Râṇâ. Now both Noghaṇ and Khengâr might fairly be called by such a name, as Noghaṇ was placed on the throne by the aid of the Âhirs. It will be seen by referring to the Sindhi version of the legend of Râ Dyâs that the account given therein of the cause of quarrel between Anerâi and the Râ is almost exactly the same as the one in the Turi's version quoted by Mr. Forbes. Mr. Forbes represents Lâkhâ Phulâṇi to have been slain by Mularâja, but he also mentions that the honour of slaying Lâkhâ has been also claimed by Siṁhoji Râthoḍ. It will, I think, be easy to prove that Lâkhâ Phulâṇi did not live for upwards of four centuries after Mularâja, and as the descendants of Siṁhoji Rathoḍ still enjoy lands in Gujarât, and as the Wâghelâ chronicles show Muluji, the conqueror of Sirdârgaḍh in Kâthiâwâḍ, and founder of the Sirdhâra Wâghelâs, to have been a contemporary of Lâkhâ, and that it was Muluji who with Siṁhoji Râṭhoḍ defeated Lâkhâ at Adkot, where Lâkhâ fell by the hand of Siṁhoji, it may fairly be inferred that Lâkhâ was a contemporary of Wâghelâ Muluji. Professor Wilson has pointed out (in *Bombay Government Records* No. XV. New Series) that the era of Lâkhâ Ghurârâ has been antedated by 621 years. This would make the death of Lâkhâ, if the Jhâḍejâ chronicles be

followed, to have taken place in Saṁvat 1522, the Jhâḍejâ chronicles assigning Saṁvat 901 as the date of Lâkhâ's death. Now if a corresponding deduction be made from this date to that proposed to be added to the date given by Ranchodji Devân, a date might be found for Lâkhâ that would perhaps fulfil all the conditions required. At present if Saṁ. 901 be doubtless too early, so also is Saṁ. 1522 too late for Lâkhâ's death. Still there can, I think, be no doubt that the dates assigned by Professor Wilson are very much more correct than any that have hitherto been allowed, except perhaps that assigned by Col. Tod; and if it be admitted that one chronicle is incorrect in dates to a certain extent, there seems no valid reason to doubt why the dates of the Jhâḍejâ chronicles should be accepted without question. It is only, however, by tracing the contemporary Wâghelâ Râṇâs, as well as the Chuḍâsamâ Râs, that a final decision can be arrived at on this point. These rough speculations may perhaps be useful to other and more advanced historical students. In conclusion I may state that the date of Wâghelâ Mulaji must be about Saṁvat 1400 to 1420. This date is founded on an inscription on a well near Morwâḍâ of Râṇâ Vîsal Dê of Saṁ. 1516, mentioned above. Now Vîsal Dê was the son of Wanoji; Wanoji was the son of Surkhâji; Surkhâji was the son of Lunoji; Lunoji was the son of Unuji; and Unuji was the son of Mulaji:—in all five generations. The date therefore assigned to Muluji cannot possibly be far wrong if the inscription be admitted to be correct.

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# MUSALMÂN REMAINS IN THE SOUTH KONKAN.

BY A. K. NAIRNE, Esq., Bo. C.S.

## *II.—Ports south of Ratnâgiri.*

There is no other port in the Southern Konkan so prominent in history as Dâbhol, about which I have already written, and which one of the earliest European travellers spoke of as the most southerly port belonging to the Musalmâns. But though the other ports are not so distinguished, I shall be able to show much more clearly than in the case of Dâbhol the routes which travellers took from them to the Musalmân capitals of Bijâpur and Golkondâ.

Little more than twenty miles south of Dâbhol is the fine river Śâstrî, with the fort of Jayagaḍh at its mouth, and the town of Sangameśvar thirty miles up. I am not aware of the Musalmâns ever having had any considerable station on this river, and, though it is quite possible they may have had, it does not seem that they can ever have required a second port so near Dâbhol, while at the same time this river would be too far north for a short route to either of the southern capitals. Ratnâgiri, about 20 miles south of Jayagaḍh, has never been a port or a place of trade, although the fort is one of the finest on the coast. About 18 miles south of this, however, is the small river Muckhkundî, with the fort of Purangaḍh at its mouth: a little way up is the white tomb of a *pîr* visible from the sea, to which Musalmân sailors in passing make offerings. The scenery of this river is particularly fine, and about 12 miles up is the town of Sâtavalî, which, though now entirely decayed, is said to have been a place of some importance in the time of the Musalmâns, and to have had a considerable trade. Not only has it still a large Musalmân population, with remains of mosks, a small fort and other *buildings*, but there are also to be traced roads leading in almost every direction up the very steep hills by which the town is surrounded, though no single one of them appears to have been repaired for several generations. One of these roads leads through Lânjê and Prabhânvâlî to Viśâlgaḍh. Lânjê stands in a fine open plain, and is said to have been formerly a large town, and there is a tomb which is believed to be that of a princess who died here on a journey. Prabhanvalî also is known to have been formerly a large place and a chief station of the Musalmâns, but it is more decayed even than Sâtavalî or Lânje. I have only seen it from a distance, but am told that it contains no more signs of its former importance than the remains of some mosks, one of which is known to have been the Jamma Masjid, and the foundations of large houses. This village lies immediately under the fortress of Viśâlgaḍh, and the ghât is still passable for bullocks. The distance from

Sâtavalî to Viśâlgaḍh is well under 30 miles, and, from the comparative levelness of the road over the greater part of the distance, there can be no doubt that when Viśâlgaḍh and Prabhânvâlî were held by the Músalmâns, Sâtavalî would have been the most convenient port for their inhabitants. The ghâṭs of Viśâlgaḍh, Anuskurâ, and Baurâ are said by Graham to have been constructed by the Musalmâns about 1600 A.D., and though no doubt this date is a mere guess, yet it corresponds sufficiently with the flourishing days of the Bijâpur kingdom.

Viśâlgaḍh itself, as it was one of the strongest of the ghâṭ fortresses, so it is also one of the most celebrated in history, and is said by Graham to have been in the 12th century the seat of government of the western portion of the country. From the Konkan it is by no means a prominent object, as the hill of Mâchâl, connected with it only by a narrow ledge 200 feet or so below the brow of each hill, projects further out into the Konkan. A similar narrow ledge and equally depressed connects Viśâlgaḍh with the main line of the ghâṭs, so that when fortified the approach was equally difficult to invaders either from the Konkan or the Dekhan. The fort was dismantled about thirty years ago by our Government, the inner walls and works being entirely demolished, and even of the outer walls only a very small portion remains. Its present inhabitants are a few servants of the Pant Pritinidhî, to whom it belongs, and one old Musalmân who looks after the two mosks. These are intact, and there are also two large gateways of Muhammadan architecture. In one of these mosks is hanging a gigantic pair of iron fetters, the tradition concerning which is that they would of themselves fall off the arms of an innocent person, so that any one accused of an offence might claim to be tried by this ordeal. Close to where they hang is a Persian inscription let into the wall. Graham, in his *Report on the Principality of Kolhapoor*, states that the earliest Persian inscriptions in the fort are of A.D. 1234 and 1247, the first commemorating "the capture of the fort by the Muhammadans under Malik Rahim, who, from another inscription dated sixty years later, appears to have enjoyed during life a high odour of sanctity and was canonized after death, miracles being wrought through invocation of his name at the shrine." The tablet and fetters mentioned above are therefore probably both connected with this saint. But there is a difficulty about the two inscriptions mentioned by Graham. Not only is the earliest date fully fifty years earlier than the first recorded expedition of the Musalmâns into the Dekhan, but Ferishtah distinctly states that Viśâlgaḍh (then called Khelna) was first taken by the Musalmâns in 1469.* Nor is it likely that a place in so retired a situation should have been attacked by them in any of their very early expeditions, while the authority of Ferishtah is particularly reliable as to that part of the country, owing to his having resided for many years at Bijâpur.

The circumstances which preceded this capture of Viśâlgaḍh are interesting. There had been expeditions into the Konkan by the troops of Gulbargâ in 1429 and 1436 under Malik-ul-Tujâr, and various of the Hindu Râjas had been subdued and made to pay tribute. In 1453 the same leader commanded another expedition, and after reducing several Râjas, one of the Śirkê family agreed to become a Musalmân and a faithful servant of the king, on the condition that the general should first reduce his rival Shankar Râi, Râja of Khelnâ, and he undertook himself to guide the army through the difficult country that lay between his own fort and Khelnâ. This offer was accepted, and during the first two days of the march Râja Śirkê led the troops along a broad road. But on the third day they entered a very different sort of country, and the following literal translation, by Briggs, of Ferishtah's description is worth giving:—"The paths were so intricate that the male tiger from apprehension might change his sex, and the passes more tortuous than the curly locks of the fair, and more difficult to escape from than the mazes of love. Demons even might start at the precipices and caverns in those wilds, and ghosts might be panic-struck at the awful view of the mountains. Here the sun never enlivened with its splendour the valleys: nor had Providence designed that it should penetrate their depths. The very grass was tough and sharp as the tongues of serpents, and the air fetid as the breath of dragons. Death dwelt in the waters, and poison impregnated the

* See Briggs's *Translation*, vol. II. pp. 437-8, 483-4.

breeze. After winding, weary and alarmed, through these dreadful labyrinths, the army entered a darker forest, a passage through which was difficult even to the winds of heaven. It was bounded on three sides by mountains whose heads towered above the clouds, and on the other side was an inlet of the ocean, so that there was no path by which to advance in retreat but that by which they had entered." The troops were by nightfall of course excessively fatigued, and then Râja Śirkê sent for Shankar Râi, who came with a great force and fell on the Musalmâns. The general, five hundred noble Sayids, and nearly seven thousand Musalmân soldiers, besides Abyssinians and Dekhanis, were killed on this occasion, the few survivors escaping above the ghâts.

The exact place where this massacre took place has never been ascertained, but Grant Duff thinks that it was not very far from Viśâlgaḍh, which is so probable, not only from the Râja of that place being so particularly mentioned, but also from the nature of the country described. Even now, with all the improvement of the country, there are very few parts of the Southern Konkan where an army of 10,000 men could march without the greatest difficulty; and the tract of country lying beneath and a little to the north of Viśâlgaḍh, between the *towns* of Sangameśvar and Lâñjê is almost the only open plain of any extent in the collectorate. Anywhere across this an army might easily have marched for two days, but it would need but a slight deviation either to the west towards Sâtavalî, or to the east towards Viśâlgaḍh itself, to get into hills and gorges which in those days must almost have come up to the description given by Ferishtah. If it be a fact that an inlet of the ocean was on one side, then the immediate neighbourhood of Sâtavalî would answer the description: otherwise, as to the closeness of the valleys and the height of the hills, Prabhânvâlî seems the most likely place. At all events it is most probable that the massacre took place somewhere in the country which lies beneath and in front of the most projecting point of Viśâlgaḍh.

This misfortune to the Musalmân arms was not avenged till 1469, when Khwâja Mahmûd Gawan, the prime minister, collected a large force, and by constant hard labour and with many precautions cut his way through the jungles, and at last after an unsuccessful siege of Khelnâ for five months, interrupted by the monsoon, succeeded, partly by stratagem and partly by bribery, in getting possession of this fortress. He spent the rest of this season and the whole of the next in ravaging the country, and so, apparently, reduced the whole of the Râjas to subjection, finishing up by taking Goa from the Vidyanagar troops. As this is stated as the period of the reduction of the whole of the Konkan, we may reasonably suppose that the establishment of the Musalmâns at Prabhânvâlî and Sâtavalî took place soon after this. Two hundred years later, after being captured by Sivâji, Viśâlgaḍh was twice unsuccessfully besieged by the whole force of Aurangzib, and on one of these occasions the loss of the garrison was so great that on the retreat of the Musalmâns seven hundred *satis* are said to have taken place among the widows of the defenders who had fallen.

The road from Viśâlgaḍh to Bijâpur would probably lie through Malkâpur and Kolhâpur,—for this is a very slight deviation from a straight line, and Kolhâpur, or rather the neighbouring fortress of Panâlâ, was almost as famous in Muhammadan as in Marâṭhâ days.

The next place to be mentioned is the creek on which Râjâpur stands. This is one of the oldest towns in the district, and was formerly a place of great trade, which is proved by the English, French, and Dutch all having had factories here in very early days. It had also a great trade with Arabia and the Persian Gulf, and even now two or three Arab *bagalos* come there every year. There is good a deal of interest in the way of Hindu temples and traditions, but I am sorry to say I know very little of its Musalmân history, though the Musalmâns are still so strong there as to be divided into two very bitter parties and to have several mosks. Though plundered by Sivâji, it appears never to have been much damaged,—owing its security probably to its being so far from the sea; and it has therefore all the appearance of an ancient town, which Dâbhol, though undoubtedly much older, has lost. A hill behind the town still preserves the name of *Tâlimkhânâ*, or gymnasium, and I am told that, though it is not used for the purpose now, the Musalmâns of Râjâpur still keep

up the education of their young men in gymnastics. Orme says that in 1670 it was a very frequented port belonging immediately to the king of Bijâpur; but this was only shortly before the Konkan fell into Śivâji's hands. And Hamilton, writing of the same period, says that this district produced the finest battelns and muslins in India. In 1686, after the unsuccessful expedition of Sultân Muazzim, son of Aurangzib, in the Konkan, his brother, Sultan Akbar, who had long been in rebellion against his father, hired a ship commanded by an Englishman at Râjapur, and embarking there sailed to Muscat, and from thence proceeded to Persia.

The creek on which Râjâpur stands was guarded about two miles up by the fort of Jaitâpur. This also was held by the Musalmâns, but I have heard nothing of its history except that in 1676 it was burnt by the Sidî; but it was then, I think, in the possession of the Marâṭhas. It is a place with nothing to recommend it, and has the appearance of having been at best a very second-rate fortress.

The route from Jaitâpur and Râjâpur to Bijâpur would have been through Baurâ (to be mentioned later) and Kolhâpur. The Kâjordâ Ghâṭ gives a considerably nearer route to Kolhâpur, but I have never found it mentioned in any history, and there is, I believe. no fort to protect it, as there is above the Prabhânvâlî and Baurâ Ghâṭs.

The creek at the mouth of which Gheria or Vijyadurg stands, which is the last port I have to mention, is only about five miles south of the Râjâpur creek. Horsburgh speaks of Vijyadurg as "an excellent harbour, the anchorage being land-locked and protected from all winds. There is no bar at the entrance, the depths being from five to seven fathoms." Hamilton speaks of Râjapur as having "the conveniency of one of the best harbours in the world;" but he had not himself been there, and must evidently refer to Vijyadurg,—since Râjapur can no more be said to have a harbour than Greenwich or Blackwall, and Jaitâpur cannot be meant, as the harbour is both dangerous of access and not well protected. I have been disappointed in not finding any mention of Vijyadurg in the older Musalmân historians, and am unable to account for it, as there is no doubt that it held by the Musalmâns—firstly, because the English historians always mention Gheria as the Musalmân name of it, and secondly, because some of the older parts of the fort are distinctly Muhammadan, and quite different from what is found in purely Marâṭhâ forts. Thus there are Saracenic doors and windows in the three-storied towers, which are themselves uncommon features, and in the inner gateway; and there are also a mosk and the tomb of a *pîr*, the first being in the centre of the fortress, very near the flagstaff mound. The fort also is said to have been only rebuilt, and not built, by Śivâji. There is no doubt, however, that it is to Śivâji that it owes its finest features,—the triple line of walls, the numerous towers, and the massive buildings in the interior,—all of which, with its situation, make it by far the grandest fortress I have ever seen. There is a considerable Musalmân population outside the fort, and in many of the villages all up this creek, which is still navigable up to Khârepaṭan, although it, like most of the other creeks, has much silted up. The present town of Khârepaṭan has a small trade, but is quite insignificant, and its situation hot and confined. But passing through the Musalmân quarter a very rough road leads to a fine open site, lying along the bank of the river and extending a considerable distance, with Musalmân tombs in every direction. Here was the old Musalmân town, and though there is not a house now standing, nor anything except the tombs and the walls of three or four mosks, it is easy to believe that there was once a large town, for there is a fine level space lying above a long reach of the river, and the hills behind this slope very gently upwards. It is said that the sites of twelve or thirteen mosks can be shown, and the one which still remains among the Musalmân houses in the town was the Jammâ Masjid, and evidently a building of considerable pretensions. Well outside the present limits of the town is a very large brick tank, nearly dry and quite ruinous, an inscription on which states that it was built by a Brâhman in 1659. Why a Hindu should have built a tank in the middle of the Musalmân part of the town just at the time when the Musalmâns were losing their hold on this part of the country, I certainly cannot explain. Near the middle of the present town is a half-buried stone, which is believed to have been the boundary between the Hindu and the Musalmân

quarters. There can be no doubt which was the ruling power at the time this division was made, for while the Musalmâns had the whole of the fine site on the river-bank west of the stone, the Hindus were confined to the steep and narrow valley in which the present town stands. This stone is, of course, the residence of a *bhût*, as is also a large rock which stands out above the water close to the present landing-place, and which must have been a serious inconvenience when Khârepaṭan had a large trade.

Among the many tombs on the hill-side there are a few not otherwise distinguishable from the rest except by lying east and west, instead of north and south as the Musalmân tombs do, and which from this fact and old tradition are said to cover the graves of Jews. And in the middle of the present town there is a colony of Carnatic Jainas and a Jaina temple, the only one, I believe, in the Southern Konkan. In this temple is a small idol of black marble, found in the bed of the river only three or four years ago. The absence of garments and the curly hair are even to ordinary observers proof of its being a Jaina or Buddhist idol, and the deity is identified as Parśvanâtha from the seven-headed snake which surrounds the head of the god like a canopy. The proportions are peculiar, but the carving is elaborate, and the image altogether in perfect preservation.

The fact of Jews and Jains having lived in Khârepaṭan at a distant period would, even without the evidence of the Musalmân ruins, show that it was a much larger place than at present. The Musalmâns, who are as poor as most of their race in this district, say that the old city contained 18,000 houses and, looking at the tombs and the extent of the ruins, there is no difficulty in believing this. Ferishtah mentions that in 1471 the Portuguese landed and burnt the towns of Adilâbâd (a place I have never heard of) and Carapatam, on the shores of the Bijâpur empire,"* and this is the only reference to the place I have found. There is no doubt that the site of the old town is as superior to that of Râjapur as the harbour of Gheria is to Jaitapur; but whether the fact is due to the Portuguese having burnt the town, as mentioned above, or to some other forgotten accident, it is certain that Râjâpur has retained much more wealth and trade than Khârepaṭan. But as a slight testimony to the former predominance of Musalmâns in both these places, Professor Bhândârkar told me the other day, as one of his early recollections, that when he first left Mâlwân as a boy he was struck on arriving at Khârepaṭan by finding the Musalmâns making use of the same wells as the Hindus, which in most parts of the collectorate they are not allowed to do.

From Khârepaṭan to the fort of Baurâ there is an easy road of about seven *kos*, and the ghât is an old one and easy for bullocks. Colonel Graham, as I have before mentioned, says that it was made by the Musalmâns about 1600. The fort of Baurâ stands on a narrow ridge projecting out from the general line of the ghâts, but at a slightly lower level, and is an imposing object both from above and below. But, probably from being easily commanded from above, it seems never to have been of nearly so much importance as Viśâlgadh, Punâlâ, &c. It is said to have been built by Yusuf Adil Shâh, the first king of Bijâpur, in A.D. 1489. While he was building it, a venerable Musalmân, who gave himself the name of Gebi Pîr, visited him in a dream and claimed the site of the fort as his own. The king therefore dedicated the Fort to the Pîr, and built in it three tombs, for the Pîr himself, his sister, and her son, and over them erected the domed building which still stands as the most prominent feature of the fort. After Śivâji had once taken the fort and once lost it to the Musalmâns, he again took it and gave it to the first Pant Âmatya. The latter believes that he owed victory on a certain occasion to the Pîr, and accordingly paid his devotions to the tomb and endowed it with Rs. 850 a year. Since then all the Pants of Baurâ have paid divine honours to the Pîr, and the common people, Hindu as well as Musalmân, have followed the example of their chiefs, and to this day worship at his tomb on Thursdays. The fort was dismantled in 1845, and the then Pant abandoned it as a residence, and built a new town in a most delightful situation on the edge of the ghâts overlooking the fort. From Baurâ to Kolhâpur the road is remarkably level and open. This route, then—by Gheria, Khârepaṭan, Baurâ, and Kolhâpur—must

* Briggs, *Tr.* vol. IV. p. 540.

certainly have been one of the easiest ways of getting from the coast to Bijâpur, and though perhaps not quite so short as that by Sâtavalî, yet it was probably much more easily guarded, and safer for unprotected travellers.

I can give no particulars of any old route to the south of this. Goa was always a much-coveted port, but I have only seen the Fondâ Ghâṭ mentioned in connection with it, which is a long way north. I have no doubt, however, that any one having a better acquaintance than I possess with the district lying between Goa and the Ghâts would be able to find traces of the Musalmâns along some more direct route.

I must end this by acknowledging that there are many points of interest regarding even the places I have written about which require further elucidation, as I have now only been able to put into shape some rough notes made at different times. And I must particularly mention that the villages on the Bânkot creek, about which I have said nothing, contain a larger and more prosperous Musalmân population than any of the places I have mentioned. But I have never found any reference to any of these towns or villages in history previous to the time of the Marâthâs; and I am inclined to think that the Musalmâns of this part (known in Bombay by the too general name of Konkani Musalmâns), who differ so strongly from others of their religion in physical appearance, in dress, and in some of their customs, must be descended from seafaring Arabs who settled on this coast, and not from the Musalmân conquerors of India. I know no evidence, however, in favour of this theory, and must leave it as a mere hint to any one who may be able to investigate the subject properly.

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# JAIN INSCRIPTIONS AT ŚRAVAṆA BEḶGOḶA.

BY LEWIS RICE, BANGALORE.

(*Continued from p. 266*)

## II.

A long series of the rock inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, in the same old characters, consist of what may be termed epitaphs to Jain saints and ascetics, both male and female, or memorials of their emancipation from the body. Specimens are given below, with literal renderings and translations. It is painful to imagine the pangs of slow starvation by which these pitiable beings gave themselves up to death and put an end to their own existence, that by virtue of such extreme penance they might acquire merit for the life to come. The bitterest satirist of human delusions could hardly depict a scene of sterner irony than the naked summit of this bare rock dotted with emaciated devotees, both men and women, in silent torture awaiting the hour of self-imposed death, in haste to be quit of the human form, which yet from the opposite hill the gigantic granite image displayed in colossal proportions as that of the deity for whom they made such a sacrifice looking forth unmoved upon them with its impassive features. The irony is complete when we remember that avoidance of the destruction of life in whatever form is a fundamental doctrine of the sect. All the more striking must the picture have been from the absence of the surrounding buildings, which were most probably not erected at the time to which the inscriptions refer.

The vow which these unhappy ascetics underwent appears to be known by the singular name of *sallekhana*. Regarding this penance a work called the *Ratna Karaṇḍaka* gives the following directions:—

Upasarge durbhikshe jarasi rujâyâṁ cha nishpratikâre
Dharmâya tanuvimochanam âhuh sallekhanâny âryâh. ||
Antahkriyâdhikaraṇam tapaḥphalam sakaladarśinastu gate,
Tasmâd yâvadvibhavam samâdhimaraṇe prayatitavyam. ||
Sneham vairam sangam parigrahaṁ châpahâya śuddhamanâh,
Svajanam parijanam apicha kshântvâ kshamayet priyair vachanaih. ||
Âlochya sarvam inah kritakâritam anumataṁ cha nirvyâjam,
Âropayen mahâvratam âmaraṇasthâyinihśesham ||

Which may be freely translated as follows:—

When overtaken by portentous calamity, by

famine, by old age, or by disease for which there is no cure, to obtain liberation from the body for the sake of merit the *Âryâs* call *sallekhana*. He who is perfect in knowledge possesses the fruit of all penance, which is the source of power; therefore should one seek for death by the performance of some meritorious vow, so far as his means will permit. Having purified his mind by renunciation of friendship, hatred, ties and acquisitions; having forgiven his relations and dependants, and with kind words sought forgiveness from them; viewing with a strong mind impartially (or with indifference) all that he does, *causes to be done, or desires; should a man* enter upon the performance of a great vow, not to be completed save by his death.

It goes on further to say:—

Âhâram parihâpya kramaśaḥ snigdham nivartayetvânnam
Snigdham cha varjayitvâ karapânam pûrayet kramaśaḥ ||
Karapânahâpanam api kritvâ kritvopavâsam api śaktyâ
Panchanamaskâramanâś tanum tyajet sarvayatnena ||
Jîvitamaranâśamsabhayamitrasmritividhânanâmânah
Sallekhanâtichârâḥ pancha Jinendraiḥ samuddishṭâḥ ||

He should by degrees diminish his food, and take only rice seasoned with oil (or clarified butter). Then, giving up the oily seasoning, he should gradually reduce himself to only a handful of drink.* Then, abandoning even the handful of liquid, he should, according to his strength, remain entirely fasting; and thus, with his mind intent upon the five kinds of reverence, should by every effort quit his body. Desire of life or of death, remembrance of fear or friendship, action, these five are transgressions of *sallekhana*—thus say the *Jinendras*.

The inscriptions before us are in the oldest dialect of Kanarese. The expression *mudippidar*, with which most of them terminate, is one which seems peculiar to the Jains. *Mudi* occurs among the verbal roots of ancient Kanarese, and is explained by *kesabandhane*, to bind the hair, and *nirvahane*, to end.† The latter word is derived from *nirvah*, to which Benfey gives the meanings "to extricate oneself, to pass away"—the first on the authority of Lassen. *Mudippidar* appears in these inscriptions to include all three ideas of ceasing, liberating oneself, and passing away. I have translated it by "expired," proceeding on the evident analogy between *nirvahana* and the Buddhist term *nirvâṇa*, derived from *nirvâ*, to be extinguished. Amara explains the latter thus:—*nirvâno muni vahny âdau*, which means blown out or gone out—applied either to a sage or to fire; extinct.‡

*Mudi* also becomes *mudu*, as in the following quotation from the section on *Nompi*, or religious vows, in the *Sruta Skanda*:—

Tapaścharaṇam geydu samâdhi vidhiyim muḍupi
Achyuta kalpadol Achyutendranâgirddam.
Î nompiyan ondu bhavadolu nontavar ananta sukhaman aiduvaru.

Regarding the names of places mentioned in these inscriptions, reasons will be given in a future paper for supposing that Chittûr and Kittûr may be Chittor the capital of Mewâr in Râjputâna.

Before concluding, however, the question may well be asked whether the vow of *sallekhana* is ever now put into practice. On this point it is not easy to obtain information, but it is admitted to be resorted to in the case of persons whose death seems near. Their end is hastened by withholding nourishment, just as in other sects persons borne to the banks of the Ganges to die are sometimes suffocated with the holy soil. It may be doubted whether in any other circumstances the custom is enforced. But a Jain Brâhman informed me that if he were committed to prison, for instance, he should feel himself under the necessity of performing this penance.

TRANSLITERATION.

II.

Adeyarenâda Chittûra mauni guravadigaḷa śishittiyar
Nâgama Tigantiyar mûru tingal nônta mudippidar.

III.

Svasti śri Jambû nâygir tingal nônta mudippidar.

IV.

Śri Neduborẹya banada
Bhatâran nônta mudippidar.

* I understand that this should or milk.
† *Sabda Mani Darpana*, Kittel's edition, p. 311, No. 253.
‡ See my edition of *Amara Kosa*, Vâchya Nighna Varga, 90.

V.

Śrî Kittûra veḷmâdadâ Dharmma Sena guravadigaḷ âśrippar
Bala Deva guravadigal sanyasana nôntu mudippidâr.

VI.

Śrî Malenûra Paṭṭini guravadigaḷa śishyar Ugra Sena
guravadigaḷ ondu tiṅgaḷ sanyasana nôntu muḍippidâr.

VII.

Śrî Agaḷiya mauni
guravara śishya Koṭṭârada Gu-
ṇa Sena guravar nôntu muḍippidâr.

VIII.

Śrî Perumâda guravadigaḷa śishya mantra
kartta Kechi guru . . . . . ḍippidâr.

IX.

Śrî Uṭṭakkal guravadigaḷ nontu . . . dâr.

X.

Śrî Kâlovi guravadigaḷa
śishyar Taḷekâḍa peḷjeḍiya
hedeya kalâpakada gura-
vadigaḷḷ ippattondu divasa
sanyasana nôntu muḍippidar.

XI.

Śrî Rishabha Sena guravadigaḷa śishyar Nâga Sena guravadigaḷ
sanyasana vidhi intu muḍippidar,—Nâga Senam anagham guṇâdhikam,
Nâga Nâyaka jitâri manḍalam, Râja pûjyam amala śrîyâchpadam,
Kâmadam hata madam namâmyaham.

XII.

Śrî Dimmadigaḷ nôntu kâlam keydâr.

TRANSLATION.

II.

*Nâgama* and *Tiganti* the (female) disciples of the gift-bestowing Silent *guru* of *Chittûr*, having kept the vow three months, expired.

III.

May it be well! The fortunate lady *Jambû*, having kept the vow a month, expired.

IV.

The wealthy *Bhaṭâra* (or chief) of *Nedubore*, having kept the vow, expired.

V.

*Bala Deva guru*, a dependant of the immaculate *Dharmma Sena guru*, of *Kittûr*, having kept the vow of a *sannyâsi*, expired.

VI.

*Ugra Sena guru*, the disciple of *Paṭṭini guru*, of *Malenûr*, having kept the vow of a *sannyâsi* one month, expired.

VII.

*Guṇa Sena guru*, of *Koṭṭâra*, the disciple of the Silent *guru* of *Agali*, having kept the vow, expired.

VIII.

*Kechi guru*, the performer of incantations, disciple of *Perumâda guru*, . . . . . . . expired.

IX.

The *guru* of *Uṭṭikkal*, having kept the vow, expired.

X.

The *guru* of *Talekâḍ*, with the great mass of matted hair and a bunch of peacocks' feathers bound with a bowstring,* the disciple of the *guru* of *Kâlovi*, having kept the vow of a *sannyâsi* twenty-one days, expired.

XI.

*Nâga Sena guru*, the disciple of *Rishabha Sena guru*, thus expired, in the manner of a *sannyâsi*:—
To Nâga Sena the sinless, possessor of the highest good qualities,
To Nâga Nâyaka by whom the world of enemies hath been conquered,
The worshipped of kings, the pure, the source of fortune,
The giver of one's wishes, the destroyer of pride, do I bow myself in reverence.

XII.

The fortunate Great One,† having kept the vow, ended his days.

## THE NALADIYAR.

BY THE REV. F. J. LEEPER, TRANQUEBAR.

(Continued from page 271.)

CHAPTER 14.—*Learning*.

1. The beauty of the hair, and the beauty of the encircling garment, and the beauty of saffron is no beauty; the beauty of learning is (real) beauty, for it is decisive of our mental excellence. 2. Since learning even in this life

* Cf. Account of Jain Yatis, *As. Res* IX. *Art.* iv.
† *Dimmidaru*, ancient Kanarese for Brahmans or those who are considered great persons.

will be beneficial, since when it is imparted to others it is not diminished, since it renders its possessors illustrious, since they who have it during life suffer no loss, we see no medicine like it which destroys delusion. 3. Wise people take the salt produced in a barren soil to be more valuable than the rice of a fertile soil. Though they be of the lowest station, people who have acquired learning will be put in the chief place. 4. From the place in which it is stored up it cannot be stolen. It can suffer no harm, though to that place fire should come. Though very glorious kings rage, they cannot sear it. Therefore wisdom, and nothing else, is what one who intends to lay up an inheritance for his children should acquire. 5. Learning has no bounds; the students' days are few. Would they calmly reflect, diseases are many. Let them carefully investigate and make themselves acquainted with those things which are essential, making a good choice like the swan, which drinks the milk and leaves the water. 6. They will not despise the boatman because he is at the lower end among the old castes. Lo, by his assistance they pass the river! And like this is getting advantage through the help of a man who has learned books. 7. Let me see whether the joy of associating with those who possess the qualities which are derived from indestructible ancient learning, who are without hatred and also very acute, be not as sweet as dwelling in Amravati, the city of the gods, in the wide expanse of heaven. 8. Lord of the cool shore of the roaring ocean! the friendship of those who have acquired learning is like eating sugar-cane from the top (downwards). Attachment to those who are graceless and destitute of good qualities is like eating it from the root (upwards), having rejected the top. 9. Though unlearned, if they walk in the society of the learned they will daily acquire good understanding, as a new (earthen) vessel by contact with the bright-coloured Padiri flower gives (its scent) to the water itself. 10. If a man learn ever so much, instead of studying the books of wisdom, the reading of worldly books is all of the nature of mere noise: there are none who can discover from them the way to rid themselves of sorrow.

CHAPTER 15.—*High Birth.*

1. A noble family will not decrease in (good) qualities, even when their clothes are torn and their body wasted. Even when trouble comes upon him, will the lion devour the long grass? 2. Manliness, goodness, right conduct, these three belong to those who are born in a sky-touching family. But, O lord of the hill-country covered by the clouds which touch the sky! they fall not to the share of others, even though they have acquired great riches. 3. Rising from their seat and going to meet (a stranger), leaving others, these the high-born have assumed as their unflinching rule of conduct. It is not their nature to be reckoned one with the mean. 4. If he do good things, it is conformable to (his) nature; if bad, it will be a fault despicable in the eyes of many: and in this case what is the profit to him of being born in a family known to all? 5. (To those born in a good family) there is fear of ignorance, fear of doing the deeds of the base, fear that anything which ought not to be spoken may escape from them, fear of not giving anything to those who beg for all. Brutish are they who are born in a family destitute of these graces. 6. Goodness of relatives, pleasant words, liberality, and every other good quality of the mind, all these, O lord of the cool shore of the roaring ocean, where the large gems and pearls shed their lustre! meet in those who are born in a good family. 7. Though the building be decayed, and the white ants have collected together, a large house may nevertheless have a wing not fallen. So those who are born in a high family, even when they suffer distress, will do the things they ought to do. 8. Like the moon, which enlightens the beautiful wide and extended earth on one side, though the serpent (*athiesha*) hold it in the other, those who are born in a good family will not slacken in well-doing, though poverty be against them. 9. The things which even in poverty those will do who are born in a high family, the vulgar will not do, even though they be rich. The deer, though it should be harnessed (for war), is not strong enough to fight like the charger. 10. The high-born, even when they have not anything, will approach those who are in want, and be a prop when they totter. When the broad river (bed) is dug up, though it be dry, yet clear water will soon appear.

CHAPTER 16.—*The Good.*

1. The moon, which sheds its beams abroad over the beautiful and wide-spread sky, and the good, are like each other. But the moon

bears spots, the good bear them not. They would be confused and waste away should a blemish befall them. 2. Whether successful or otherwise, the good will be held blameless. Is the dart which glanced from the lion inferior to the arrow that pierced the heart of the jackal? 3. The good, though they be poor and emaciated, will not guiltily ascend and rise over the bounds (of duty); binding their courage, as much as in them lies, with the cords of a mind free from anxiety, they will do the things that ought to be done. 4. The good, though they should meet with a person in the way, only for one day, will cleave to him with affection, as if (there subsisted between them) an ancient friendship. O lord of the goodly hills! a path will be made even upon a rock if one walk upon it for a few days. 5. If an unlearned person in the assembly speak what is destitute of meaning, like unconnected letters, the good will listen kindly, though with pain, even feeling pity that he should be put to shame before a multitude. 6. Though you bite the sugar-cane, or take its juice by beating and bruising it till the joints be broken, it will only be pleasant as far as it is tasted. Though people abuse them *injuriously*, the highborn will not speak faultily with the mouth. 7. The faultless virtuous steal not, drink not spirits; these things the good reject and leave altogether. Neither do they mock or reproach others; though confused in speech they will not lie with their mouths; and though in declining circumstances, they grieve not about it. 8. If one be deaf to the secrets of others, blind to the wife of his neighbour though well acquainted with her excellencies, and dumb in calumniating others, to him it is not necessary to inculcate virtue. 9. When people go day after day to those who are destitute of good qualities, they will despise them as beggars. The excellent, whenever they see (such), will say (if they want anything), Well, and will do them honour. 10. The base will live in obsequious attendance on the rich. Is it not like falling in a cave full of everything, when thou hast fallen upon a good family?

CHAPTER 17.—*Against reproaching the great.*

1. O lord of the fair hill-land resounding h streams! we should not, thinking they will us, do what is hateful to the guiltless, for none can remove their anger when once they are provoked. 2. What though those who know not good and right feelings obtain the privilege of associating without expense with those who cannot be approached though gold be offered to them, yet they do but vainly waste their time. 3. These two things, the esteeming of any person, or the depreciation of any person, fall within the province of the excellent (alone). Deeply learned sages regard as nothing the contempt or praise of those who know not how to conduct themselves aright. 4. Like as the golden-coloured serpent trembles, though in Patala, if he hear the sound of the fierce anger of the thunder in the heavens, so enemies, though they have shut themselves up in a fort difficult of access, will not be able to escape when the great are angry. 5. The estimation which they form (of others) who say, Ye know us not, there are none like us, is no true estimation. But the estimation formed by the excellent, who know what virtue is, and consider themselves as not to be at any one's beck and call, is a correct estimation. 6. O lord of the shore of the cool broad ocean! friendship with the mean, like the shadow of the morning, will continually decrease, while *friendship* with those who have long been famous will increase more and more, like the shadow of the afternoon. 7. Like as the cool budding umbrageous trees afford shelter alike to all who approach them, so the wealth of kings and the excellence of the beauty of women may be enjoyed by all who may venture to approach them, no worthiness being required at their hands. 8. Since separation even from those who possess not the power of investigating what they have, causes great and unceasing pain, O lord of the wide spread, mighty, and exhaustless backwaters. the not contracting friendship with any one is a *koror* of times the best. 9. When the matter is spoken of, (it will be found) that with the excellent such days as these are not, viz. days which have not been spent in study, days in which the great have not been visited, or days in which alms have not been given according to ability. 10. The glory of the great consists in humility; the acquirements of the learned appear in his self-control. The rich are rich indeed if they remove the afflictions of their dependants when acquainted with them

CHAPTER 18.—*Good Society.*

1. The habitual sins which they, contrary

to right conduct, commit, associating in the time of ignorance with those who know the way of virtue, vanish as the dewdrops do from the blades of grass as soon as the sun has become hot. 2. Know ye the way of virtue. Fear ye death. Bear with the harsh words of others. Restrain deceitfulness. Hate ye the friendship of the wicked. Ever obtain instruction at the mouth of the great. 3. Since separations from friends, grievous disease, and death are close at hand to all who possess a body, let my soul unite with the truly learned, who are convinced that the metempsychosis, which commenced ages ago, is a great evil. 4. If one can obtain the privilege of living always with men of good disposition in friendship, who constantly perform acts of virtue through a succession of births, though that succession is affliction, no one will despise it when they have considered the matter. 5. The water that runs from the sink when it reaches great waters will become a *Tirtha*, even its name being changed. Thinking of this, even those who have not family greatness will stand as a rock associating with the good, who have virtue and greatness. 6. Even the hare in the wide, beauteous, and sublime heavens, since it is seen in the moon with refulgent beams, will be adored (by men). And in like manner even those who are without any dignity (of their own), if they obtain the love of the good, who are as mountains of virtue, will have dignity. 7. Water when mixed with milk will become milk, not remaining water. Will it exhibit the appearance of water? In like manner, if you consider it, the meanness of the mean when united with the dignity of the excellent will utterly vanish. 8. The grass near the stump of the tree will not shake with the plough of the ploughman. Feeble though they be, the anger of enemies will not come on those who have joined the society of the good. 9. Like paddy multiplied through the goodness of the soil, persons will become good through the goodness of their respective families. Like the destruction of a good ship on the approach of a strong gale, goodness will be destroyed by bad company. 10. Though innocent in intention, persons will be despised on account of the (bad) company they have joined. In the forest both the scent-giving sandal and the teak tree will be burned when the brushwood, which has been cut, has caught fire.

### Chapter 19.—*Greatness.*

1. It is no longer in our power to give alms. Youth for ever has fled away. Those damsels who before loved us care no more for us; (therefore,) no longer desiring (to continue in) the domestic state, and renouncing the arbitrary desire of becoming great, this is now the one thing needful. 2. In the household state we have enjoyed pleasure, here we are rich. Fools so thinking, will behave inconsiderately. Those who understand the household state, that it, though seeming to last, lasts not, will never have sorrow. 3. Lay up seed for heaven without delusion of mind; and, void of all distress, enjoy life like the wise, maintaining your proper station, remembering always that there are various things that change their nature without efficient cause. 4. They say that in the time of drought the well of spring-water will preserve the inhabitants, though by drawing its water they subsist. So the duty of liberality is found with the great, even when in declining circumstances; with others, even when they are rich, it is rare. 5. As the river which springs up in the place where they dug for a spring, even when it is dry, yielding much water supports the people, (the great) even when exhausted and wasted by giving of their riches to many, will do the things they ought to do, giving to a few. 6. O lord of the mighty mountains! a crime committed by the worthy will appear like a brand-mark on a white ox. Though the base commit sins as heinous as that of killing an ox, no blot will appear upon those base ones, their guilt will be wholly invisible (being wholly guilt, and nothing else). 7. Connexion with those who are destitute of a disposition fitted to their mean condition, as far as it extends, will produce sorrow; while even enmity on the part of the excellent wise, who will not do what is wrong even in sport, will bring with it greatness. 8. Desire ye that honour should accrue to the good and merciful in disposition; alarm your enemies with terror, enough to alarm Yama himself. Decide then who endeavour to deceive you, and render unto the good their just measure of beneficence. 9. Those who are imperturbable and without any change of mind, even though they be confused by any one hastening and uttering evil calumny, are truly pure-minded, like the bright light in a lamp

10. The excellent expend the food first prepared in charity (or a first portion of food), and eat what food is left. That food will deliver the eater from these three crimes—lust, anger, and delusion, and will serve him in all his afflictions even to the end.

CHAPTER 20.—*Perseverance.*

1. Let those branches of a family who subsist on what their relations give them, like the rice-plants nourished beneath the bank of a tank which holds but little water, perish. Is want known by those persevering people who (constantly) change their position, like the eye of the juggler watching the motion of the sword? 2. Even that which stood a trembling stick by the wayside, when it has acquired strength, may become fit for a post to tie an elephant to. Life also is similar to this if a man free himself from a base nature. 3. The strong tiger, if it be without prey for a single day, will even catch a small frog and eat it. Do not despise small things; even great matters will become greater by exertion. 4. O lord of the cool shore of the breakwaters, where the waves dash against the *calderia* bushes! though a person think within himself that the matter will not succeed, yet, if he still go on with it, and unswervingly labour, this is perseverance. When all things around them are prosperous, will not even women succeed in their undertakings? 5. There is neither limit nor use in talking thus, He is of low caste, and, He is of good caste. Good caste is constituted by those things alone, viz. ancient, glorious, and resplendent wealth; penance; learning and perseverance. 6. The wise, who know their own ability (to complete a work), until it is completed keep their knowledge to themselves, and speak not of it to others. The world lies at the beck of those men, illustrious in wisdom, who can ascertain by the expression (of their faces) the ability of others. 7. The hanging root supports the banyan-tree like a son, when it is eaten away by white ants. Even so if imbecility appear in the father, it will not be apparent when the son he begat conceals it. 8. Though they should die meanly, not having anything in their house, will they do things fitted to bring down disgrace upon their own heads who have the strength of the lion possessed of powerful paw and sharp claws, which make sore the livid face of the elephant? The hair-like, round-stalked flower produced by the sugar-cane is destitute of sweet honey and fragrant odour. Even so, what will be the good of being born in a high and lofty family, if there be no manly courage to carve out for one's self a name? 10. The base will eat the curry and boiled rice given with much pleasure by the great and rich. Even water procured by the earnest perseverance of those who do not know the name of curry will be as ambrosia.

CHAPTER 21.—*The union of relations.*

1. As a mother forgets the pain and trouble she suffered during pregnancy and childbirth when she sees her infant in her lap, so the distress a man suffers from poverty and other misfortune disappears when he sees his relatives inquiring for him. 2. Supporting his relatives without partiality (like a tree which gives shade to all those who approach it at the time when the hot season is nigh), taking pains himself that many may eat the fruit of these exertions, is like a tree whose fruit is ripe. So to live is the duty of a good man. 3. Lord of the piled-up hills! the great will not say of their relatives, We cannot bear them. Though very many large unripe fruits be produced (upon a tree) very closely, there is not one branch which does not bear its (share of the) fruit. 4. Though they contract very close friendship in the sight of the world, yet the friendship of the base will not endure; (while) the amity of the stable-minded will be as enduring as the perseverance of the unswerving great, (which endures) till they have realized their hopes of heaven. 5. Those who, making no distinctions between persons and conditions, relatives and strangers, actuated by their natural feelings alone, seek all who are in poverty or affliction and relieve their distress, will be regarded by every one as preëminently worthy. 6. It is sweeter to take a heap of grass-seed without salt, and in any kind of dish, in the house of a relative dear as life, than to eat on a golden dish rice white as the tiger's claws, and mixed with sugar and milk from the hands of an enemy. 7. The desirable fried curry of politeness, though had at due time in the house of those who are not one's friends, will be (bitter) as *margosa*-seed. Hear. A curry of vegetables, though served up at sunset, by those who are relatives, is pleasant. 8. Even those who have been pleasantly entertained by another as frequently as a hammer strikes the

anvil, will forsake him, just as the tongs leave the iron in the forge; but those who are truly worthy of being called friends will adhere to him in distress, as the rod by which it is turned adheres to the metal in the furnace. 9. O thou who art adorned by a cool and fragrant garland! when relations have partaken of the prosperity of their relatives, if they partake not also of their adversity until death, is there anything they can do for them in the other world? 10. Delicious curry (yellow as the cat's eye), when eaten alone in the house of those who love us not, will be as the *margosa*. When living in the house of those who are like us and love us, cold water and grass-seed will be as nectar.

CHAPTER 22.—*The choice of friends.*

1. Friendship with the wise, whose intelligence divines our thoughts, is like eating a sugar-cane from the top (as its sweetness increases more and more); connexion with persons without sweetness of disposition is like eating it from the opposite end (the flavour decreasing by degrees). 2. Some accept (the highborn as friends) merely on the ground that such, remembering their high birth, will not act inconsistently—not, O lord of the fair hills, from which the birds flee on the approach of the gold-coloured torrent! because the minds of such are known. 3. Avoiding the friendship of those who resemble elephants, seek the friendship of those who resemble dogs; for an elephant will kill his driver whom he has known for a long time, but a dog will wag his tail while the spear thrown at him is still in his body. 4. Men cleave not to those to whom their hearts cleave not, within a short space of time; but will the friendship which cherishes the memory of those who are intertwined with one's heart be abandoned, though they are absent from us for a long time? 5. When affection continues affection, then is friendship preserved, like the flower on the stalk, which, being full-blown, closes not again. Those who resemble the lotus, which, having once blown, closes again its petals, know neither affection nor friendship. 6. Those who are at the bottom in (the scale of) friendship are like the *areca*-tree; those others who are in the middle are like the cocoanut-tree. The friendship of those who have experience of the past is like the palmyra-tree, (whose uses are) difficult to reckon. Such are at the top (in the scale). 7. Even vegetable curry served in the water that rice has been boiled in will be as nectar if a man accept it kindly. To eat the abundance of the unfriendly: though it be white rice flavoured with meat and rich seasoning, is (to eat) the *kanjira*-fruit. 8. Though they adhere to one in friendship as closely as the small toes of a dog to one another, yet of what benefit is the love of those who do not help one even to the extent of the leg of a fly? Therefore, though the friendship of those who, like the channel which fructifies the rice-field, be ever so far away, we must nevertheless go to obtain it. 9. It is better to be without the love of those who are without sincerity. Death is preferable to an incurable disease. To kill him at once is more desirable than to vex a man so that he becomes sore at heart, and to abuse is better than to praise one for that which we do not possess. 10. To join oneself to many, and strive many days and examine dispositions, and take (for friends) those who are worthy, is proper. Even with a deadly serpent, to associate and afterwards to part from it will be painful.

CHAPTER 23.—*The bearing with the faults of others.*

When those we love greatly, and esteem as virtuous, prove otherwise, this ought carefully to be concealed, for rice in the grain has a husk, water, foam, and flowers some unseemly leaves. 2. Though it burst the bank whenever they would stop it, they will not be angry with good water. Those who live desiring good water will repeatedly draw it up. Men will not be angry, but be patient concerning the friendship of those whom they themselves have courted, though these persons act towards them with constant hate. 3. Though they do evil exceedingly, is it not fitting to be patient with one's friend? O lord of the lofty hills where the beautiful winged insects hum over the variegated *kanju*-flowers! the forbearance of one is the friendship of both. 4. O lord of the wave-resounding shore where bright-rayed pearls are thrown up by the rolling billows, and where float swift-sailing ships! if friends, from whom it is difficult to separate, possess not virtuous dispositions, they are as a fire kindled to burn our hearts. 5. Even though they do what is disagreeable, one should preserve as gold those who ought not to be forsaken. Daily do men seek for fire and keep it in their house, though it has consumed both their good house and gold. 6. Is it right utterly to abandon friends, who ought

not to be forsaken though guilty of evil deeds? O lord of the renowned mountains, which, covered by the long-stemmed bamboo, pierce the sky! will men cut off their hand because it has struck the eye? 7. Lord of the cool land where the waters brightly shine! the good will not look upon the faults of others after mixing with them (in friendship), though they act disagreeably Persons destitute of strength of mind who take up evil things and speak of them after mixing (in friendship), are themselves inferior to those of whom they speak. 8. In a thing done by strangers, though in itself exceeding bad, what is there fitted to give pain? Considered rightly, it is the acts of those who are affectionately attached, which, O lord of the land where the waterfalls murmur! will be esteemed excellent, abiding in the mind. 9. If persons become aware that those whom they have taken into friendship, supposing them to be their friends, are not their friends, let them nevertheless esteem them better than their friends, and conceal the discovery in their own breasts. 10. If after contracting a firm friendship with any one, I set myself to note his good and bad qualities, may I be cast into the hell where the traitor who discovers the secrets of his friend is punished, and may I be scoffed at by the whole world!

Chapter 24.—*Improper Friendship.*

1. O lord of the fair and well-watered mountains, where abundance of cascades fall down from the black crags! men will remain until they have done their work in an old house the thatch of which is untied, keeping out the water by a dam, and being drenched with the rain falling down upon them. Thus will friends remain with one until their business is finished. 2. The friendship of illustrious men is eminently valuable, and is productive of benefit as timely rain. But the friendship of the mean, even in the time of their prosperity, resembles, O lord of the land of clear water! the failure of rain in its due season. 3. The enjoyment of the friendship of men of acute understanding is desirable as the joys of heaven. But connexion with unprofitable men uninstructed in science and literature is a very hell. 5. Our intimacy with those to whom we are not bound by the chain of friendship, O king of the hills, the sides of which are covered with groves of tall sandal-trees! though it seem day by day to increase, all be dissolved as instantaneously as fire catches straw. 5. The presumptuously saying, We are those who will do what should not be done, and the deferring and putting aside that which ought to be done at once, verily these two things will cause affliction instantly, even to ascetics, who have renounced the pleasures of the domestic state. 6. Though born in the same pool and grown up together, the *ambel*-flower will never be like the expanded *kuvalei*. The actions of those who are destitute of excellence, though they obtain the friendship of people of high excellence, will never attain the actions of such persons. 7. A little monkey breaking into a fruit with its finger, will strike and seize its own father, though coming to meet it. Lord of the hills! the friendship of those who are without unity (of mind) is not pleasant. 8. If I stretch not out my hand and deliver my whole soul without hesitation to my friend who is in distress, may I be cast into the hell where the wretch is punished who has violated the chaste wife of his friend, and may I be scoffed at throughout the far-famed earth! 9. Like pouring *margosa*-oil into a pot into which ghee has been poured and taken out again, O lord of the fragrant and goodly mountains! is the acquisition of the favour of those who are acquainted with evil, after the renunciation of the favour of those who are acquainted with good. 10. The absence of benevolence of disposition in him whose form is beautiful is like water mixed with milk, that is pleasant to drink. For those who are wise, to become companions of the wicked is like the *nâga* playing with the female cobra.

Chapter 25.—*The possession of understanding.*

1. When the excellent behold their enemies in adverse circumstances, being themselves confused on that account, they will not come near to invade them. In like manner the invincible and mighty serpent (*Rhagu*) will not draw near to afflict the moon in her first quarter. 2. Lord of the cool shore of the broad ocean! self-control is the ornament of the poor. Should they behave without respect and without any measure of propriety, their lineage will be published by (the inhabitants of) the village they live in. 3. Let the seed of the wormwood be sown in the best of soils, it will never becom a cocoanut-tree. So even the Southerns (Yama's subjects) have, by performing acts of virtue, attained heaven; while the Northerns, having derived no advantage

from their privileges, very many of them have perished. A happy new birth depends upon a person's virtuous conduct. 4. Though the fruit of the plantain be ripened in the bitter season of the *margosa*, it will not lose its sweetness. Thus, although those who are naturally good, associate with the bad, their friendship with them will not corrupt their minds. 5. Sweet water may be produced even on the brink of the sea-shore, and salt water on the side of a mountain. O lord of the cool shore washed by the waves of the ocean! it is truly said that sensible men will not imitate those with whom they consort, but will preserve their own minds. 6 O lord of the cool shore of the ocean where the thick-boughed *punnei*-trees flourish! will those who are virtuous and impartial towards all, first contract and then dissolve friendship? (Sooner) than this, it is better that friendship should never be contracted. 7. To be united in friendship with the prudent, who think of that of which they ought to think, is productive of the highest felicity, and affliction is avoided by separating from fools, who know not what belongs to friendship. 8. Whether an individual establish himself in a good situation, or whether, spoiling that condition, he debase himself, or whether he exalt himself to a much higher condition, or whether he make himself superior to all, he does so entirely by his own exertions. 9. In the way of business, even for the great to follow after the ignorant is not folly, but wisdom, O nobly-born king of the cool shore resounding with ocean-waves! 10. Having undertaken a profitable business, having experienced enjoyment, having performed acts of charity to the excellent, if any one in any one birth is able to do all this, such a consummation may well be compared to a merchant-ship that has reached her port.

Chapter 26.—*The want of understanding.*

1. Poverty consists in the being destitute of accurate learning. Great wealth, which has been accumulated by acquisition, consists in the possession of that learning. Will not the hermaphrodite, who is destitute of manliness, adorn itself with every jewel which is desirable in its eyes? 2. Would you know why affliction and loss of dignity befall those who know the benefits of knowledge derived from many books? It is this: when Sarasvati, of ancient renown, takes up her abode with them, Lakshmi, being coy, will flee away. 3. He that receives not, but despises as mere talk the command of his father to study, on a letter being gently held out to him in the presence of many, calls out to the person who presented it and seizes the rod of offence. 4. If one who has grown up in ignorance enter the assembly of the excellent in learning, in the earth, and sits down, it will be like the sitting down of a dog; and though, not remaining quiet, he should say anything, it will be like the barking of a dog. 5. The vulgar will repair to the learned and speak of what they know nothing of; the good, though asked of all they know, display it not, knowing that it will be thrown away. 6. Those whose tongues are adorned with learning and knowledge fear the disgrace of evil speaking. The unwise indulge therein. Thus on the palm-tree the dry leaves maintain a perpetual rustling, whilst the green leaves make no noise. 7. When speaking of the way of virtue to those who comprehend not what is good, it is like pressing the sweet mango into a bowl of hogwash. Like a stick driven against a rock,—the point is broken, it will not enter in at the ear. 8. Though they wash it with milk and put it to dry many days, charcoal has not the property of becoming white. Though they strike with a stick, and thrust too, understanding will not enter into the body void of virtue. 9. Like the fly, which battens on filth, instead of feasting on the sweet-smelling and (honey) dropping flower, so to those whose minds are inherently base, what pleasure is there in words that come from the mouth of the worthy, though clean and sweet as honey? 10. The acute and faultless instruction uttered by the wise, strikes on the mind of the mean without laying hold of it. A mean man will look on the face of one like himself, and with him hold converse.

*(To be continued.)*

## DEBI PHRASES AND DIALOGUES

BY E. REHATSEK, M.C.E.

The Zoroastrians who arrive in Bombay from Yezd and some other districts of Persia speak a peculiar dialect which is never written. Some people think it a language by itself, but nobody

has hitherto taken the trouble to make a collection of phrases; this has now been done, and it will appear that this so-called language is a mere gibberish, the chief component of which is Persian uttered in a peculiar way. As Deri is spoken only by Zoroastrians, it may reasonably be presumed that it very often serves to prevent Muhammadan Persians from understanding them, just as in some parts of Europe some Jews still use a peculiar German gibberish intelligible to themselves alone, which may have been more useful in old times of persecution, but now serves only to disguise paltry commercial transactions.

After all, however, the Deri is not an artificial language. All the words are taken in their natural sense, not as in the *Argôt* or thief-language of Paris, where they obtain different meanings; and the change of certain Persian consonants and vowels takes place, as philologists will observe, according to well-fixed phonetic laws.

The orthography here followed is that recommended by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, *i.e* the letters have always the same value, *e.g.* *g* = ग, *i* = इ, &c. The total absence of the letter *f*, as in some Indian languages, may also be noticed.

### *Nouns.*

The servant of a merchant, *Núker i tójer.*
An hour too soon, *Gá sat khaili zi.*
I am the man, *Me odeme.*
The son of the king. } *Pore putshó.*
A son of a king, }
A horse and an ass, *Asp o her.*
A husband and wife, *Mira wa zuna.*
The child and the father, *Wátchá u pezér.*

### *Possessive Case of Nouns.*

My brother's book, *Daftari bzuzerem.*
His father's horse, *Aspi pezérosh.*
The light of the sun, *Rushnohi horshir.*
One of the gentleman's daughters, *Yaki dóte merde khib.*
This was my father, mother, and uncle's advice, *Moe nasiete pezérom, mózerom o khulum bo.*

### *Adjectives and Nouns.*

A happy man, *Merde khâshul.*
The blue sky, *Osmono osmoní.*
The man is happy, *Merdoge khâshul on.*
It is a sad occurrence, *Mokure delgiri on.*
The meeting was large, *One khaili udem jem buen.*
It has been a rainy day, *Oruje worumi bo.*
That man is lame, *O udeme shál on.*
It was a blind woman, *O yánoge kur bo.*

White, black, red, and green colours, *Swi, siôh, sor wa yestai reng.*

### *Degrees of Comparison.*

Rustum is taller than Jamshid, *Rustum master* (or *blendter*) *Jemshid on.*
My brother is better to-day, *Bzûzeri me, emru wâter on.*
Solomon was the wisest of men, *Solemon danutere odemhu bo.*
This is a very fine day. { *Emru khaili khib ruji on.* / *Moruje khaili khib on.* }
He was more polite to-day than yesterday, *In emru orumtere heze bo.*
He is prettier than his sister, *In juvuntere khaherosh há.*

### *Verbs.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I am | *me hé* | We are | *mó bim.* |
| Thou art | *toe hé* | You are | *shmó hé.* |
| He is | *in há* | They are | *ishun hen.* |
| I was | *me boe* | We were | *mu boim.* |
| Thou wast | *tau boe* | You were | *shmó boit.* |
| He was | *in bo* | They were | *ishun boen* |
| I shall be | *mé bé* | We shall be | *moe bim.* |
| Thou wilt be | *toa bé* | Ye will be | *shmoe bit.* |
| He will be | *ine bú* | They will be | *ishun ben.* |
| I teach | *me zemete* | We teach | *mu zemetim.* |
| Thou teachest | *toa zemete* | You teach | *shmó zem etit* |
| He teaches | *ine zemete* | They teach | *ishn zemeten* |

I am very glad. *Me khaili khâshul hé*
They are lazy. *Ishun kâhel hen.*
Thou art the man. *To o odeme hé.*
Is she handsome? *O yanoge khibsiret on?*
He is my brother. *In bzuzere me hon.*
I was sick. *Me khâsta bohe.*
We are rich. *Mu aldidur him.*
We were not present. *Mo húzer né bohim.*
You are poor. *Shmú gripi* (or *nuchri*).
You were dumb. *Shmu gung boi*
He will not eat. *In nahra.*
We shall be sleepy. *Mo hármollo bim.*
You will be tired. *Shmó múna bi.*
They will be awake. *Ishun bizor é ben.*
I shall be here again this evening. *Me emru pasin do bore mone bé.*

### *Present Tense.*

I love good children, *Me vatzugun khib, me pásend há.*
Thou lovest fine horses, *To aspe khib hé pásend há,*
He loves his father, *In pezére khó pásend dóra.*
We love him, *Mo in dúsde dorim.*
You love her, *Shumó yanoge dúste dorit.*
They love their books, *Ishun dápter sho pásend dóren.*
He walks out every morning, *In har ru sobi bare shu.*
Birds fly through the air, *Párenda tú hovó páren.*

They are always talking, *Ishun hemishá gápé kuzne*
She is playing with her sister, *Yánoge háre khahereh bazi.*
Before he comes I shall have finished my dinner, *Pish az ín geló mé chome nim ru ya ohre.*
When you come, shut the door, *Her vakt gela to he bare pishko.*
They are looking at the ship, *Ishun trepe józ e vinen.*
Do you expect him? *Shumó omide in hi?*

## *Imperfect Tense.*

I was walking when I met him, *Vahti ké mé in omdi me durte rá rople.*
Was he sitting on the chair? *In ri khorsi nasht abo?*
He was working at that time, *In o vahte dórt kór sheka.*
She finished her tale yesterday, *Yánoge héze máteloeh shetounka* (Woman yesterday tale her finished).
Were you not standing at the door? *Shmó pishe bare né kishtuza bohi?*
For how much did you sell your horse? *Shmó ásp do, do chen herút?*
They drove the boy away, *Ishun o pórogesho, bár ká.*
They saw not his sorrow, *Ishun dilgiri in sho, nádi.*
I did not expect such a reply, *Me ómidi wose juvopí nábroe.*
Did you sing? } *Shmo dokhon.*
You did sing. }
Why did you shout for aid? *Chora bru maded shmó véch do durt.*
He is the silliest boy I ever saw, *In waicha nápámion geme eshbar me ne didah.*
The house is very high, *Kezá khaili blend on.*
It is better to be poor and happy than to be rich and miserable, *Garíb bé o khoshul bé wáter on gé aldimula (aldidór) bé o no khósh bé.*
Of all jewels the diamond is the most precious, *Almos geruntere hemá javoheri on.*
He is the eldest brother, *In bzúrere wáster on.*
She is the youngest sister, *In khahere káster on.*
I came later to-day, *Me emru dirter ome he.*
The wind is much stronger to-day than it was yesterday, *Emru woz haili zar weshtere lerz dora.*
Lead is heavier than iron, *Kloi sengintere óhen on!*
This is the highest mountain of this country, *Mo koi méstere mo die hon.*
It is nobler to forgive an injury than to revenge it, *Azát rebakhshi wáter on ke dushmaná rékre.*
My horse runs faster than yours, *Aspi me shákhtere asps tó dáre.*
He is the politest gentleman I ever met with, *Mare oáeme najíbi o khibí me ishar né diza.*
You have come sooner than I expected, *Shmó zúer oméde me ome hi.*
This is some of the finest fruit I have ever seen, *Moe mirae khibter ou ke me eshbur me ndirú.*
This is the longest way, *Moe rae drúster on.*
That is the nearest road to our house, *Tukze mo morai názikter on.*

## *To have.*

I have pens, ink, and paper, *Me klem, morakabo, kógez dóre.*
He has a good pen-knife, *In chágo klembrushi khibi dóra.*
You had many friends, *Shmó khaili dúst dushti.*
They had many enemies, *Ishún khaili dóshmen dóshten*
He had this disease yesterday, *In heze khástá bo.*
I shall have dinner to-day at four o'clock, *Me emru sáti chór chóme khré.*
They shall have their reward, *Ishun enhum shó gúren.*
He shall not have my bread, *In núne mésh núrese.*
She shall not have my book, *In yánoge daftari mé shnáte.*
We may have rain to-day, *Emru wórom wé wore.*
Let me have my own knife, *Chágo mé máti.*
Let her have her desire, *Vei khoheshesh rékra.*
Have patience, *Sávr ko.*
Have you any flowers? *Shmó echi gul dóri.*
I shall have some to-morrow, *Mé hórdo chenini túre.*
Have they money? *Ishun ekli dóren?*
They have none, *Ishun echi ná duren.*

## *Dialogue I.*

Good morning, Sir! *Sabo kheire Sáheb!*
I hope you are well, *Omide me ke shmo khib hi.*
Very well, I thank you, *Khaili khib on, merabuni bó.*
I hope all the members of your family are in good health, *Omid dore ke hame olame wabilnde tendrest hen.*
I am glad to say they are quite well, *Me khóshule ke rérje ke hemáshu khib hen.*
Do you think it will rain? *Shmo pámi ge wórumme tá? Shmo khiuldo raea ke wórum me tá.*
I do not think it will rain, *Me khiul meraza ke wórumma nó té.*
The weather has been very hot the last two weeks, *Mo do haptei ke sho hoeó khaili gárm bo.*
Farewell! *Khodáfez shmó.*
Good evening! How do you do? *Rushkn yaká! Khib o khósh hi?*
As usual, *Ráre hemishah.*
How is your brother? *Brázerdé che tour on?*
He is not very well, *In pori khib né.*
Give him my compliments, *Duorhume me ushee-rusnen.*
Thank you, *Merabuni bo.*

### *Dialogue II.*

| | |
|---|---|
| It is time to go to bed | *Vákhti khár mon.* |
| At what time do you go to bed? | *Che vakht shmó khofti ?* |
| At ten o'clock | *Sáli dé.* |
| Do you keep a light burning all night? | *Shmó tókoshaw chro sujni ?* |
| No; I keep a box of matches ready at hand | *Ná ; mé yaki sandikhe kepriti handi theyyur góm sk.* |
| It is time for breakfast | *Vakhte nushta hon.* |
| Everything is ready | *Hemachima tayyur on.* |
| Will you take a boiled egg? | *Shmó khio pakha hri ?* |
| Do you sell good knives and spoons? | *Shmó kúrto kápcho khib harúshi.* |
| What do you charge per dozen? | *Dwozatoi chene harúshi ?* |
| Only ten rupees; the price is very moderate, Sir. | *Dah Rupia ; Sóheb kimatush hesibi on.* |
| You astonish me; that is very dear | *Shmó me ajabe krit, moo khaili grun on.* |
| Can you tell me of a good shoemaker? | *Ish do chunósh dúze khibe zóni ?* |
| The best shoemaker in the town is my next neighbour. | *Chmósh dúze khibtere mo shere hem soye mo hon.* |

### *Dialogue III.*

| | |
|---|---|
| At what o'clock do you dine? | *Sáti chen chóme khri ?* |
| My dinner-hour is four o'clock | *Chóm kharte me sáti chór on.* |
| Our dinner will soon be on the table | *Monne chóme mú ri sópra tó.* |
| Stop and take dinner with us | *Veiste o hemre mu chóm wekha.* |
| You are very kind; I accept your invitation | *Shmó khaili merebun hit ; me tlabuzadu kábile kré.* |
| How long have you been in Bombay? | *Shmó che keder wákhte Bemboy boki ?* |
| Not more than three years | *Weshtere sé sol ná.* |
| Do you intend to remain here? | *Shmó mázune duri gé mone bit* (or *veshti*). |
| No, I mean to go to London | *Ná, me mao ke London shé* (or *véshé*). |
| I have heard much about that town; it is the largest in the world. | *Mé bru o sháre khaili me pámuza ; oe to donió mástere hemá on.* |
| Has England an extensive commerce? | *England khaili kherid of prukht dóra ?* |
| What is the chief export of England? | *England wéshteri chéchi báre niva ?* |
| Cutlery, glass, cloth, books, cabinet-work, jewellery, watches, and other fine goods. | *Chágo, oinakor* (or *shisha*), *rékht, dápturo, nákhsi kure konda, jávoer, sátho, o bzi chomho pokizá.* |

### *Dialogue IV.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Are you learning English? | *Shmo Engrizi zemeguri ?* |
| I am learning it | *Me zemegure.* |
| I am glad you are learning it, because it will be very useful to you. | *Me khóshul ke gé shmó zemegurit, cheráke o khaili dó Kóretu.* |
| Is the English language difficult? | *Zvúne Engrizi jápu on ?* |
| In the beginning it is very difficult, but if a person studies diligently every day, he can soon learn it. | *Avvel o khaili jápu on, ama age udemi har ru , sepébúd ové khina, in huli zem shegrept.* |
| As the Government of this country is English, every person who wishes to obtain service under it, ought to learn this language. | *Rávige putsháto mó vláte Engriz on, harki gé shávut gé shive dásht sho núkeri ıékra, mó zvúne shvibhen.* |
| There are also many books written in the English language on all kinds of sciences. | *Khaili dáptaro mó vzune* (or *zvune*) *Engrizi nvéshta hon, bóbete hemá elme.* |
| It is my intention to make a voyage to England, in order to see all the wonders of that country. | *Me kheyul dure gé England shé, cheráko hemá ájoebi o molko vévine.* |

### *Dialogue V.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Can you tell me if there is any ship going to London? | *Shmó khábar duri gé eshto józe Londone shút ?* |
| There are several in the harbour which will set sail soon. | *Kháili to bendcrga hen, ke hóli rone ken.* |
| Have you money enough to pay your passage? ... | *Shmó mókeder aldi durit ké nogl* (or *nár*) *átit ?* |
| think I have | *Me khiul merese ge dóre.* |

| | |
|---|---|
| How long will you remain in England? ......... | *Che keder vakht Vilaeto mінit?* |
| That is not certain. If I am pleased and can obtain good service I may remain several years. | *Oe mukerer ná hú. Agó khilo mon, o nukari khib megirelo, chen suli emino.* |
| I think it is very dangerous for a young man who has no friends and little money, to go to a foreign country. | *Me khiul merese ga odemo jêelt ga rápikh nádurt, o kenok aldi dura melke gripi shú, mushkel on.* |
| That may be true enough, but my desire to see the world is so strong that I am ready to suffer almost anything to satisfy it. | *Oe khaili rást on, ámo mé okkeder dêlê donyu dizen dure, ge me layura ge homá muskoli khágure ebrá oe.* |
| I admire your boldness, and wish you a happy voyage. | *Mé az dilduri shmó ajab kê, o mosáfri dõ (or shmó) slámet bil.* |

These phrases and dialogues, short though they are, will be quite sufficient to dispel any supposition that there is much analogy between the Dori and the Zand, and it would scarcely be worth while to give more than is here offered. According to Dr. Pietraszewski, there appear, however, to be dialects in Persia which still bear some relation to the Zand, as he states in the Preface to his Zand Grammar:—"During my travels in Persia as first dragoman of the Prussian Embassy I have been convinced that this language is not a dead one. If we lend an attentive ear to the various dialects in which the country abounds to this day, we find some, so to say, still breathing the pronunciation of Zand words. I have felt this venerable breath of the remotest antiquity principally in the forms of the Turcoman language spoken in the vicinity of the town of Roomya, where the tomb of Zoroaster is still shown, and extending as far as the town of Bayezyd, on the frontiers of Russia. This language is not dead, I say; for the priests of the nomadic people called Lashy Leshy, inhabiting the inaccessible mountains from Ekbatana, the present Hamadan, as far as Isfahan, Sheraz, and further to the west, still preserve in their sacred rites the traces of this tongue amidst the Persian jargon of their flock. After having spent a month with them at Abaday, a village situated between Isfahan and Sheraz—where I was obliged to sojourn on account of sickness—I could no longer doubt of the fact."*

## KARI DASTUR IN JESHT PÛRNIMÂ.

BY CAPT. E. W. WEST, SÂVANTVÂDI.

In his interesting account of the life of Basava, given in the *Journal of the Bombay Br. R. Asiatic Society* (No. xxiv.), Mr. Würth alludes incidentally to a mode of divining how the crops will turn out, which he says is practised by the agricultural classes thoughout the Dakhan. Some time ago, when reading over the depositions recorded in the matter of an affray between the inhabitants of two villages under different chiefs which took place in 1826, I found a full account of the ceremonies observed on this occasion in the Navilgund (Naulgund) district, near Dhârwâḍ, which I here transcribe for the benefit of the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*. It would be interesting to ascertain in what districts this custom obtains. I remember when in the Mahi Kantha hearing of a similar practice, which in like manner led to an affray between the followers of two rival chiefs.

*Q.*—"What is the Kari Dastur in Jesht Pûrnimâ?

*A.*—"On the 14th, the day before the Pûrnimâ, all the bullocks of the village are bathed, after which they are taken to the houses of their owners, where *pûja* is performed. Then follows the *kanhuggi*, which is as follows:—A *hân* is placed at the foot of the bullocks, *javâri* and *dhâl* are boiled together, to which oil and salt are added. This *huggi* is given to the animals to eat. On the Pûrnimâ day† the horns of all the bullocks are coloured with a kind of red earth (*hurmunj*), then the *kôlabali* (cakes made of flour) are put on the horns. Bells are tied round their necks, and

* *Epitome of Zand Grammar.* D. J. Pietraszewski, Doctor of Philosophy, &c. Translated from the French by E. Rehatsek, 1862. Bombay: Duftur Ashkara Press.

[† Mr. Ziegler, of Hubli, in a communication he has sent us, adds a second *pûja*. "On the Pûrnimâ day," he writes, "the bullocks are bathed again, then taken to the houses of their owners, where a second *pûja* takes place in the following manner:—Some *ambila* (sour buttermilk) is poured into a *golla*, a vessel made of a joint of a large bamboo, some turmeric and salt is added, and this drink is given to the bullocks. After this another potion is made of *kusubi* (safflower) oil, one or two raw eggs, and a little turmeric, and administered to the bullocks by means of the *golla*, whereupon the tongue of the bullocks is rubbed with salt to clean it."—ED.]

then the *kari tôran* takes place, as follows:—Two bamboos, the height of three men, are fixed at some distance from each other in front of the most ancient gate of the old *petâ* near the *Kasbâ chauri*, to which a rope is tied across, and leaves of the *kadâ* and *nîm*, cakes of dried cowdung, *cobari*, dried dates and cocoanuts, are suspended therefrom by the Dheds of the village. This is called the *kari tôran*. About 4 P. M. the Pâtil, Kulkarni, and all the principal inhabitants walk in procession, preceded by music, to the Desâi's house, and select one red and one grey bullock. They are taken to some distance from the place where the *kari* is, and brought thence to the *kari tôran*. One man holds each bullock. Each has a small piece of steel tied to some twine, which he throws against the *kari tôran* to break it. The man who breaks the charm is taken to the *Sarkâr chauri*, where he receives a *pagdi* and some other present. After this the two bullocks are taken, preceded by music, to the Desâi's house. If the man in charge of the grey bullock break the charm, it is said that the white *javâri* will yield abundantly: if the man in charge of the red bullock does it, then the *mungâri javâri* crop. Before the Desâi's bullocks are brought out in this manner, all the villagers take their bullocks outside the *kari* and exercise them till the evening. Should any of them escape, from fear or any other cause, and enter the boundary of any village not within the tâluka to which it belongs, the râyats of the village to which it belongs pursue it closely; but should they not succeed in catching it, and the râyats of another village take it, the latter do not restore it, and there is no longer any *kari* ceremony in the village if the bullock is not caught."

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## MISCELLANEA.

### THE GÂROS.

The most interesting information with which we have yet met regarding the Gâro tribes, among whom a punitive expedition is still at work, is to be found in the second Report of the American Baptist Mission there, issued by the Rev. I. J. Stoddard.

The Gâro Hills are in the south-west corner of Âsâm, the valleys of Âsâm and Maimensing bounding them on the north-west and south, the Khasia Hills lying east, with the Brahmaputra on the north and west.

They build large and substantial houses on piles. The bamboo floor is from four to ten feet from the ground. The houses are from fifteen to twenty-five feet wide, and from fifty to one hundred and fifty feet long. These are covered with grass and enclosed with a firm bamboo wall. In one corner a small room is enclosed as a bedroom for the parents and girls. The remaining portion of the house is one long hall. Here they cook and eat, and store their year's supply of rice and fish. Here we find their farming utensils, their spears and swords, and everything that is valuable to them. Every village has its "Bachelors' Hall,"—a building sufficiently large to lodge all the unmarried men and boys of the place. Only the daughters stop at home at night with their parents.

As compared with the people of the plains, the Gâros have a high sense of honour. They do not lie, they do not steal. They leave their houses open and unprotected all day, while they are far away on the hills at work. They expect to find everything on their return as they left it. They are not often mistaken. Adultery is punished with death. The unmarried guilty of immoralities must marry, or be held as outcasts from village and friends.

At the proper age the young people fall in love, court and marry, very much like sensible civilized folks. The young man in love can propose direct or through his father. The young woman in love has also the privilege of making known her feelings through the medium of a near relative. In the case where the proposal comes from the young woman the young man is not at liberty to refuse! The bride always brings her husband to her father's house. The favourite daughter (she may or may not be the eldest) inherits the estate personal and real, and takes care of her parents in their old age. The other married daughters with their husbands usually live at home for a time, all sharing the common labours and profits. Finally they must strike out and shift for themselves. In no case is a son allowed to bring home a wife and live with his parents.

In the event of the death of a husband or wife, the surviving party cannot make a second choice. His or her friends must choose the second companion. This is not always easily done. Those of the proper age and lineage cannot be found. Hence in this second marriage we frequently meet with the widower of fifty years with his young wife of ten years, and the widow of forty with her young husband of eight years! In these domestic arrangements the Gâro customs seem as unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians.

The Gâros burn their dead. A few ashes are

saved as a memento. They sometimes mourn long for the departed, especially for the wife. I know the headman of a village who mourned three years the death of his wife. He could not work. He feasted his friends and neighbours for consolation. Thus he continued till his property was expended. Nearly all the village turn out and assist at funerals. The young men cut and bring wood for the pile. This is built near the house, and the dead placed upon it at sundown. The elder men and women collect the native-made rum from the village, and make more if necessary. Early in the afternoon all begin to drink. The bereaved are brought under the influence of liquor as soon as possible, to drown their sorrows. At dusk the fire is kindled. Now men, women, and children drink until all are drunken!

They have no knowledge of the Maker of all things—not even a name for God. They have no temples, or images, or forms of religious worship—unless sacrificing to demons be regarded in this light. They say they worship nothing,—that there is no future after death,—that they desire simply to be let alone. The demons are evil and disturbing spirits. They believe in these—believe them to be numberless,—to live under trees, rocks, and to fill the mountains,—to be the cause of famine and pestilence, all diseases of mind and body—in short, the cause of whatever disturbs the happiness of man, and of death itself. Of these they live in perpetual dread!

Hence, to induce these demons to depart from their country, the Gâros sacrifice under every green tree, near rocks, at the base of hills, and in every street leading to their villages. This is done by individuals, families, or the entire village, as circumstances seem to indicate. They sacrifice fowls, pigs, goats, bullocks, and young dogs. The latter, because of superior sagacity, are supposed to be most acceptable to the demons. As no time, place, or individual is exempt from trouble and sorrow, so the Gâros, in their fear, are most incessant in shedding of blood. The wealthy become poor, and the poor remain thus, by these fruitless and endless attempts to drive away these imaginary demons.

They say there is no hereafter—that when a man dies, that is the end of him. Still every Gâro confesses himself to be a sinner and to be worthy of punishment. They firmly believe that notoriously bad persons will live again, and perhaps for ages, in the bodies of tigers, snakes, or other vile forms, as a punishment for evil deeds in the present life.

Ignorance and superstition go hand in hand. Two Christian Gâros were on a preaching tour. Soon after they had spent a night in a certain village the headman was very ill for several days. In due time these men returned that way and called for lodgings as before. It was late. The next village was at a distance and the road dangerous. But they were driven from the place. The demons, said they, are not pleased with Christians, or those who give them shelter, therefore "no person of this new faith can ever lodge in our village again!"

Some Gâro Christians cut a few bamboos supposed to be the dwelling-place of demons. About this time there was a great drought. Crops were suffering. The heathen Gâros divined that the demons had been offended, and armed themselves with knives and spears to cut up the Christians who had given the offence. Meantime Providence sent rain, and the bloody raid was abandoned.

A people thus ignorant and superstitious are liable to move suddenly and to great extremes. Filled with fear and dread uncertainty, they descend upon the nearest village and cut off a dozen heads of inoffensive men, women, and children. They hastily drive Christians from their village, or as quickly turn from demon-sacrificing to the worship of the Christians' God.

In customs, language, and religion (if they have any) this people are quite different from those of the plains. They are entirely free from caste influences.

The Gâros do not object to the education of their girls and women. Several married women, wives of preachers and teachers, have learned to read. Gâro women are held in respect, and have a voice in all domestic matters, and they are not ignored even in the village counsels. There is hope for such a people.

## PERSIAN STANZAS ON ATTRACTION AND REPULSION.

*Selected and Translated by E. Rehatsek, Esq., M.C.E.*

*VI.—From Shyryn Ferhâd.*

يكي ميليست با هر ذرّه رقّاص
كشان هر ذره را تا مقصد خاص
رساند گلشني را تا بگلشن
دواند گلخني را تا بگلخن
اگر پويي ز اسفل تا باعالي
نبيني ذره زين ميل خالي
ز آتش تا بباد از آب تا خاك
ز زير خاك تا بالاي افلاك
همين ميلست اگر داني همين ميل
جنيبت در جنيبت خيل در خيل

سراین رشتها هیچ در هیچ
بهین میلیست و باقی هیچ بر هیچ
ازین میلیست هر جنبش که بینی
بجسم آسمانی و زمینی
بدین میل آمده و با کاه پیوست
که محکم کاه را بر کهربا بست
بهر طبعی نهاده آرزویی
تک و پو داده هر یک را بسویی
برون آورده مجنون را مشوش
بلیلی داده زنجیرش که میکش
ز شیرین کوهکن را داده شیون
فکنده بیستون پیشش که میکن
ز تاب شمع کشته آتش افروز
زده پروانه را آتش که میسوز
ز گل بر بسته بلبل را پر و بال
شکسته خار در پایش که می نال
فرض این میل چون گردد قوی پی
شود عشق و در آید در رگ و پی
ز جود عشق عالم طفیل است
ز استلای فیض و لیط میل است
نه بینی هیچ جز لیلی در آغاز
باصل عشق اگر بینی نشان باز
اگر یک شعله در خود صد هزار است
باصلش باز گردی یک شرار است
شراری باشد اول آتش انگیز
کز استیلاش خیزد آتش تیز
تف این شعله مارا در جگر باد
از این آتش دل ما پر شرر باد

Attraction drives each dancing atom far
With other atoms to its special sphere,
It draws the gard'ner to the rosy grove,
Conveys the coalman to the furnace hot.
If you the nadir to the zenith scan,
Exceptions to this law you cannot find;
In fire, in wind, in earth, in water, not
Beneath the earth up to the lofty sky,
The same attraction must govern them all,
kindness, sympathy together
Obey this great governing pow'r divine.
Besides this impulse nothing is all else:
From this attraction ev'ry motion seen
On earth or in the heavens is derived.
The puny straw obeys the same attraction,
And clings to the electrum willingly;
Implanted in each nature is its bent
Compelling ev'ry man to his pursuit.
Distracted Mejnun this impulse obeys,
It hands to La-i-ly his chain to draw,
Compels Ferhâd for Shyryn to lament,
Commanding him Mount Bisetûn to dig;
From heat the lamp will be a burning flame
Which draws the moth its proper doom to seek;
The bulbul sighing for the rose obeys
This bent when stung by brambles in his foot.
When this attraction strength and power gets
To love it turns, the body permeates.
Abundance of this feeling so prevails
That universal love the world maintains;
At first you nothing see but La-i-ly
If love's origin you investigate;
Although a flame a hundred thousand is,
It is derivèd from a single spark
From which the greatest conflagrations rise;
It is its prevalence that fans the flame.
O let this fiery ardour be in us,
Its many sparks illuminate our hearts!

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## *Plurality of Village Headmen.*

In the little Principality of Sâwant Wâḍi in many of the villages the office of Pâṭil is held conjointly by several families. The several shares are termed *wakals*, and a representative of each wakal signs the village *kabûliyats* and other papers I have seen the signatures of as many as eight wakaldârs on a kabûliyat. Sometimes one wakaldâr is a Brahman, another a Prabhû, and another a Marâṭhâ. In other parts of the country where I have been, such a *watan* is often held by many shareholders, but then they hold as descendants of a common ancestor, who acquired the *watan*, and but one of the family signs the papers. Can any correspondents of the *Indian Antiquary* give instances of a practice similar to that in Sâwant Wâḍi obtaining elsewhere?

E. W. W.

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## QUERY.

*To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."*

SIR,—I have a number of old silver and copper coins with the inscriptions very much obscured by dirt and verdigris. Will one of your readers kindly tell me the best way of cleaning, without injuring, first, the silver, secondly, the copper coins?

I am, &c.,

DENZIL IBBETSON.

# LEGEND OF THE RÂṆI TUNK.

BY MAJOR J. W. WATSON, ACTING POLITICAL SUPERINTENDENT, PALANPUR.

THE Sarbakri Hills are a subordinate portion of the great Âravali range, and at their western extremity is a conical peak called the Râṇi Tunk. This peak is a conspicuous feature in the landscape from Disa, and the peak itself is only about a mile and a half from the town of Dântiwâra, under Pâlanpur. This small peak can be seen by the traveller between Disa and Abu (lying to the right of the road) as far as Reodar, and it can be discerned on a clear day from Abu itself. Near the foot of the peak is the site of the ruined city of Dhârâpura and the Dhârâsar tank The legend regarding this *tunk* or peak is as follows:—

Chandan Sodâ, Chief of Nagar Pârkar, went one day to one of his villages bordering the Ran, for *shikâr*. One morning he roused a noble boar in the village fields. As he was mounted on his good steed and had his trusty lance in his hand, he gave chase; the boar went straight across the Ran, and Chandan Sodâ followed it. At length evening drew near, but, as the moon was full, Chandan Sodâ did not draw rein, and at last the boar reached the Wâgar side of the Ran. Chandan Sodâ still urged on his panting steed, and as the dawn broke he overtook the now exhausted boar and laid him dead at his feet with one thrust of his spear: this happened close to the walls of Kelâkot, where reigned the celebrated Lâkhâ Phulâni. The following *duho* describes the magnificence and pomp of Lâkhâ:—

દોહો

લાખા પુત્ર સમુંદ્રકા ફુલધરે અવતાર
પારેવા મોતી ચગે લાખારે દરબાર ॥૧॥
પલાણી હીરે જડી સુરત પચાણી ॥
પચ્છમ હીંદો પાતશા લાખો ફુલાણી ॥૨॥

Lâkhâ, the son of Ocean, took an incarnation at the house of Phul.
O Lâkhâ, in thy *darbâr* the pigeons feed on pearls,
On the saddles of thy steeds diamonds, O thou of surpassing wisdom,
Lâkhâ Phulâni, Hindu King of the West!

On seeing the boar speared by Chandan Sodâ, a villager informed Lâkhâ Phulâni that a stranger had ventured to spear a boar close to his castle walls. Lâkhâ Phulâni, indignant that any one should venture to hunt without permission in his domains, at once mounted, and taking with him a troop of horsemen soon overtook Chandan Sodâ. Observing their hostile intentions, Chandan Sodâ appealed to Lâkhâ in person and asked him why he was following him to slay him without cause. Lâkhâ reproached him with having slain his boar. Chandan Sodâ replied: "The boar is not yours, but one of mine I chased from my fields on the other shore of the Ran." Lâkhâ refused to believe this, as the distance was so great, and threatened Chandan Sodâ with instant death. In this extremity Chandan Sodâ proposed that the stomach of the boar should be ripped open, and that if *bâjri*-ears and water-melons were found in it, then it would be clear that the boar came from his (Chandan Sodâ's) country, whereas if its stomach contained sugarcane or pulse, that he would agree that the boar belonged to Lâkhâ Phulâni. Lâkhâ Phulâni then said: "And if the boar be mine, what then?" Chandan Sodâ replied: "And if the boar be mine, what then?" Eventually they agreed that if the boar should turn out to be Lâkhâ Phulâni's, Chandan Sodâ should submit to imprisonment at that Chief's pleasure and pay a heavy ransom for his release, but that if the boar should be Chandan Sodâ's, then Lâkhâ agreed to give Chandan Sodâ his daughter Phulmati in marriage. The boar was now ripped open, and *bâjri*-ears and water-melons were found in its stomach, as Chandan Sodâ had said. Chandan now claimed the performance of Lâkhâ's promise. Lâkhâji held *a kacheri* and solemnly betrothed Phulmati to Chandan Sodâ. He then dismissed Chandan Sodâ with honour, and told him to return to celebrate his nuptials as soon as he should receive an invitation. Chandan now returned to Pârkar. After Chandan's departure, Phulmati's mother and all Lâkhâ's court declared that he would be disgraced if he married his daughter to Chandan Sodâ, who was but a small Chief comparatively with Lâkhâ the King of the West. To all their remonstrances Lâkhâ replied: "I will never go back from my plighted word." One of his ministers suggested that there was a mode of

action whereby he should not forfeit his word and yet that it should not be necessary to give his daughter, namely, to fix the wedding day for a certain day and so arrange that the invitation should reach Chandan Sodâ only the day before the day fixed for the wedding. As the distance was too great for Chandan Sodâ to traverse in twenty-four hours, Lâkhâ would thus be freed from his promise. This plan was eventually determined on, and a day was fixed, namely, Saṁvat 1116 Vaishâk Sudh 13th, and the Brâhmaṇ who delivered the *kankotri* (or invitation) was instructed to deliver it on the 12th. The Brâhman accordingly delivered the *kankotri* to Chandan Sodâ on the 12th Vaishâk Sudh. Chandan Sodâ at once perceived the trick and was deeply grieved; he determined, however, to reach Kelâkot in time, if it were possible for man and horse to do it. He then inquired at once if any one in Nagar Pârkar possessed a horse or camel capable of doing the distance in the time, but none could be found. Just as Chandan was giving up in despair, a *sutâr* named Dhârâ said: "I have two tame nylghai bulls which will travel three hundred miles in one day, and I will lend you them." Chandan, after thanking the *sutâr*, directed them to be harnessed in the *drângâ* (a two-wheeled car). The *sutâr* harnessed the bulls in the *drângâ*, and Chandan, after putting on the marriage-crown (*moḍ*), sat in the *drângâ*, which was driven by the *sutâr*. They drove so fast that they reached Kelâkot before dawn, and sent word to Lâkhâ Phulâni that Chandan Sodâ had come to be married. As Chandan Sodâ had arrived in time, Lâkhâji determined to give him his daughter, and made preparations for the marriage. The nuptial ceremonies were then performed with great pomp, and a separate palace was allotted to Chandan Sodâ and Phulmati. Lâkhâ also provided a lodging for Dhârâ Sutâr, and a stable for his nylghai. After a few days, Lâkhâ paid a visit to Chandan Sodâ and in the course of conversation asked him how he had managed to arrive so quickly. Chandan Sodâ then told him that his *sutâr* had lent him his nylghai bulls, and that the *sutâr* had yoked them in his *drângâ*, and thus conveyed him so quickly to Kelâkot. Lâkhâ Phulâni considered within himself that he must obtain possession of these nylghai; Dhârâ, however, refused to sell.

Now it so happened that the *sutâr's* lodging was beneath the palace of Râṇi Jalku, stepmother of Lâkhâ Phulâni; Lâkhâ accused the *sutâr* of a criminal intimacy with Jalku, who was still young and beautiful, as she had married Jhârejâ Phulji, father of Lâkhâ, when she was quite a child, and but a few years before Phulji's death. The *sutâr* being now in prison, Lâkhâ determined in about a month to seize on the nylghai, when every one would have forgotten to whom they belonged. Râṇi Jalku, however, was extremely indignant at this false accusation, and considered that although the accusation was false, still people would believe it, and she would be eternally disgraced: she therefore determined to avoid false reproaches by actually running away with the *sutâr*. Now she had a favourite slave-girl named Muli; she sent Muli accordingly on some pretext to Dhârâ Sutâr, and said to him: "Take me away, I am willing to follow your fortunes, and as I will bring with me much wealth you will not be a sufferer by doing so." Dhârâ Sutâr replied: "How can I carry you off when I am here in prison?" Râṇi Jalku then represented that she would free him from prison provided he would agree to carry her off from Kelakot. To this Dhârâ Sutâr agreed. Râṇi Jalku then bribed the guard to release Dhârâ Sutâr, and she herself putting on armour, and taking with her her daughter Mâru, an infant of three years of age, and slave-girl Muli, she waited for Dhârâ Sutâr outside the city gate. Dhârâ Sutâr after harnessing his nylghai went out by a side gate unobserved and joined Râni Jalku. The Râṇi now dismissed her slave-girl Muli, and she and her daughter Mâru sat in the *drângâ*, which was driven by Dhârâ Sutâr. They left Kelâkot at dusk, and the nylghai went so fast that they made their first halt at Shiagâm, a village then belonging to the Solankhi tribe, and under the Dhânerâ Parganâ. They halted near the village well, under the shade of some trees. Some boys were playing near the well, and they induced two of them to accompany them. The name of one of these boys was Viramji, son of Jetmâlji Solankhi. The other boy was a Rabâri by caste and was named Devrâj. On leaving Shiâgâm they took the two boys with them in the *drângâ*. They next alighted near the Jhâsor (or Jyerâj) hill, and there Dhârâ Sutâr founded a village and dug a tank, and named the village Dhârâpura, and the tank Dhârâsar. With

Rāṇi Jalku's wealth beautiful buildings were constructed, and good cultivators were attracted to Dhārāpura. Here they lived undisturbed for ten years, and the village grew rich and populous. Māru, Jālku's daughter, grew up during these years to womanhood, and was supremely beautiful. Both Viramji and Devrāj were desperately enamoured of her, but Māru's heart inclined to Viramji. Although Māru was a queen's daughter, still as Rāṇi Jalku had run away with a *sutār*, she feared that they would be unable to contract an alliance for her with any kingly house: Rāṇi Jalku therefore married Māru to Viramji Solankhi. But Devrāj Rabāri was deeply grieved at this, for he too loved Māru passionately, and on the day when she was married to Viramji Solankhi he left Dhārāpura in anger, and travelled until he reached Amarkot (Omerkote), where Sodā Sumrā reigned. When Sumrā held a *darbār* Devrāj made obeisance, and said that he knew of a most beautiful damsel fit only to be Sumrā's queen. He then recited this *duho*:—

જણ સેંચે મારૂ ઘડી કોઈ ઘડીયો નહીં સંસાર ॥
કે ઓ સંચો ભાગયો કે ભુલ્યો કરતાર ॥ ૧ ॥

The mould in which Māru was framed is such that none other in the whole world has been framed in it.
Either that mould has been broken, or the artificer thereof hath forgotten how to so fashion another.

Thus Devrāj acted, out of jealousy to Viramji Solankhi. Rājā Sumrā on hearing this praise of Māru said to the Rabāri: "Search through my town and see if there be in it any damsel fit to compare with Māru." The Rabāri after much search discovered a beautiful *lohāran*, and presenting himself before Rājā Sumrā recited this *duho*:—

સોઢા તારા શહેરમેં લવે દીલ ઘુહાર ॥
ઢીલ કંકણ લગઝતી ઓ મારૂ અણુહાર ॥ ૧ ॥

Sodā! in thy city is a *luhār* of graceful form,
Her bracelet* hangs loosely on her arm, she is perhaps something like Māru.

Sodā Sumrā now directed the *lohāran* to be brought before him, and was so impressed with her charms that he determined to espouse her; he, however, perceived from what Devrāj said that Māru must be still more beautiful, and accordingly sent his brother Hamir Sodā with five hundred horse to Dhārāpura together with Devrāj to carry off Māru. They marched night and day until they reached Dhārāpura, and concealed themselves in the jungle near the Dhārāsar tank. Devrāj said to Hamir: "Māru comes hither daily to draw water; when she comes we will seize her and carry her off." That night, however, heavy rain fell, and every one had their water-vessels filled by the rain. No one therefore came to the tank. Māru also did not come. Hamir then recited this *duho*:—

મે હા તેં એસું કરી મ્મે હડી મતી કરી ॥
સરવર નાવી મારૂ ગઈ ઓલરે ભરી ॥ ૧ ॥

Rain, do not act (to others) as thou hast done to me;
Māru has not come to the tank, but has gone and filled (her vessel) at the waterfall.

Hamir then said to Devrāj: "What shall we do?" Devrāj replied: Rāṇi Jalku and her daughter Māru are churning milk in their *chok* and no attendants are near them." Hamir and Devrāj taking two horses and a camel went there. Whilst the two were churning, Māru's scarf fell on her shoulder, disclosing her beautiful face. She, however, continued churning, and with her foot restored her scarf to its position. Devrāj on seeing this feat of agility uttered the following *duho*:—

ઊભી વલોણું નેત્રે ઝાલી મારૂ ॥
તાંણી તેહ પગની લેંક ઝળકો લોબડી ॥ ૧ ॥

Māru was standing erect holding the churn-rope;
With the agility of her foot she picked up and restored to its place the woollen scarf.

Hamir, from seeing her face and from witnessing this act of agility as well as from Devrāj's couplet, recognized that this could be no other than Māru; he accordingly seized her and tied her behind him on his horse; afterwards alighting he placed her on the camel, and he and Devrāj fled with Māru to Amarkot. On their arrival there, a palace was assigned for her use, and Sumrā Sodā sent her a message to say that next day he would visit her at the palace. In reply Māru sent a message that she had taken the *untio vrat*, or camel-vow, viz. that for six months she must stay in the palace without seeing a man; that when the six months were over, she would sit on a [illegible] go for a ride, and that then her vow

performed and she would accept his visits. Of these six months, one month she said had already expired. Sumrâ Sodâ agreed not to molest her, and did not press his visit. Rāṇi Mâru now wrote a note to Viramji Solankhi and secretly sent it to Dhârâpura. The note contained these words: "I am protected for five months by my *vraț* or vow; come quickly with a good camel and alight within the town of Amarkot, and I will contrive to join you, and we will flee together. If you do not come within the time, I will die, but I will never receive the Râjâ as my lover." Viramji on receiving this letter purchased a magnificent camel from Jati Bhemda of Khemat for Rs. 200. The following *duho* describes the camel:—

માથો ટામંક જેહો આહુડંડ પ્રચંડ ॥
દીઓ ના ડાવોત ભેમડે ધર કરવત ધરમંડ ॥ ૧ ॥

Its head like a waterpot, its forearms strong as poles,
Bhemda, disciple of Nâda, gave it,*
Saw of the World, House-Rebuilder.

Viramji mounted on his camel and came to Amarkot and alighted in the bazaar, and remained there for a month, and managed to carry on a correspondence with her secretly. One day Sohni Rāni, one of Sumrâ Sodâ's queens, came to visit Mâru, and said to her: "Let us give an entertainment and drink wine." Mâru replied: "I have left my husband behind at Dhârâpura, how then should I drink wine!" Sohni replied in the following couplet:—

ધારાપરથી ચલ આઈ આવી રાએ ઘેર ॥
ધાબરીઆરા કંથરો મારૂ શોક કરો કરે ॥

Having come away from Dhârâpura, thou hast come to a king's palace:
O Mâru, wherefore dost thou grieve after a husband wearer but of woollen clothing?

Mâru replied to her in the following couplet:—

પટોળું પાંચે મળે લોડી લાખ વકાએ ॥
તોમન સોઢો સુમરો મોમન વીરમ રાએ ॥ ૧ ॥

A *putola* (silk scarf) can be purchased for five (rupees),
A *lodhi* (shawl) may be worth a lâkh;
Thy heart is for Sodâ Sumrâ,
But my heart is for Viram Rai.

Mâru therefore refused to drink wine. At last the six months of her vow were accomplished. Mâru then sent a message to Sodâ Sumrâ that the period prescribed by her vow was accomplished, and requested that the best camel procurable might be sent to her, that she might ride on it and be absolved from her vow. The Râjâ accordingly caused all the camels in the town to be sent before Mâru: Mâru approved of Viram's camel, and kept Virâm and his camel, dismissing the others. At this time no man but Viram was present; only the other Rāṇis were present. Mâru then ordered Viram to make his camel kneel, and after veiling her face she mounted. Viram then mounted also, and Mâru bade adieu to the other Rāṇis, saying that she would ride within the fort. Thus saying she directed Viram to start, and as soon as they were out of sight they took the Dhârâpura road. On the way way they met a Charan who asked alms. As they had no money, Mâru gave him her gold necklace and said to him: "Go to Sumrâ Sodâ and say to him poetry in praise of my camel." On hearing of the escape of Mâru, Sumrâ Sodâ mounted with a large body of horse in pursuit. On the road they met the Charan. The Charan, on learning who they were, recited the following couplet to Sumrâ Sodâ as a message from Mâru—

કરહે કે થળ લાંઘીઆ દોરા ઘાટ દરંગ ॥
આવી સુમરને કહીઓ તું કયું મારે તરંગ ॥ ૧ ॥

The camel has already passed over many (sandy) *thals* and difficult and mighty passes:
Having come to Sumrâ, say to him, Why dost thou fatigue (lit. beat) thy horse?

Sumrâ Sodâ, hearing from the Charan that the camel could not be overtaken, returned to Amarkoṭ and collected an army, and after a few months marched to Dhârâpura. On the arrival of the army, Dhârâ Sutâr, Viram Solankhi, and the two Rāṇis, Jalku and Mâru, went into the Surbakri hills. A great battle was fought. After performing prodigies of valour, Dhârâ Sutâr and Viram Solankhi with all their followers were slain. Jalku and Mâru being desperate, and preferring death to dishonour, hurled themselves from the peak at the extremity of the Surbakri range, and were dashed to pieces. In commemoration of this sacrifice the peak has ever since been called the Rāṇi Tunk, or Queens' Peak.

* Saw of the World alludes to his cutting the road: *rastâ kâpnro*. He is called House-Rebuilder as he was the of Viramji recovering his wife.

# NOTES ON THE ŚAIVA-SIDDHÂNTA.

BY THE REV. C. EGBERT KENNET, VEPERY, MADRAS.

In a brief review of F. Boutelou̧p's manual, *Philosophiæ Indicæ Expositio*, which appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. I. pp. 224-5), it was remarked that, "in treating of the Paśupatas, whom Colebrooke describes under the northern appellation of the sect, it was of importance that notice should have been taken of their existence and their tenets as found in South India." It is intended in the present paper to put together a few notes, made at different times, illustrative of this subject.

Independently of the exoteric and popular worship connected with the great temples of Madurâ, there is at that place a well-organized school of esoteric religious teaching in full vigour and operation, representing the Śaiva-Siddhânta system, the most popular system of philosophy and religion among the Tamil people. It is based on the eight-and-twenty Śaiva books, or *Âgamas* as they are termed, whence its adherents are called Âgamists. The Rev. W. Taylor in his *Catalogue Raisonné* (Vol. II. p. lxxxix.) confounds this sect with the Vira-Śaivas, who are not Śaiva-Siddhântas or Âgamists, but the Jangamas or Lingadhâris—a sect which did not exist when the Siddhânta books were written, and whose use of the male symbol only, to the exclusion of the female, is sufficient to distinguish them from the other Śaiva worshippers among the Tamils.

As already observed, Colebrooke describes the Âgama school of religious philosophy under its northern appellation and characteristics, as that of the 'Maheśwaras' and 'Paśupatas' (*Essays*, vol. I. pp. 406-413), but the Tamil development of its tenets is marked by very peculiar features which lead me to hazard an opinion that it owes them, in some degree, to contact with the teaching of the Madurâ missionaries of the Church of Rome at the close of the sixteenth century. The late Rev. H. R. Hoisington, of the Jaffna American Mission, translated from the Tamil three of the treatises on which the Âgamists base their system, but most, if not all, of the other treatises are as yet little known, existing, as it is supposed, only in Sanskrit. Mr. Hoisington's work was printed in America in 1854, and made the teaching of this school accessible to English scholars for the first time, with the advantage of having the obscure text of the original elucidated by the best native assistance that he was able at the time to procure. The Âgamist philosophy, or, as it may be more properly termed, the Śaiva-Siddhânta, is essentially antagonistic to Vedantism. The monotheism of the Vedas, such as it was, made it impossible to distinguish the object worshipped from the mind of the worshipper, and while therefore it implicitly contained the later polytheism which contented the vulgar mind, it fostered in more aspiring intellects the most extravagant pantheism. The essence of the Vedantic doctrine consists in the individual soul considering itself the same as God, or as resolvable into God, and the whole visible world an illusion. In opposition to this, Śaiva teachers most strongly insist upon the real, and not merely apparent or illusory, distinctness of God from all other *spirits* and from *matter*. While the Vedantists maintain that there is but one, only and secondless Being, and that all visible forms of creation are only an ideal development of him, having no real existence whatever, the Âgamists teach the existence of three distinct eternal entities, *God*, *soul*, and *matter* (*pati*, *paśu*, *pâśam*), the Deity being a Person and not a mere abstraction, and distinct from the human soul and matter, both which derive their existence from him as their *efficient* cause. They repudiate the Vedantic doctrine of the creation of the universe by the Deity out of his own essence, and maintain the distinct and separate existence of the *efficient* and *material* causes of the creation—the first, active, moving; the second, passive, moved: the one effective, the other yielding itself to be acted on by it. "Matter cannot proceed from spirit, therefore the world was not developed from God," is a maxim of this school. That which knows is the soul, and that which is known is the Deity, and hence it follows, "When it is said one exists, he who says it must also exist," which is another maxim. And these two express the distinguishing principles of the system it represents. Yet God cannot be comprehended but by *grace* or divine illumination,

as "all wisdom," it is taught, "comes from grace (*arul*)." According to this system, God himself appears as the Teacher of the soul in human form, and leads men to himself, even as men take wild animals by means of animals of their own kind trained for the purpose. This he does by means of the *seven Sacraments*, which are—ocular, manipulative, oral, scriptural, mental, disciplinary, and formal instruction, this last being of two kinds, *symbolic* and *spiritual*; the symbolic including the ceremony of *initiation* and *confirmation*, and the spiritual being that which effects *communion* with the Deity. (See Hoisington's *Translations*, pp. 117-119).

Iśuran—God—*is subject to no change*, and souls are from eternity pure; like an unlighted lamp, the soul shows nothing, but, like a magnet which attracts iron, it causes the body in its presence to act When the body is active, the perceptive organs grasp each its own rudimental element (the medium of sensation), just as the parts of a moving machine perform each its own office; or, in other words, the *sensations* are at work, from which, *karma*, the result of action, is produced, and by this, *malam*, defilement (sin), is introduced. When the *malam* in which the soul has been enshrouded is removed by *tidchei*, instruction or illumination of disciples through the Sacramental process above mentioned, then the divine wisdom becomes transferred to the soul as the face is transferred to the mirror. (Hoisington, pp. 171-172). One cannot help being reminded by this figure, of the language in the Christian Scriptures, where we find it said that "we all, with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory."

In the last particular, *pâsam* (matter) is declared never to perish, but *malam* (evil) its development, which obscures the soul so that its understanding cannot apprehend things fully or aright, will be destroyed. Except this, there is no destruction of the eternal essential nature of *pâsam* or *matter*. The darkness which cannot exist before the lamp, is not destroyed, nor can it exist before the light; just so *pâsam* cannot exist with the soul that is united with Deity, but of its eternal essential nature there is no destruction. (Hoisington, p. 206). The earnest asseveration of the eternal existence and non-destruction of the *matter* in which the soul dwelt, after the emancipation of the soul itself, sounds like a faint note of hope of something yet reserved for the body also.

The words occurring in St. Paul's *Epistle to the Romans* (ch. viii. 20) have been strikingly applied to illustrate these speculations: "The creature was made subject to vanity (*mâya*), not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope, because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage (*pâsam*) of corruption (*malam*) into the liberty of glory (*motcham*) of the children of God." The coincidence of thought and language, at any rate, is remarkable, and suggests the possibility of these speculations of an extraordinary school of Hindu religious philosophy being made meeting-places for higher truths, which can alone supply what is lacking in them, and satisfy the deep natural yearnings which gave them birth.

## THE NALADIYAR.

BY THE REV. F. J. LEEPER, TRANQUEBAR.

(*Continued from page 331*)

CHAPTER 27.—*Riches without goodness.*

The bat will not go to the rough-stemmed wood-apple tree, though near and fruitful. So the riches of those who, though they be very near to one, have no greatness of soul, have not the excellence of being considered as profitable. 2. Though there be handfuls of small buds on the milk-hedge, men will not put out their hand to gather them, for its flowers are not fit for wearing. (Even so,) the wise will not form friendship with the mean, though they have much wealth. 3. Though they live on the shore of the rolling ocean, they repair to the saltless well of a running spring and drink. Though wealthy men be nigh, they will go afar off and fix their desire upon the liberal. 4. In the seagirt earth merit is various. The sensible should be great. Those who are foolish, and are like unbeaten steel and the thorny *brinjâl*, will flourish in silk and gay apparel. 5. If you ask what is the reason why, while the good and just are in poverty, the unjust and unlearned

are wealthy, O thou who hast eyes elongated like a lance! when one investigates the matter, it is nothing else but the effect of deeds done in a former birth. 6. (O Lakshmi,) who like a golden image sits upon that fair flower whose leaves are like scentless plates of gold, die and become ashes upon the *ground*! you connect yourself with the mean of all sorts, leaving the good who resemble gold. 7. O thou who hast eyes like a lance! is not shame attached to the poverty of the just? Is not the wealth of the miser like painters'-green? (*i. e.* it so cleaves to him that he will not give alms.) When thou hast investigated these two states thou wilt not approve or desire either of them. 8. Those who are *honest (when they become poor), going to distant* lands, and eating various kinds of food, will spend their days; while those who are dishonest (when they become poor) will sit in their houses and eat curry and rice while the perspiration streams from their bodies, and will not go to distant lands. 9. When the ear of the golden-red paddy is scorched, the heaven bright with lightning will vomit and pour forth (rain) into the sea. The liberality of those who are simple, even when they are possessed of riches, is of like character. 10. Those are the senseless who, though they read, understand not. The sensible, though they read not, resemble the learned. Those who, though utterly poor, will not beg, are the truly rich. Even the rich are poor if they give not.

Chapter 28.—*Illiberality.*

1. To give a part of their meal to the extent of their ability, both to the friendly and unfriendly, and after that to eat, is truly to eat a meal. To those who refuse their food to the needy, and so live and eat and pass on, the door of heaven will be closed. 2. Those who have, to the best of their ability, practised to any extent trifling acts of charity, will in another birth become great; while those who, when they have become wealthy, say, We will give alms some time or other, shall be punished and shall perish from all the sea-surrounded earth. 3. He who employs not his time in enjoying his property, or gives not of it to ascetics, but lays it up (like a miser)—at him, the foolish one, about to perish, his hoarded wealth shall mock, and the favour of the world shall mock. 4. The great wealth which the miserly-minded have attained, who neither know how to give it away nor to use it themselves, shall be like the beauteous damsels of a family, who when they have arrived at puberty are enjoyed by others; *i. e.* others than its owner shall enjoy it. 5. Though they live near the mighty ocean whose waters overflow, men look on the spring of a small well whose water is almost dried up and live. The poverty of the great is better than the riches of those who know not of the next birth. 6. If you ask why I say, It is mine, It is mine, concerning the property of that ignorant man who gives not to others, saying, It is mine, It is mine,—while it belongs to that wretched man he gives it not in alms, neither does he himself enjoy it, neither do I give it away in alms or *enjoy it myself.* 7. The *poor are more exempt* from trouble than the niggardly rich. They are exempt from the labour of guarding that wealth. They are exempt from the trouble of bringing it. They are exempt from the pain of having their hands bound. In many ways are they exempt from trouble. 8. While the property is his own, he gives it not away; when it becomes the property of his partners, they also give it not away in alms. If he gives it away before his death, the partners will find no fault with him; if after death they give it away, he will not find fault with them. 9. Comparing beggars to a calf, and benefactors to a cow, such a spontaneous benevolence is true benevolence. Forced charity is as when a cow will only give its milk when coerced by strong men, who push it about and apply various instruments to its limbs. Such benevolence is the mark of a base mind. 10. The seeking to accumulate wealth is a cause of vexation. The guarding that collected shining wealth causes vexation. Again, if any of that wealth which is so guarded be diminished, there is vexation. If it be lost, how great the vexation! Truly this said wealth is the very abode of vexation.

Chapter 29.—*Poverty.*

1. Although a man live wearing a patched cloth round his loins, yet the possession of eight or ten pieces of money will gain him great honour among many persons. Those who have nothing at all, though born of a respectable family, are considered (by such) as more despicable than a dead carcase. 2. It is said that ghee is more subtle than water, and all know that smoke is more subtle than ghee. If you inquire, you will find that the afflicted mendicants will creep

in through crevices through which even smoke cannot permeate. 3. O king of the woodlands where they chase the parent from the cultivated field with stones, where the *Kanthaila* (November-flower plant) growing upon the mountains lofty and abounding with rocks, is out of flower! the swarms of red-spotted winged insects will not even approach near it (to extract its honey): thus the destitute have no relations. 4. In the day of prosperity thousands are very slaves, as crows will collect together at the mangled carcase (*i. e.* the dead crow); but in the day when this is changed, like the insect (which wanders about for food), there is not one single person in the world who will ask you, Are you well? 5. O lord of the fair hills crowded together, where the streams fall upon the rocks and wash them! the high birth of those who are environed by poverty will disappear, their great dignity will disappear, and their illustrious learning will also disappear. 6. Scorn those who, though they live in the same town, give no alms to those who come to them tormented in mind by sharp hunger, and asking for somewhat with great desire. It would be far better to go away to some distant place and live as guests in other houses, than to remain fruitlessly spending their days in that place. 7. O thou who hast sharp teeth causing envy to the buds of the jessamine! those who are mendicants (or those who have the affliction of begging) will lose, together with their right-mindedness, abundant accurate learning, and all other good qualities which they may have at any time possessed. 8. It is better for him who once was charitable, *i. e.* who stood in the way of giving, but who now cannot give aught to beggars, to spend his life in the afflictive way of stretching out his hands for alms in every house in the far land to which he has gone, than to remain in his own land,—than living in his native town, standing in the way of poverty, trying to mend his circumstances. 9. When wealth has gone, in the time of adversity, the poor, with those arms once adorned with bracelets, bend the branches of trees, pluck off the leaves and eat them, using as a dish an earthen pot, and live on with discontented minds eating leaf-curry (or that which is cooked) without salt. 10. O lord of the hill-country, cool and very beautiful and lofty, where the streams of water fall down (from the rocks)! the swarms of shining and beautiful winged beetles crowded with red spots crawl not on the branch which has ceased to blossom; in like manner the unfortunate have no friends.

CHAPTER 30.—*Innocence.*

1. The minds of the honourable, when they see the disgraceful things or excesses perpetrated by the ignorant who rely upon their wealth, will burn in one compact flame as the fire burns the jungle on which it has seized. 2. The honourable, though they become through destitution mere bones and skin, will they follow those who are destitute of proper dispositions, to make known their afflictions to them? Or will they refrain from telling the trouble which they endure to the great (or wise), who are beforehand intuitively acquainted with them? 3. If it be that they are like those who say, as soon as others see their wives, Alas, the chastity of our wives is in danger! being afraid, place us outside and give us rice,—on this account forsake associating with the rich. 4. The estimation of the excellent will bestow on us good in this life. It will stand unswervingly in the way of goodness, and it will afford benefits to be enjoyed in the next birth. That estimation is good indeed, O thou who sheddest a delicious scent from thy hair! 5. The excellent will not do the things which will bring upon them the effects of sin in another birth, or disgrace in this birth, though it should cost them their lives. Death will cause trouble for only a moment in one day; there is nothing like sin, which will cause grievous and long-enduring misery. 6. Among all those who live in this fertile and wide world, those who give not alms to others, amongst the rich, though exceeding rich, are poor indeed; while those who go not to beg alms of the rich, though they have become exceedingly poor, are indeed illustrious. 7. All who are in the lowest grade of virtue dread pinching hunger; all who are in the middle grade will fear affliction. O thou with long lance-shaped eyes, whose brows are spread like a bow on each side! the highest grade of all will fear the reproach uttered against them by others. 8. These are the good, these are the liberal givers, but they are now become poor. When the rich, thus reviling them, cast upon them a contemptuous smile, the minds of the eminently excellent will burn, like the fire in the smith's forge when excited by the bellows 9. The shame which is caused by not

giving alms to those who desire of us, is not modesty. Nor is the shame which one feels every day who flees from battle, modesty. But true modesty is that shame which will not suffer us to declare the wrongs inflicted on us by our enemies in the day of our distress. 10. The tiger of the forest having slain an elk, will not eat it, but will leave it if it fall on the left side. In like manner, could the excellent by a sacrifice of principle obtain all the wealth that exists under the wide-extended heavens, they would not even desire it.

CHAPTER 31.—*Dread of mendicity.*

Will those who possess clear understanding follow after such men as constantly revile them, saying, These poor men will become rich through our means; they cannot acquire wealth of themselves? 2. Does not a man's death and his birth take place (frequently) in the twinkling of an eye? Is it, therefore, a reproach to a man if he starve and keep his integrity inviolate, rather than fill his stomach by the disgraceful practice of mendicity? 3. There are none who, using poverty as a pretext, venturing on beggary, do not go to others for assistance in the way of meanness. Will the excellent then go for alms to any others but to those who will embrace them and say, Come to my house and eat? 4. Though Lakshmî withdraw from them and God be angry, the excellent will not stand with bended neck before the ignorant who bury their money in the earth, and who contemplate not heavenly things with constant minds. 5. Living without begging from friends, strong in affection and who are like the apple of our eyes, who withhold not their assistance from us, is life indeed. Since one's mind melts with anguish when one reflects on a life of mendicity, what must their feelings be who receive alms! 6. Since it is a means of removing the affliction of poverty for one to beg for himself, then let affliction be my portion, and let precious wealth depart from me. Of what use is it for him to ask alms of his neighbour with a mind racked with covetous desires and eyes dimmed with tears? 7 O lord of the mountains from whose sides fall streams which throw up gold! though a person be born again and again in the world who will not allow himself to reproach beggars, yet (so few are such persons) it must be said he belongs not to this world. 8. If a person being tormented with poverty, rejecting true wisdom and allowing ignorance to abide in his mind, goes to a person and says, Give me alms, and if the person so asked refuse to give, will he not die from very shame at that moment? 9. Is the gently walking in the way of asceticism more grievous than the saying to others, Give me at least something, thus debasing one's dignity of the custom of doing homage to others, to whom he has attached himself by making their acquaintance? 10. Let a person, on the ground of old acquaintance, do that benevolence which is fitting in the way of affection to others if they be unworthy of that benevolence. A fire unquenchable pressed down in their minds will consume them (till they perish).

CHAPTER 32.—*Experience in (conducting of) assemblies.*

1. Before the learned men who are confused in mind, who conduct themselves according to their so-called wisdom, smiting with their hands, reiterating again and again their foolish observations, and who disturb the proper order of the assembly, gently desist from uttering words of wisdom. 2. The eminently wise will not consort with the evil poet who comes into the assembly as if he were a learned man, reciting some poem of another's which he has learned; that evil poet entering into the assembly will reproach the people who are there, or if not, to disgrace them, will smite his own shoulder and rise up to commence strife. 3. There are many men who speak many words, who love to commence strife with others, esteeming their own words unanswerable (or overpowering in speech), who understand not how to argue convincingly with their opponents, and who know not (how to acknowledge themselves) beaten. 4. The simpleton, not being able to acquire any learning for himself, goes into the assembly of the learned, and reciting as his own a stanza which he has learned from some schoolboy, exposes thereby his own ignorance. 5. Those who rise up to show the wisdom or the power of their words, and consort with angry persons who, opposing others with wrathful minds, receive not what is fr[illegible] contend alone for victory, like wild b[illegible] see their own teeth, like the seeds of [illegible] in their hands. 6. When the ign[illegible] a poem without understanding [illegible] speak anger-exciting words, the [illegible] imperishable renown, being great.

them, will stand grieving much for her who bare them. 7. Science is easily acquired by all obedient students, like the shoulders of courtezans who take all they can get. But the substance of acquired learning is as difficult to be understood as are the inward instructions of those courtezans beauteous in body as flower-buds. 8. Those learned men who collect plenty of books bring them and fill up every room in their houses, and yet understand *them* not, are of one kind, while those learned men who both understand *their purport* and are able to explain them to others are of another kind. 9. O lord of the extended hills where the wild oxen resort in herds! can the works of these persons be called excellent and faultless commentaries who construct them not in these four methods —concisely, copiously, catechetically, and paraphrastically? 10. Will those who are not born of a good family, no matter how much learning they have acquired, will they become suffi*ciently wise to pass over, without censuring, the* faults which occur in the speech of others? The truly learned make as if they knew not the despicable learning of those who understand not their exposition of science.

CHAPTER 33.—*Defective knowledge.*

1. The learned will esteem as precious the speech of those friends who declare to them the gracious way of wisdom. The base, who are esteemed as worthless, will abuse and revile them. The ladle appreciates not the flavour of the milk-porridge. 2. Though men destitute of rectitude listen to those who are destitute of envy, when they declare the way of virtue, yet they give no heed, just as the *chakler's* dog, which seizes and devours leather, knows not how to appreciate the taste of rice and milk. 3. Although they see by numerous examples the way by which their precious life may depart in the twinkling of an eye, yet they do not good even to the extent of a grain of millet. What does it matter whether such stupid, shameless (persons) live, or whether they die? 4. Since the days of life are few, and to our life there is no continuing stay, and since it is reviled (or contemned) by many, why should any one nourish fierce hatred in his heart in secret, and not be friendly with those he may meet. 6. If a person going before a public assembly abusively reproach another, and the reproached reviles not in turn but remains quiet, if the reviler thereafter live on and prosper, he will indeed be an object of astonishment to all (who see him). 6. The hard words, Get out and go away, will be uttered by the female slave in his own house, while she pushes him out, to him who, before old age comes upon him, perseveres not in performing deeds of virtue. 7. Men of small understanding fruitlessly spend their day of life; since they themselves enjoy not their wealth, they bestow no benefit on the good. They attain not the excellent way of life, which would be a strong fortress for them, and with confused minds do they rely on their wealth. 8. The foolish man who in the time of youth binds not up as a viaticum the rice needful for the road on which he travels, but binds up his money (like an orange) and says, Hereafter we will do the requisite acts of charity,—when with the hand he makes a sign that he wishes a bag of gold to be brought, the relations will say he wants a sour wood-apple. 9. Men of *small understanding* who in time of adversity and dangerous sickness anxiously think of another world, in the time of prosperity think not of another birth, even to the extent of a grain of mustard-seed. 10. Alas! though men of defective understanding see Yama surrounding with his rope to take away those precious ones, immeasurably beloved, dear as their own lives, what is it? Though they have acquired these children, they think not of virtue, but fruitlessly waste their days of life.

CHAPTER 34.—*Ignorance.*

1. The quality of those who greatly rejoice in the act of domestic joy in this life, while they continually behold Yama slaughtering their lives, even Yama the great and mighty in slaughter, is like that of a tortoise which its captors have put in a pot of water, while they kindle a fire (to boil it), which sports in the water, being ignorant of its real condition. 2. The quality of those who have resolved, saying, After we have performed all the duties incumbent upon us in the domestic state, we will learn the way of virtue, is like the speech of those who having gone down to the sea to bathe, said, We will begin to bathe as soon as the noise has altogether ceased. 3. The ignorance of the customs of the world anciently renowned, faultless and full of excellence, in one who has obtained without let or hindrance these five things,—caste, penance, learning, high birth, and preëminence,

—is like rice-milk destitute of butter (therefore tasteless). 4. Though great stones do not understand the speech of men, yet since they do what is required of them, as standing, sitting, lying down, or moving, they are far more useful than a fool (as it is impossible to induce a fool to act as we wish him). 5. If a fool, when angry with others, with any cause for anger,—like one who supposes he has made an acquisition, without having really obtained anything—bewildered by passion, cannot crowd together abusive words, his tongue tingles all over. 6. The worthless friendships of those who say, We will make them our own, while they follow those who have no friendship for them, O lord of the sea-shore where the *punnei* with fair blossoms grows! is as it were losing one's arm in striking another with a stone. 7. As the ants without intermission walk round and round the outside of the pot in which there is butter, though it be impossible to get at it, so men of the world will never learn, but cleave to those rich men who never give them anything. 8. Will they not abhor the days of life who daily enjoy not good, who practise not virtue, who give not to the destitute, who enjoy not their own wives (but seek to dishonour others'), and who live not a life commended by others? 9. Friendship with those who say, We care not for their commendation, when those who love them praise them, and who are destitute of all tried good qualities, although by it one should be able to obtain the whole earth surrounded by the sea with rolling harsh-resounding waves, will be only affliction. 10. When a man's neighbours commend one on account of his learning, wide-extended fame, and high birth, he shall obtain glory. But if he himself speak of these things, his brother-in-law will mock him, saying, He is a lunatic who cannot be cured by any medicine.

CHAPTER 35.—*Meanness.*

1. Though one every morning, as a necessary duty, put bruised grain into the mouth of the fowl, it desists not from turning up the dunghill; so though one explain books of science of great importance, yet the mean man will the more follow the path most agreeable to his mind. 2. When one proposes, saying, Let us go at once to the abode of the perfect, who have acquired learning which establishes the mind, the base will rise up and say, Let us go to sleep, or if not, they will say something else equally foolish and refuse to go altogether. 3. Though the excellent obtain great honour, they swerve not from their former disposition, but follow one line of conduct. O lord of the fair land of copious streams! though the base obtain great honour, they too alter not their line of conduct. 4. If one confer a benefit upon them even as small as a grain of millet, the excellent will consider it to be as large as a palmyra-tree. O lord of the fair land of sparkling steams! though a benefit as large as a palmyra be daily conferred upon him, the ignorant mean man has no gratitude (it is considered as no benefit at all by those who are ungrateful for the good done to them). 5. Though the dog be delicately nourished and fed from a golden dish, yet it will ever be earnestly looking out for the leavings of others. Thus the acts of the base-minded, though they are esteemed as honourable persons, will not correspond with their rank in life. 6. The worthy, though they have attained the wealth of the world, will at no time indulge in haughty speech, but if the mean have acquired the wealth of one *cani* ($\frac{1}{80}$ part) added to one *munthiri* ($\frac{1}{320}$) they will regard themselves as great as Indra king of heaven. 7. Though the shoe be wrought with excellent gems set in the purest gold, yet it is intended for the foot of its owner. In like manner, though the mean-minded be very rich, yet he will be found out by his deeds. 8. O lord of the fair and victorious land of mighty hills! the base man is mighty in speaking harsh words. He regards no one, laughs at the misery of others, grows more and more enraged and will continually reproach others. 9. O lord of the cool shores of the sea where the honey-producing *Nay* (a water-flower) grows, resounding with waves! if persons remain with them many days, the excellent will say, These are old friends, and will show kindness to them, whereas the base-minded will hate and revile them. 10. Though men take away the plucked-up grass from the bullock and give it to the heifer, and thus feed it up for many days, yet it will never be strong enough to be yoked to a cart. O king, hear! Though the base are very rich, yet their deeds will betray them.

CHAPTER 36.—*Baseness or Envy.*

1. Those who have knowledge bound up in their minds, though young in years, watch over, keep, and restrain themselves. The ignorant, though old in years, go on ...

evil deeds, and, like the reed, never lose their hollowness. 2. Though the frog dwells always in the beauteous and wide pool it never divests itself of its slime; and though those who have no sound knowledge learn faultless and illustrious sciences, yet they have not ability to understand them. 3. O good lord of the heaped-up mountain land! while it is indecorous to extol the good qualities of persons before their faces, what are those wretches' tongues made of, who, standing in the presence of those persons, declare their faults, for the purpose of destroying their reputation? 4. O beauteous and fair matron! women of high birth will not set off their beauty by ornaments as slave-girls. Courtesans who thus pride themselves on their dress will pass away (fruitlessly) or despised by all, just like the sudden swelling of a river, which soon passes off altogether. 5. Those mean persons are of the nature of the chisel, which without being struck will not even penetrate a tender leaf, though resting upon it; they will give nothing to the kind-hearted, but will give anything to those who employ force, if they meet them. 6. The mountaineer thinks of his mountains, the husbandman of his productive lands, the wise think of the special benefits they have received from others, and the fool thinks only of the abuse he has received. 7. For one good turn they have received from another the wise will endure a hundred evils afterwards inflicted. But if they have received a hundred good turns and have suffered only one evil turn, fools will consider the hundred good turns as evil. 8. The base in prosperity will not do these things which those who are of high birth will do even in adversity. Though one place rings (of gold) upon the tusks of a hog, O thou who hast eyes like a lance! it will never become a warlike elephant. 9. Many persons fade away like the lotus-leaf (having been obliged to alter their tone of speech) after they exultingly boasted of their intention to others, saying, To-day we will grow rich; yea, this very day we will grow rich; after a time we will grow rich. 10. The *seidei*-plant, though growing in water and green in colour, has no moisture in it. So the world has in it persons who are as useless as the great stony rocks, though they abound in great wealth.

CHAPTER 37.—*Miscellanies.*

1. Though it be a building on which the clouds creep, a fort exceeding strong, shining resplendent with the gems stored up in it, of what benefit is it? The house of him who has no beloved and excellent wife is to the view a dreadful forest. 2. Though they be guarded (as it were) with naked swords, with unrelaxing vigilance, should there be the smallest possible relaxation of that vigilance, the period will be short indeed before they begin to act ignominiously. And long indeed will that period last during which softly speaking females will not desire to return to proper conduct. 3. The woman who bold in opposition threatens blows is as death. She who resorts not to her kitchen betimes in the morning is an incurable disease, and she who gives grudgingly the food she has prepared is a household devil. Women of these three kinds are a destroying weapon to their husbands. 4. Though he is advised to eschew marriage, he eschews it not; though the sound of the dead-drum pierces his ear he heeds it not. Moreover the wise say that the delusion which leads him to think that matrimony is indeed a pleasant state is a crime worthy to be punished by stoning. 5. The highest grade of virtue is living in persevering austerities. The middle grade of virtue is living in marriage with wives who are dear to us. The lowest grade of all is, thinking that money does not come in fast enough, covetously to follow after and abide with those persons who know us not. 6 The chiefest of the learned are those who spend their time in learning many sciences. The next in rank are those who give to the worthy the goods acquired by merit in a former birth, and thus pass their time. The lowest of all are those who cannot sleep for envy, arising from the feeling that they have not fared luxuriously, or obtained sufficient wealth. 7. As the fruitful shoot of the red-grained rice becomes afterwards itself red rice and flourishes, O lord of the city (Indra) surrounded by fruitful fields which are covered by red rice! in the same manner the learning of the father becomes the learning of the son. 8. The wealthy and the excellent perish, while the sons of concubines and the base wax great, the lower place becoming the upper place. Thus the world subsists, the lower part becoming the upper part of an umbrella. 9. O good lord of the victorious mountain-land where the falling streams sweep along gems! it were better that

those who when they hear their dear friends declaring the affliction of their minds, have no desire to alleviate their sorrows, should die by casting themselves down from a mountain top than that they should live. 10. If we impartially examine the two things, it will be found that the inundation of the river and the love of beauteous and desirable courtesans are alike. If the rains fail, the inundation will cease; and if their lovers' money is expended, those courtesans' love for them will fail also.

CHAPTER 38.—*Courtesans.*

1. If you impartially investigate the two things, it will be found that there is no difference between the shining light of a lamp and the love of courtesans. When the oil is exhausted, the light of the lamp vanishes, and when the money of their lovers is gone, their love also evaporates. 2. The fair and beautiful matron who is adorned with chosen jewels (a courtesan) said, I will go with you to the top of the mountain and cast myself down from it for your sake. But when he said, My money is gone, she came weeping, stating that her foot was painfully swollen and she could not go up the mountain, and left altogether. 3. Let them (*i. e.* their lovers) be even as fair as Indra, the red-eyed, who is worshipped by the gods in the beauteous and wide-spread heavens,—courtesans, like freshly plucked mango-leaves, will politely dismiss them, and send them away as soon as their money is exhausted. 4. Those who have no property are as poison to the lotus-eyed beautiful courtesans, who are destitute of all goodness of mind; while those who in the sight of all have acquired their wealth by working the oil-mill will be as delicious as sugar. 5. (Only) those fools who like wild beasts will come near courtesans, who act as the *vilanga*-fish, which shows its one end to the shark and its other end to the fish in the clear pool, filled with honey-producing flowers. 6. If the golden-braceleted one who has affirmed, saying, As the perforated bead leaves not the thread on which it is strung, and as the *andril*-bird which never leaves its mate, I will never separate from you,—if she becomes, like the horn of the ram, turned away from its fellow, O my poor heart! will you still remain with her, or will you come away with me? 7. They shall be derided by many who are delighted with the love of courtesans (thinking that they are their friends), who, like the wild cow, lick the hands of men, at the same time poisoning them, and who are like the *ghyal* in jumping and running away when they have spoiled their lovers of their property, and yet imagine that they are their friends! 8. Courtesans rejoice and appear as friends while their lovers have aught to give; but when they have exhausted their wealth, then they show themselves as enemies and become (estranged from them), as the horn of a ram twisted from its fellow. Those who come not near the full-breasted courtesans whose eyes roll like the deer, yet leave not off their way of sin, may well say, We have attained the right way. 9. Those who imagine the beauteous courtesans who hide within them the disposition that will afterwards injure them, even when they speak lowly words in order to create confidence, and who, believing these words to be true, imagine them to be their friends, possess their own bodies for themselves alone, and not for any benefit to be done to others. 10. Even at the time when those who have bodies laden with sin have by inquiry found out all the crafty intentions which beautiful-browed courtesans whose minds are fixed upon others have conceived against them, they walk as though they knew them not.

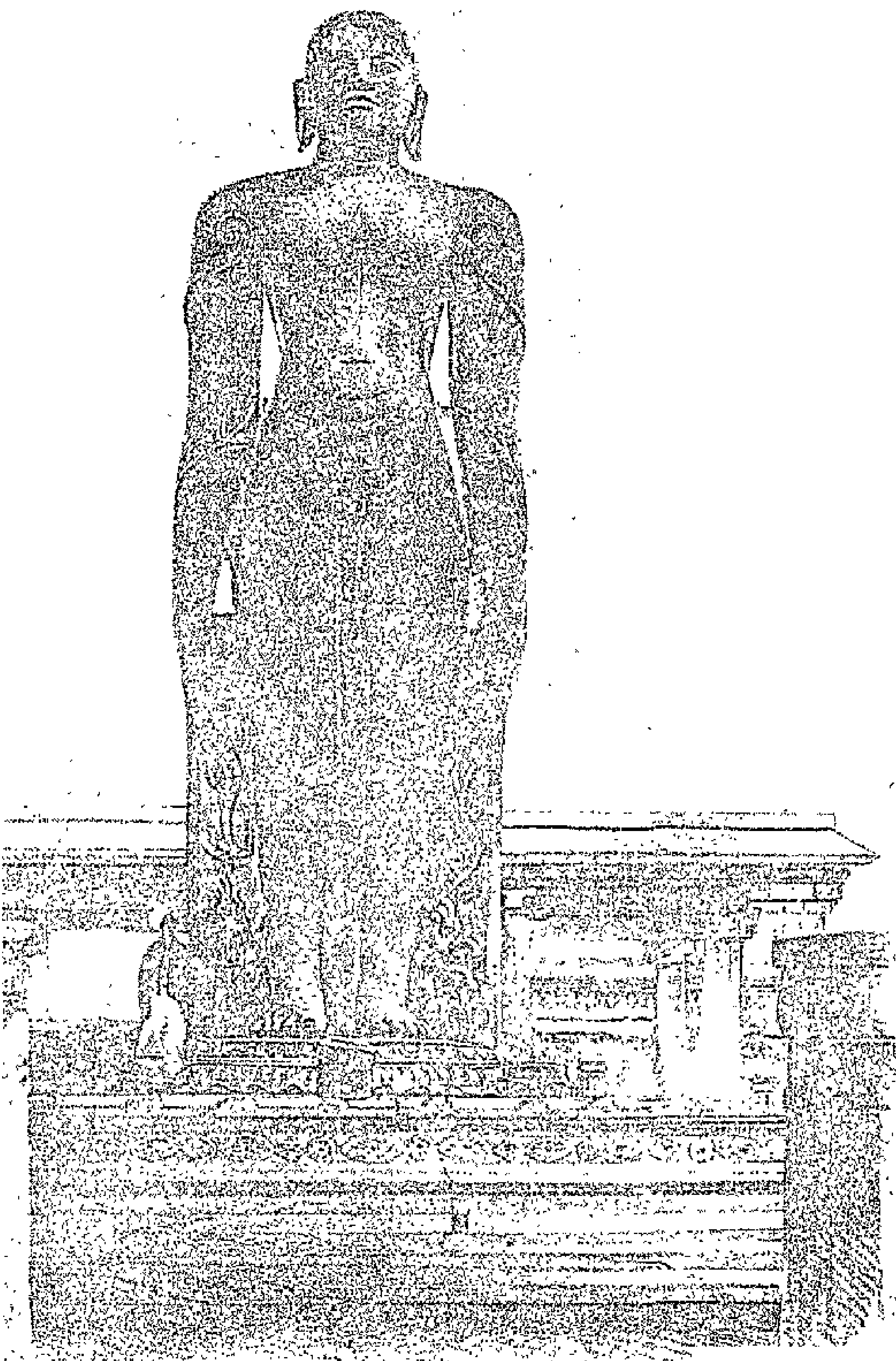
CHAPTER 39.—*Chaste Women.*

1. Though women be high in reputation and equal to the goddess Ayrani in conjugal fidelity, they must carefully avoid those who love them and follow them in hopes of gratification, for such caution is the safeguard of the virtue of matrons with perfumed foreheads. 2. If in time of distress, when the meal of the whole family is cooked by the water of a small pot, if a host of relatives sufficient to consume the water of the sea should come all at once, the softly-speaking woman, who shows herself as bounteous as the ocean, is the glory of her house. 3. Though her house be open on the four quarters, though it be exceedingly small, and though the rain pour in on every side, a chaste and virtuous woman will be honoured in the place where she resides, and her habitation respected. 4. She who is pleasing to the eye, who in all things gratifies her husband according to his desire, and at all times stands in awe of him, whose modesty is so conspicuous as to shame her sex, and in all her love-quarrels with him acts with such prudence that reconciliation affords him increased delight, this mildly-speaking matron is truly a woman. 5. Whenever our husbands

embrace our shoulders, we feel ashamed as if we saw them for the first time. What pleasure, then, can these women enjoy who from the desire of money endure daily the embraces of many? 6. Riches in the possession of a generous man resemble in their effects the learning acquired by a man of great natural ability. The chastity of a modest woman is like a sharp sabre in the hands of a courageous man. 7. As if when we had by us red and black gram at the same rate of six measures for a *fanam*, his breast, which is like a hill, after having embraced many fair women altogether inferior to me, comes unwashed to embrace me also. My husband comes to embrace me with his unwashed breast like a hill, after having embraced the bosoms of fair-browed ones who are not like me. 8. O poet, speak not harshly to me! for if you so speak I shall be to my husband like the left side of the tambour, which gives no sound. Wherefore lift up thy feet and gently retire from me; speak to those (strange women) who are to him like the right side of the tambour, which gives forth sound. 9. I am she who was afflicted when flies flew around my husband, who possesses the cool field, where the reeds being plucked up, the waters shine. I am she who when sparks of fire fly about him and (courtesans) fight against it with their opposing breasts, still endure life, though I look upon his wide bosom adorned with sandal-powder. 10. O singer, utter not that gross falsehood, saying, He who wears a garland of buds loosely strung together will be kind to me. I am not dear to him, but am like the flower of the sugarcane (which is destitute of sweetness). Speak these words to them who are like the middle joints of the cane and sweet to him.

CHAPTER 40.—*De Amore.*

1. O lord of the cool shore of the wide-extended backwaters, whose pellucid waves dash along with unceasing noise! if one live not in matrimony the body will suffer in health. If there are no love-quarrels between man and wife, marriage will be tame indeed. 2. The sound of the approaching monsoon booming in every quarter of the heavens from the rain-fraught clouds is like that of the death-drum to a wife separated from her husband, for he promised to return before the rains set in. They are setting in, and therefore she fears that he is no more, or else he would have returned. 3. At eventide, when darkness prevents mechanics from distinguishing their tools, the wife will select blooming flowers, and after having strung them on a thread, will cast away the garland from her weeping, and will say, Of what use will this garland be to me, whose husband is absent? 4. Does not my wife, while reclining on her couch and counting with her taper fingers the days I had appointed for my absence, reproach me for my absence, while she wipes away one by one the tears which fall from her eyes, red with weeping as she beholds the setting sun? 5. The kingfisher, mistaking my wife's eyes for a *gyal*-fish, will fly after her, but when it sees her beautiful eyebrow it will forbear to strike, afraid and supposing it a bow. 6. When the *henna*-dyed cotton was applied to the foot of my daughter of beauteous form, and whose mouth is perfumed like the red lotus, she would say, Gently, gently, and withdraw her foot lest it should be hurt by the cotton. How then will that foot be able to travel the gravelly paths of the forest? 7. In the golden and ruddy-tinted eventide, when the sound of the stylus on the palm-leaves is hushed, the wife separated from her husband, while she thinks of his absence, will tear off her garland and cast it from her, wiping off the sandal paste which adorns her beauteous form. 8. O thou with shining bracelets! you asked me saying, Will you be able to follow him through the paths of the forest difficult to be traversed? As a person who has bought a horse immediately learns to ride, if I did not previously know how to do so, so will I learn to follow him. 9. I understood not yesterday what she meant when she so closely embraced me [the mother is speaking]. Now I do understand what she meant, *viz.* that to-day she would leave me and follow her husband through the forest-paths by which the timid deer flee away from the tiger. 10. I upbraid not the three-eyed Śiva, nor the crow, nor the hooded serpent,—they have not sinned against me. Nor do I upbraid my mother who bore me—O thou who hast breasts like the buds of the golden-coloured *congon*-flower! But I do complain of the path which has taken away my husband from me,—who has left me for the sake of gain.



THE JAINA STATUE AT KÂRKALA.

# ON THE COLOSSAL JAIN STATUE AT KÂRKAḶA, IN THE SOUTH KANARA DISTRICT.

BY A. C. BURNELL, Esq., M.C.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

There is every reason to believe that the Jains were for long the most numerous and most influential sect in the Madras Presidency, but there are now few traces of them except in the Maisur and Kanara Country; and in the South Kanara district, though still numerous, they are fast becoming extinct. Their shrines are still kept up in South Kanara, and the priesthood, members of which are distinguished by the title 'Indra,' are numerous if not well informed.

The accompanying plate is from a photograph of one of the most famous colossal Jain statues in Southern India, which is at Kârkaḷa, in South Kanara. It is on the top of a hill, a rounded mass of gneiss of some elevation, and is visible from several miles' distance. The block from which it has been cut was evidently taken from the southern slope of the hill, and, as the figure is 41 feet 5 inches high and weighs about 80 tons, it almost rivals the Egyptian statues in size, though its artistic merit is not nearly so great. The date is given in an inscription near the right foot of the statue, and the native is (in the plate) represented leaning against it. It is in Sanskrit but in the Halakannada character, and is only partly legible, owing to the exfoliation to which gneiss is peculiarly subject when exposed to the weather. It runs :*

Line 1. Śrî.................. ..ikhyâ-
2. to [ .................. (? maṇḍ)aleśvaraḥ ||
3. yo 'bhût Lalitakî-
4. rtyâkhyas tan munîndropade-
5. śataḥ || Svasti Śrî Śakabhûpati-
6. tribâṇavahni n)dan virodhyâ-
7. dikṛidvarshe phâlgunasya-
8. myavâradhavaladvâ-
9. daśidivase Śrîsomâ-
10. nvayabhairavendrasûnu-
11. jaśrîvîrapâṇḍyeśinâ ni(ya)-
12. mitya pratimâ 'tra Bâ-
13. hubalino [']yât pra-
14. tishṭhitâ || Śakavarsha
15. 1353 nilpâṇḍyaviya.

"May the worship-worthy† statue of Bâhubalin consecrated here by Śrî Vîrapâṇḍyeśin, son of Bhairavendra, of the Lunar race, on the bright 12th lunar day, Wednesday, in Phâlguna of the (cycle) year Virodhyâdikṛit,‡ in the Śaka prince's year 1353, be victorious!"

The remains of the śloka which commenced the inscription show that this statue was probably consecrated by advice of Vîrapâṇḍya's guru, by name Lalitakîrti. Its date =1432 A.D. Vîrapâṇḍya seems to have been a Jain feudatory of Vidyânagara, at Ikkêri above the ghâṭs but his successors seem to have been bigoted Lingaits, and to have much contributed to the decay of the Jains in South Kanara.

Graul (in his *Reise*, I. p. 135) mentions this statue and describes it accurately, but omits mention of the inscription.

In the same position on the opposite side of the statue, there are a few words of a shorter inscription still visible, but when I was there, in August 1872, the heavy rain had covered the stone with moss and slime, and I could not make out more than a few words to the same effect as the inscription already given.

The purpose of these colossal statues has been questioned, but I am not aware of any explanation having been given. I would suggest the following. The Jain saints are said to have been giants in size according to the fabulous stature of men in the ages in which they lived, but which has been, the Jains say, gradually decreasing. Bâhubalin as a son of Vṛishabhanâtha,§ the first *Tîrthaṅkara*, is thus assumed to be of enormous height. Now in Southern India the statues of the Jain saints vary in size,|| corresponding with the height assigned in the *Purâṇas*, and thus where temples are dedicated to an earlier saint the statue is necessarily left exposed; as to enclose it in a cell, as is done in the Hindu and most Jain temples, would involve a greater expense than a small sect could afford, especially as the Jains are not very

* My corrections and additions are marked by ( ).

† Niyama or nema is used in South Kanara to express 'worship' or 'religious ceremony.'

‡ The Jains often employ the Hindu names of cycle years and similar words.

§ The legend says that he was so absorbed in meditation in a forest that climbing plants grew over him. (See the plate.)

|| There was, some years ago, a complete set of statues of the Tîrthaṅkaras thus marked by gradation in size, at the Jain temple of Tiruparuttikuṇṛam, near Conjeveram.

zealous about mere ceremonies. The cloisters and entrance to the enclosures round these colossal Jain statues are precisely like those in other temples, and there is a *pîṭha* for offerings in front of the statue.

The dedication of a temple to a saint not a Tîrthaṅkara is remarkable. The Digambara Jains of Southern India differ, however, entirely from their fellows of the North, in doctrine, books, and customs.

A. B.

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## PAPERS ON ŚATRUÑJAYA AND THE JAINS.

### BY THE EDITOR.

### *V.—Śatruñjaya Hill.*

Like other sects the *Jainas* have their *Tîrthas* or holy places, which they visit for worship at stated periods, in vast pilgrim-bands called *Saṅghas*, numbering many thousands, from Gujarât, Marwâḍ, Gangetic India, and elsewhere. They enumerate five great *tîrthas*:—Śatruñjaya, Samet Śikhar or Mount Pârśvanâtha in Bihâr, Arbuda or Abu in Sirohi, Girnâr in Surâshṭra, and Chandragiri in the Himâlayas. At these places we naturally expect the oldest Jaina remains, and, according to the *Tapâ Jaina Paṭâvali*, *Jaina* temples were first built in the year 882 Virâta, or Saṁvat 412, A.D. 355. At Girnâr we have probably their oldest existing remains, but none of them approach to this antiquity, and few anywhere date earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century of our era.

Śatruñjaya or Śatruñji is a solitary mountain lying to the south of the town of Pâlitâṇâ, and rising to nearly 2000 feet above the sea-level. Its summit is covered with temples, and, from their extent and celebrity, they are perhaps second in interest to none elsewhere. Like other *tîrthas* it has its *mâhâtmya* or legend; and the Śatruñjaya *Mâhâtmya*, in glorification of the hill as a place of pilgrimage, claims to be the oldest Jaina document we possess,—dating as far back as A.D. 420 according to some, and according to Weber, in A.D. 598.* It professes to have been composed by Dhaneśvara at Valabhi, by command of Śîlâditya, king of Surâshṭra. But the author would have us believe his authorities were of the remotest antiquity, for he begins by telling that, at the request of Ṛishabhanâtha, Puṇḍarîka, the leader of this *gaṇa* (*Gaṇâdhipa*) had long ago composed a *mâhâtmya* of Śatruñjaya in 100,000 *pada*; and that Sudharmâ, the leader of Vîra's *gaṇa*, by his master's direction, made an abstract of it in 24,000 verses, from which Dhaneśvara, "the humiliator of the Buddhists, composed the present work." † It is a long panegyric in Sanskṛit verse, extending to about 8700 lines, put into the mouth of Mahâvîra, the last Tîrthaṅkara, who, on his visiting Śatruñjaya, is requested by Indra to relate the legend of the mountain sacred to Âdinâtha.‡ Accordingly he proceeds not only to tell the strictly Jaina legends of the hill, but interweaves with them long episodes of Brâhmaṇic mythology, such as the history of Râma, the war of the Kurus and Pâṇḍavas, and stories of Kṛishṇa, altering them as he pleases.

According to the *Mâhâtmya*, the hill boasts no less than a hundred and eight names, and as many distinct *śikharas* or peaks, uniting it with the sister-*tîrthas* of Abu and Girnâr,—many of them very low, if not quite invisible. Of its names, the following is a selection:—

Śatruñjaya—the etymology of which is thus given in the *Mâhâtmya*: "Formerly there lived in Chandrapura a cruel king named Kaṇḍu. Aroused by a voice from heaven, he went into the forest, and was there overcome by the cow Surabhî, bound by a Yaksha, and exposed in a cave in the forest. Thereby he attained the knowledge of his guilt. His *gotradevî* or family goddess, Ambikâ, then appeared to him and advised him to go on pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya; and on the way he met a Mahâmuni, who taught him fully. Through

* Of course this date must depend on that of Mahâvîra's death, to which it professes to be 947 years subsequent, or 477 after the era of Vikramârka.

† Weber, *Çatr. Mâhât*, p. 15.

‡ There is also a prose version of it.

ascending the hill he obtained the victory (*jaya*) over his enemy (*śatru*)—sin." * Tod, professing to have extracted it from the *Mâhâtmya* also, gives the following legend: "In distant ages Sukha Râja ruled in Pâlitâṇâ. By the aid of magic, his younger brother assumed his appearance and took possession of the royal cushion. The dispossessed prince wandered about the forests, and during twelve years daily 'poured fresh water from the stream on the image of Sidnâth,' who, pleased with his devotion, gave him victory (*jaya*) over his foe (*śatru*), and in gratitude he enshrined the god upon the mount, hence called Śatruñjaya. The hill must therefore have been originally dedicated to Śiva, one of whose chief epithets is Sidnâtha, as lord of the ascetics,—a title never given, I believe, to Âdinâtha, the first of the Jainas."†

Vimalâdri,—height of purification; Puṇḍarîka-parvata, or Hill of Puṇḍarîka, the principal disciple of Rishabhanâtha; Siddhikshetra, Siddhâdri, and Siddhâbhûbhrit,—Hill of the Holy land; Sura Śaila, Rock of the gods; Puṇyarâśi,—bestower of virtue; Muktigeha, place of beatitude; Mahâtîrtha, the great place of pilgrimage; Sarva Kâmada, realising all desires; Prithvîpîṭha, the crown of the earth; and Pâtâlamûla, having its foundation in the lower regions.‡

"Whatever purity," says the *Mâhâtmya*, "may be acquired by prayers, penances, vows, charity, and study, in other artificial *tîrthas*, cities, groves, hills, &c., tenfold more is acquired in Jaina *tîrthas*, a hundred-fold more at the *chaityas* of the *Jambû-tree*, a thousand-fold more at the everlasting *Dhâtakî-tree*, at the lovely *chaitya* of Pushkaradvîpa, at the mountain Anjana. Yet ten-fold more still is obtained at the Nandîśvara, Kuṇḍalâdri, Mânushottaraparvata.§ In proportion, ten thousand times more at the Vaibhâra,|| Sametâdri, Vaitâḍhya, Merû, Raivata,¶ and Ashtâpada.* Infinitely more, however, is already obtained by the mere sight of Śatruñjaya. Last, it cannot be told how much is acquired by devoting oneself to the worship of it." † Elsewhere the author exclaims, "I have heard, O ye gods! from the mouth of Śrîmat Sîmandhara Svâmî, when once I went to the Kshetra Mahâvideha: Any, and ever so great a sinner, by worshipping Śrî Śatruñjaya, is absolved from sin and becomes a partaker of perfection."

From Pâlitâṇâ to the foot of the hill there is a very straight and level stretch of broad clean road, lined on either side with banian or *bar* trees, and other species of the *ficus* tribe. It has at intervals *kundas* and *bâvlis*, reservoirs and wells, of pure water, excavated by Jaina votaries. At the foot of the hill the ascent begins with a wide flight of steps, guarded on either side by a statue of an elephant. At this place there are many little canopies or cells, a foot and a half to three feet square, open only in front, and each having in its floor a marble slab carved with the representation, in *bas-relief*, of the soles of two feet (*charana*)—very flat ones—and generally with the toes all of one length. A little behind where the ball of the great toe ought to be, there is a diamond-shaped mark, divided into four smaller figures by two cross-lines, from the end of one of which a waved line is drawn to the front of the foot. Round the edges of the slab there is usually an inscription in Devanâgarî characters. These cells are numerous all the way up the hill, and a large group of them is found on the south-west corner of it, behind the temple of Âdîśvara Bhagavâna:—they are the temples erected by poorer Sravakas or Jainas, who—unable to afford the expense of a complete temple, with its hall and sanctuary enshrining a marble *murti* or image—manifest their devotion to their creed by erecting these miniature temples over the *charana* of their Jinas or Arhats.

The hill is in many places excessively steep.

* Weber, *Über das Çatr. Mâhât.* p. 17.

† *Travels in Western India*, pp. 277, 278.

‡ To these the *Mâhâtmya* adds Mahâbala, Śrîyahpada, Parvatendra, Subhadra, Dridhaśakti, Akarmaka, Sarvata, Pushpadanta, Mahâpadma, Prabhokpada, Kailâsa, and Kshitimandanamandana (I. 331—334).

§ Colebrooke, *Essays*, vol. II. p. 229; *Asiat. Res.* vol. IX. p. 320; Wilson, *Vishnu Purâna*, p. 200.

|| One of the hills surrounding Râjagriha, the ancient capital of Magadha or S. Bihâr. On the top of it and other neighbouring hills there are Jaina temples, and the cave occupied by the great Buddha is still to be seen in one of the hills. See before, vol. I. p. 70

¶ Mount Girnâra.

* Colebrooke, *Essays*, vol. II. p. 208; *Asiat. Res.* vol. IX. p. 300.—The same as Kailâsa.—Hemachandra, *Abhidhâna Chintâmani*, 1028.

† *Śatruñjaya Mâhât.* I. 240–246; Weber, pp. 23 and 60, 61.

and—except *the doli*, a seat 18 inches square, slung from two poles and carried by four Kolis—no mode of conveyance would be even tolerably comfortable either for ascent or descent. The winding path is paved with rough stones all the way up,—only interrupted here and there by regular flights of steps. At frequent intervals also are the rest-houses already mentioned, more pretty at a distance than convenient for actual use, but still deserving of attention.

High up, when near the top, we come to a small temple of Hanumân,—the image of course bedaubed with red lead in ultra-barbaric style; at this point the path bifurcates—to the right leading to the northern peak, and to the left to the valley between, and through it to the southern summit. Ascending by the first of these, we enter through a narrow door into an outer enclosure, at the left corner of which, under a tree, is the shrine or *dargah* of Hengâr, a Musalmân *pîr*; so that Hindu and Muslim alike contend for the representation of their creeds on this sacred hill of the Jainas. This Hengâr or Angârśâ Pîr, they say, when living, "could control the elements," but he was foolish enough to try his mace on Adinâtha, and the Jaina, though unable to protect himself from the blow, struck his enemy dead. His ghost, however, was malicious enough to annoy the *pûjârîs* at their prayers, and in a solemn council they summoned him to state his wishes: "Lay my bones on that corner of the hill," said the ghost, and the matter was settled.

Our endeavours to discover who this saint was, and when he flourished, were equally fruitless with those of Colonel Tod; there seems to be no information respecting him "beyond the tradition that it was in the time of Ghori Belam, nephew of the king of Dehli, who resided in Pâlitâṇâ, and by whom the mosks and *'idgahs*, both inside and outside, were erected." "At present, however," he adds, "the *darvesh* attendants on the tomb of their saint have found it requisite to conform to the rules of the place, and never touch food on the rock, nor partake of animal food below."

The view that presents itself from this point may well arrest the attention. It is magnificent in extent; a splendid setting for the unique picture—this work of human toil we have reached. Just under the brow of the hill to the north, surrounded by clumps of trees, is the town of Pâlitâṇâ, and in all directions the eye wanders over a vast plain, with gentle undulations here and there, and declining away to the east and south-east; generally it is cultivated, though not nearly to the extent it admits of. At intervals the eye falls on groups of umbrageous trees, from beside which peep out the temples and huts of many a village. To the east the prospect extends to the Gulf of Khambhât about Ghogo and Bhâunagar; to the north it is bounded by the granite range of Sihor and the Chamârdi peak; to the north-west and west the plain extends as far as the eye can reach, except where broken, in the far distance due west, by the summits of *Mount* Girnâr—revered alike by Hindu, Buddhist, and Jaina—the latter of whom claim it as sacred to Neminâtha, their twenty-second Tîrthaṅkara, whom they represent as having, after seven hundred years' austerities, become fit to leave this and all worlds on yonder six-peaked mountain, at some date in the far past that would astonish even a geologist. From west to east, like a silver ribbon, across the foreground to the south, winds the Śatruñjaya* river, which the eye follows until it is lost between the Talâjâ and Khokarâ hills in the south-west.

The nearer scene on the hill itself is thus described by the author of the *Râs Mâlâ*:—"Street after street, and square after square," he says, "extend these shrines of the Jaina faith, with their stately enclosures, half palace, half fortress, raised in marble magnificence upon the lonely and majestic mountain, and, like the mansions of another world, far removed in upper air from the ordinary tread of mortals. In the dark recesses of each temple, one image or more of Âdinâtha, of Ajita, or of some other of the Tîrthaṅkaras, is seated, whose alabaster features, wearing an expression of listless repose, are rendered dimly visible by the faint light shed from silver lamps; incense perfumes the air, and barefooted, with noiseless tread, upon the polished floors, the female votaries, glittering in scarlet and gold, move round and round in circles, chanting forth their monotonous, but not unmelodious, hymns. Śatruñjaya indeed might fitly represent one of the fancied hills of Eastern

* Dr. Wilson thinks this is the river mentioned by Ptolemy under the designation of *Codrana* or *Sodrana*. *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. Asiat. Soc.* vol. III. pt. ii. pp. 88, 69. Ptol. *Geog.* lib. vii.

romance, the inhabitants of which have been instantaneously changed into marble, but which fairy hands are ever employed upon, burning perfumes, and keeping all clean and brilliant, while fairy voices haunt the air in these voluptuous praises of the Devas."*

But apart from the poetical exaggeration of this, it is truly a wonderful—a unique place—a *city* of temples,—for, except a few tanks, there is nothing else within the gates. Through court beyond court the visitor proceeds over smooth pavements of grey *chunam*, visiting temple after temple—most of them built of stone quarried near *Gopanāth*, but a few of marble;—all elaborately sculptured, and some of striking proportions. And, as he passes along, the glassy-eyed images of pure white marble seem to peer out at him from hundreds of cloister cells. Such a place is surely without a match in the world: and there is a cleanliness withal about every square and passage, porch and hall, that is itself no mean source of pleasure. The silence too, except at festival seasons, is striking: now and then in the mornings you hear a bell for a few seconds, or the beating of a drum for as short a time, and on holidays chaunts from the larger temples meet your ear, but generally during the after-part of the day the only sounds are those of vast flocks of pigeons that rush about spasmodically from the roof of one temple to that of another. Parroquets and squirrels, doves and ringdoves, abound, and peacocks are occasionally met with on the outer walls.

Independently of the more general features of the scene,—as "the fashionable shrine, on which at the present day the greatest amount of wealth is lavished,"—it must command the special interest of the student of architecture, for, as our greatest authority on the history of this science remarks,—"It is now being covered with new temples and shrines which rival the old buildings not only in splendour, but in the beauty and delicacy of their details, and altogether form one of the most remarkable groups to be found anywhere—the more remarkable if we consider that the bulk of them were erected within the limits of the present century. To the philosophical student of architecture it is one of the most interesting spots on the face of the globe, inasmuch as he can there see the various processes by which Cathedrals were produced in the middle ages, carried on on a larger scale than anywhere else, and in a more natural manner. It is by watching the methods still followed in designing buildings in that remote locality that we become aware how it is that the uncultivated Hindu can *rise in architecture* to a degree of originality and perfection which has not been attained in Europe since the Middle Ages."†

The top of the hill consists of two ridges running nearly east and west, and each about three hundred and eighty yards in length. The southern ridge is higher at the western end than the northern one, but it, in turn, is higher at the eastern extremity. Both ridges and the buildings that fill the valley between are surrounded by battlemented walls fitted for defence. The buildings on both ridges, again, are divided into separate enclosures called *tuks*, generally containing one principal temple, with varying numbers of smaller ones. Each of these enclosures is protected by strong gates and walls, and all gates are carefully closed at sundown. The *tuks* vary greatly in size, the largest of the ten covering nearly the whole of the southern summit, while one of those on the northern ridge contains only two temples. The two largest *tuks*, however, are subdivided by walls with gates.

## LEGENDS FROM DINAJPUR.

BY G. H. DAMANT, B. C. S.

*The Story of the Touchstone.*

In a certain country there lived a king who promised that he would give every one whatever they wished for the space of two hours. When the family priest had finished the distribution of everything, he asked for a present for himself and said he should like to have a touchstone. The king on hearing this was in a great strait, because although he had formerly possessed great wealth he had given it all away, and there was now nothing left; so he sat still, not knowing what to do. His son, seeing him so cast down, asked what was the cause of his anxiety. The king replied

* Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, vol. I. pp. 7, 8. † Fergusson, *History of Architecture* (ed. 1867), vol. II. pp. 630, 632.

"I have given away everything I possessed, there is nothing left in my store; my priest has asked for a touchstone, and I am very anxious about it, because if I do not give it my vow will be broken." On hearing this his son said, "I will bring you the touchstone; do not trouble about it, only ask the priest to grant you six months' time" The king made the request and said to his son, "The Brahman has granted me the six months: do you go now and bring the stone." So his son started on his quest, and when he had travelled three or four days' journey from his home he came to a forest, through which he travelled all evening, and then he found himself surrounded on every side by dense impenetrable forest, where there was no chance of meeting any one, and moreover he was without food and the night was very dark; so he was much cast down, and as he was very tired he sat down under a tree where the cool breeze blew on him, and being worn out with the fatigue of his journey he soon fell asleep. Now a pair of birds had made their nest in that tree, and the hen-bird seeing him said to her mate, "Why has this man come to our tree? he is our guest, and if we let him remain here without food we shall be guilty of a great sin." The cock-bird answered, "I do not know why he has come, and I don't see how we can show him any attention as a guest: have you any plan?" She replied, "You go and catch a fish and I will stay here and watch over him; I have made my plans." So the cock went to catch the fish, and the hen woke the prince and told him to collect the sticks that were lying under the tree and light a fire. The prince did so, and in a short time the bird came back with the fish, and told him to roast it and make himself comfortable. The prince replied, "I have made a vow, and until that vow is fulfilled I will take no food." Then the bird said, "I know the cause of your coming; you may take food; you have come for a touchstone, and I will give it you." At these words the prince took food, and when he had eaten he asked for the touchstone. Now the shell of the eggs of these birds will not burst unless it be rubbed with a touchstone, and for this reason they had brought one from over the sea, and this stone they gave to the prince. In the morning the prince took the touchstone and went on his way home. In the third watch of the day he came to a place inhabited by robbers. Now the people of that village were magicians, and by their enchantments they brought people under their power, and at night killed them and plundered their goods. Amongst them was a chief robber who had a daughter named Prânnâsinî and five sons, who, the instant saw any traveller, pretended that he was the husband of Prânnâsinî and took him to their house, and at night she would take him into the sleeping-room and at midnight throw him into a state of insensibility by magic and then kill him with a knife. These men met the king's son with the touchstone, and invited him to their house, and said to him, "Sir, you married our sister when you were very young, and then went away and left her: up to this time we have not been able to find any trace of you. We did not know where you lived, so that we could come and fetch you and take care of you; and we are very glad that have come here to-day." The king's son was very much astonished to hear it, and began to think, "It may be so;" then again he thought, "I can never have been married: had it been so, my father and mother would certainly have told me" Thus he did not know what to believe, but at last decided that he would know about it soon: so he remained in the house. The robber gave him some food, and after he had eaten he went and sat in a veranda in front of the house. Now opposite the balcony was the house of another robber, and directly he saw the prince he knew by his magical arts that he was in possession of a touchstone, and as he wished to get it he put on an appearance of honesty, and in a conspicuous place in front of his house he planted a basil-tree and called upon Hari and paid his devotions before it. When the king's son saw this, he thought he must be an honest man, and felt sufficient confidence in him to deposit the touchstone with him, so he asked him to take care of the stone for that day.

The robber replied, "Good God! I have never touched any riches in my life, and here is this wretch come to deposit his wealth with me." On hearing this the confidence of the king's son was greatly increased, and he became very importunate, so that at last the robber said, "Very well, put it in the window." The prince did so and went back to the balcony.

In the meantime Prânnâsinî came, as if she were really his wife, and took him into the inner room with the intention of killing him, and after they had shut the door they went to sleep; but when she saw how handsome he was she determined that she would not kill him, so she said to him, "All the people here are robbers, and I help them, and princes have been killed by my aid: now I wish you to marry me, and if you will do so I will promise faithfully that I will behave kindly to you, and will not take your life." When the prince heard that, he took courage and married her.

After the marriage Prânnâsinî made magical calculations and discovered that the prince had

deposited his touchstone with the disguised robber: so one day she asked him to bring it, and he went to fetch it from the man in whose care he had deposited it; but the robber had taken away the real touchstone from the window and put a small pebble in its place, and when the prince came he said, "The touchstone is in the place where you left it: take it away." The prince went to the window, but found nothing but a small pebble; and, as he was able to do nothing, he went to Prâṇâśini and told her all about it, and she replied, "Do not trouble yourself; I will take the touchstone from him." So she went into the house and called a shepherd and said, "Take two bags and a bullock and come along with me." So the shepherd made his preparations and went with her to a corner of the village, where he filled the bags with small stones and put them on the bullock's back, and she said to him, "Go opposite the house of the wicked robber and drive the bullock along with you, and when he asks you what it is, tell him the bullock is loaded with touchstones." When she had given these instructions she went back to the prince. Then the shepherd, as he had been ordered by the girl, went near the robber's house, and when he inquired what was in the bags, replied, "This bullock is loaded with touchstones belonging to the prince," and the wicked robber thought that if he gave back the first touchstone he should be able to get the whole bagful; so he put the touchstone back in the window and called the prince and said to him, "I was only putting you to the test: I have no need of any more wealth; take your touchstone and go." The prince said, "I have taken my touchstone, and where can I leave these two bags full of touchstones?" The robber replied "You can leave them wherever you like;" so the prince put down the two bags, and taking his touchstone from the window went to Prâṇâśini and told her about it, and proposed that they should return to his native country. She agreed, and they both of them set out, and after some days' journey he arrived at his own village and said to her, "I think it would be better for you to remain here to-night in the house of this garland-maker, and to-morrow I will tell my father, and take you to him in proper state." With these words he said to the garland-maker, whom he had known before, "Let this girl remain in your house to-night, and to-morrow I will take her home; and take care she is put to no inconvenience, and whatever expense is incurred I will repay you." The garland-maker agreed, and the prince went to his own house and had an interview with his father, and told him how he had found the touchstone and would give it the next day. Then he went to his private house and said to his first wife, "Where can I deposit this touchstone? She told him to put it in the window, and he did so and went to sleep. Now the prince's wife had a great friendship for the *kotwál* of the city, and she went to see him; and when she arrived he asked her why she came so late at night, and then she told him all about the touchstone. The *kotwál* told her to bring it to him, as he wished to see it; so she went and fetched it, and he was very much delighted to get it, and took it to his own home, and she went back to her own house and stopped there all night. In the morning the king called his son and wished to see the touchstone; the prince went to bring it, and when he could not find it, became suddenly mad, and did nothing but repeat the words, "This is where it was; give it me." After a little time the king heard what had befallen his son, and sent for him and tried every kind of medicine to heal him. After ten or twelve days Prâṇâśini discovered by magical arts that the prince had become mad, and that the touchstone had fallen into the possession of the *kotwál*, and unless the prince regained the stone he would not be cured: so she determined to recover it and heal him. Accordingly she told the garland-maker what she intended to do, and the garland-maker made her pretend she was her sister, and told her to go and stand on the top of the house. As the *kotwál* was going round the city he saw the girl on the roof, and said to the garland-maker, "I will come and see your sister to-night." She said, "My sister has made a vow that no one shall come and visit her unless he presents her with a touchstone." The *kotwál* promised to give it, and went away. After this the king's councillor saw the girl, and said to the garland-maker, "I will come and visit your sister to night." By the girl's order the garland-maker agreed, and he said he would come at one watch in the night. After this the prime minister came, and, having made an arrangement that he should come at the second watch in the night, he went away. And at last the king himself came out to enjoy the air, and when he saw the girl on the roof he said he would come at the last watch of the night. When the girl heard they were all coming, she prepared a large pot and mixed in it two *seers* of milk and one seer of water, and put it on the fire, and also brought some grass and a jar of water, and placed them ready, and when it was evening she put a stool near the fire for herself, and another stool for the other people to sit on, and proceeded to mix the milk and water. In the meantime the *kotwál* came, bringing the touchstone with him; so the girl took it and invited him to drink the milk and water which she had prepared, and they talk-

ed together until the first watch of the night had passed away. At that time, according to previous arrangement, the councillor came, and when he knocked at the door the *kotwâl* asked the girl who it was, and was very much frightened to hear it was the king's councillor, and asked where he could hide himself. She then smeared him all over with molasses, and poured water on him, and covered the whole of his body with cotton wool and fastened him in the window. After that the councillor came in and sat down and began to talk, and she gave him some milk and water, and so the second watch of the night passed. After that the king's prime minister came and knocked at the door, and the councillor asked the girl who it was, and when she told him, he was exceedingly alarmed and asked where he could hide. She told him she had placed the *kotwâl* in the window and covered him with cotton wool, and made a frightful object of him; and then she covered the councillor with a mat and opened the door to the prime minister. He came into the house and sat down on the stool, and, as before, the girl talked with him, and so the third watch of the night passed away. Then the king himself came and knocked at the door, and the prime minister inquired who it was, and as soon as he heard he was very much frightened and asked where he could hide, as he was in danger of his life: so the girl took him near the frightful-looking *kotwâl* and put him under a screen of bamboo, and then opened the door to the king. The king came in and talked to the girl, and meantime the councillor from beneath his mat, and the prime minister from behind his screen, seeing the hideous form of the *kotwâl*, became excessively frightened. Just at that moment the king happened to be looking round on every side of the house, and seeing the *kotwâl* he said, "What is that fastened there?" the girl replied: "Oh, there is a young Râkshasa tied there." As soon as the *kotwâl* heard that, he leaped out, and the king seeing him thought, "He will eat me;" the councillor thought, "He will eat me;" the prime minister thought, "He will eat me;" so they all, one after the other, ran away to their own houses, and the *kotwâl* also went to his house. When the king reached his palace, he ordered his generals and army to go to the house of the garland-maker and destroy the young Râkshasa: so they went and surrounded the house, but when the girl heard of it she said, "It is only a tame young Râkshasa, and perfectly harmless;" so the generals and army went away again. After that the king fetched his son from the house of the garland-maker, and seeing that he was still mad he was very much disturbed at it, and asked him what was the matter, but he merely replied, "This is where it was; give it me." As soon as he said "Give it me," the girl put the touchstone into his hands, and directly he received it he became well and anointed himself with oil, and bathed and drank some *sherbat*. After two days he was quite recovered, and the girl told him the whole story of the loss and recovery of the touchstone and sent him away with it to his own house: so he gave the touchstone to his father, and his father gave it to the priest; and the prince put his first wife and the *kotwâl* to death, and took Prâunâsinî to his house with great splendour, and the king gave his kingdom to his son, and himself went to live as a hermit in the woods. After some time the five brothers of Prâunâsinî came to the kingdom to search for their sister, and the king seized them, and, after having punished them well, made them promise not to live by robbery any longer, and gave them some money and sent them away, and he himself governed his kingdom in peace for the rest of his life.

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## INSCRIPTIONS IN THE PAGODAS OF TIRUKURÂNGUḌI, IN TINNEVELLI; AND OF ŚUCHÎNDRAM, IN SOUTH TRAVANCORE.

BY HIS HIGHNESS RÂMA VARMÂ, FIRST PRINCE OF TRAVANCORE.

The following is an inscription in the Tamiḷ Grantha character on a large bell, about three feet in diameter at the base, which hangs in the centre of the eastern colonnade of the large Vaishṇava Pagoda at Tirukuranguḍi:—

श्रीमत्कोलम्बवर्षे भवति गुणमणिश्रेणिरादित्यवर्मा
वञ्चीपालो विशाखः प्रभुरखिलकलावल्लभः पर्यबध्नात् ।
द्वारालङ्कारघण्टां तिलकितजयसिंहान्वयः श्रीकुरङ्ग-
गेहधाम्नो मुरारेरधिगतचिरवाय्मण्डलेन्द्रो नरेन्द्रः ॥

The above may be translated thus:—"In the year *Bhavati* (644) of the Koḷamba era, king Âdityavarmâ, the ruler of Vañchî, born in *Viśâkha*,* who is a string of gems of virtues, and a master of all arts (*kalâ*), who adorns the Jayasiṁha dynasty, and who has attained the sovereignty of Chiravâya Maṇḍalam (kingdom), hung up the bell which adorns the gate of Murâri (Vishṇu) enshrined in the Śrîkurañga (Tirukuranguḍi) temple."

The Kolamba era here mentioned is evidently the Kollam era, which is adopted throughout the Malabar coast now. It commenced in the year 824 A.D. Hence the bell must have been hung up in 1468-69. King Âdityavarmâ was therefore a contemporary of Edward IV. of England, and the bell was hung up when the fortunes of York and Lancaster were oscillating, and when Warwick was at the height of his career. It was also 30 years before Vasco de Gama set foot on Indian soil. Kolamba is the Sanskrit, and Kollam the Malayâḷam name for *Quilon*. The diocese of the Roman Catholic Bishop who was stationed in this part of the Malabar coast when the power of Portugal was in the ascendant was known as 'Columba'. The word *Bhavati* (भवति), which gives the year 644 of the Kolamba era, follows the system of alphabetical numeration, which, by converting large numbers into familiar words, so greatly facilitates their being stored in memory by Hindu mathematicians and astronomers. The first letter of a word thus formed stands in the units' place, the next in that of tens, the next of hundreds, and so on. भ = 4, व = 4, and ति = 6, making 644.

The configuration of the kingdom of Travancore of those days, it is hardly necessary to point out, was widely different from what it is now. While the greater portion of what now constitutes North Travancore was no integral part of the kingdom, a large portion of the present district of Tinnevelli was included in it. The kingdom was called Trippâppûr Svarûpam. The boundaries of it are given in an inscription on stone in the Suchindram pagoda. The inscription dates in the reign of Âdityavarmâ, the same Râjâ as put up the Tirukuranguḍi bell. The boundaries are: "east Pennivâykâl—an old water-course near Varkala—south Vaipâr, in the Tinnevelli District—north and west the sea." We must make allowance for the geography of those days, in judging of the correctness of the cardinal points here described. However, there is little room to doubt that Tirukuranguḍi, now situated in the Nâṅgoneri Tâluka of the Tinnevelli District, was then a part of Travancore. The whole tract of country, again gathering from the stone inscription, was divided into 18 parts or 'nâḍs.' Of these, the king of Travancore made Jayatuṅganâḍ, or Jayasiṅhanâḍ, the seat of his court and government. I have not been able to identify the situation of this division. In all probability it was on the eastern side of the Ghâṭs. The heir-apparent occupied Chiravâya and held it in possession. Chiravâya may be identified with the present village of Chirayinkil, about 18 miles to the north of Trivandram. The word Chiravâya is composed of the two Malayaḷam words *Chira* (lake) and *vâya* (mouth), the village being situated where the Bhavânipuram river makes its debouchure into a lagoon.

Râja Âdityavarmâ was only heir-apparent and chief of Chiravâya when he put up the bell. This is evident from the phrase अधिगतचिरवायमण्डलेन्द्रः The word *Maṇḍala*, in Sanskrit, is applied only to a feudatory or dependent state, and not to suzerainty. Âdityavarmâ became ruler of Travancore only three years after the date of the bell. His elder brother Mârtâṇḍavarmâ was on the throne at the time.

The word 'Jayasiṅhânvayaḥ' in the stanza inscribed on the bell is suggestive. A European friend, who has devoted much time and attention to the study of Indian antiquities, once told me that the Jayasiṅha dynasty could be traced to the rulers of the Vijayanagara empire in the Dekhan, and through them to the solar and lunar races.

The following two verses are inscribed on stone in two different parts of the Śiva Pagoda of Suchindram, about 10 miles N.N.W. of Cape Comorin (Kumâri):—

1. एकालोकैकशकाब्दे सुरपतिसचिवे सिंहगे तुलाया-
मर्के पक्षेऽसितेऽथ्यद्वितिदिनयुते भानुवारे च शोभे।
कालून् मार्तण्डवर्मा क्षितिपतिरुत्तमो कीर्तिमाद्भुत दीपं
स्थाने मानी शुचीन्द्रे समकृत सभां केरलक्ष्मापतीन्द्रः॥

2 अब्दे कोलम्बसंज्ञे शिवतिगाणे गुरौ सिंहगे तुलाल्ये
मित्रे हिन्दुवारे अतिथौ वनितालग्नके रात्र्यसौ।
कैलासाद्रि स्वकुल्यं कलियुगनिपुण श्रीमति श्रीशुचीन्द्रे
यश्चाभूत्सालकूडामणिरकृत पुरो मण्डपं मन्त्रसोकेः॥

The first of the above two is inscribed in an outer shrine called Chitrasabhâ, dedicated to the Chidambaresvara form of Śiva; and the second on the front Maṇḍapam of the chief shrine. They may be thus translated:—

1. "In the year 1312 (ए=2, का=1 लो=3, के=1) of the Śakâbda era, the minister of Indra

(*Brihaspati*) being in Leo, the Lord of lotuses (the *Sun*) being in Libra, in the asterism of Punarvasu (the 7th), and on Sunday, Mârtâṇḍavarmâ, the king of Keraḷa, desirous of extensive prosperity, fame, and long life, built the Sabhâ of Śambhu (*Śiva*) at Śuchîndram."

2. "In the year 654 (नि=4, ना=5, नि=6) of the Kolamba era, Jupiter being in Taurus, the Sun at the end of Libra, in the asterism of Hasta (the 13th), on Monday on Pratipat (the first day after new or full moon) and in the sign of Virgo (rising), Râmavarmâ, the crowning gem of the Vañchî sovereigns, constructed the front Maṇḍapam of the moon-crested (*Śiva*) at Śuchîndram, equalling Kailâsa in splendour, and full of the purest qualities."

This Śakâbda year 1312 (A.D. 1390-1), given in the first stanza, corresponds with the year 64 of the Kolamba or Kollam era. Hence this inscription is eighty years older than that on the Tirukarangudi bell. This Râjâ, whose full title, as given in the *Travancore Almanac*, is 'Chera Udaya Mârtâṇḍavarmâ Kulaśekhara, Perumâḷ," reigned 62 years, from 1382-83 to 1444-45 A.D. This was not the Mârtâṇḍavarmâ, who was reigning when his brother Âdityavarmâ put up the bell.

The second inscription is later than the first by 90 years, and than the bell inscription by 10 years, its date being 654 Kollam era, or 1478-79 A.D. This was the last year of the reign of Âdityavarmâ of the Tirukurangudi inscription, and the first of Ravivarmâ, his successor. But the name given in the inscriptions is Râmavarmâ. This discrepancy might be explained—either that Râmavarmâ never became sovereign, or that the name Ravivarmâ or Iravivarmâ, given in the *Almanac*, is an error, and ought to have been Râmavarmâ. But that in the construction of two different parts of the *same* pagoda 90 years should intervene is somewhat unaccountable.

## PUSHPAMITRA OR PUSHYAMITRA?

BY G. BÜHLER, Ph.D.

In several letters on the Patañjali controversy, Professor A. Weber has quoted me as an authority both for the authenticity of the form *Pushpamitra* and for that of *Pushyamitra*. I feel it, therefore, incumbent on me to state what I know regarding them, and to explain how I came to waver in my opinion on the subject.

On first reading Prof. Weber's discussion on the name of the king, who probably was a patron of Patañjali's, I remembered that I had read the form *Pupphamitta* in *Merutunga's Vichâraśreṇi*, or "*Catena of Enquiries*." I mentioned this to Prof. Weber in a letter, without, however, being then able to verify my reminiscence by a reference to the original. When I later had an opportunity of re-examining the *Vichâraśreṇi*, I found that it contained both the form *Pupphamitta* and *Pûsamitta*; that the latter occurred in the text of the Prakrit Gâthâs, on which the *Vichâraśreṇi* is a commentary, while the former is used once or twice in the commentary, which is written in Sanskrit, and that, probably, it is nothing but a misspelling for *Pushyamitra*. On collating two other Therâvalis, which also give the Prakrit Gâthâs in question, I found that both give the form *Pûsamitta*. Now it seemed to me undeniable that *Pûsamitta* can be the representative of *Pushyamitra* only, not of *Pushpamitra*. I consequently had to acknowledge the correctness of Professor Weber's rendering of the commonly misspelt name, which has also been adopted by Professor Wassiliew, in his work on Buddhism.

In order to give Sanskritists an opportunity to judge for themselves of the value of these statements, I subjoin the text of the Prakrit Gâthâs above referred to, according to Merutunga, Dharmasâgara, and Jayavijayagaṇi.

jaṁ rayaṇiṁ kâlagao arihâ titthaṁkaro mahavîro |
taṁ rayaṇiṁ avantivaî ahisitto pâlago râyâ || 1 ||*
satṭhî pâlagaraṇṇo paṇavaṇṇasayaṁ tu hoï nandâṇa |
aṭṭhasayaṁ muriyâṇaṁ tîsaṁ chia pûsamittassa || 2 || †
balamittabhâṇumittâ saṭṭhî varisâṇi chatta ṇaḥavahaṇe |
taha gaddabhillarajjaṁ terasa varisâ sagassa chaû || 3 || ‡

* Var. lec—avanicai, Dh , J.; ahisatto, M.; pâlao, Dh , J.
† Var. lec—pîlaya, Dh , J.; nandâna, M.; nandînam, Dh., J.; tisachchia, M.
‡ Var. lec.—bhânumittâna sathi, M.; nahabâṇe, Dh , J.

1. Pálaka, the lord of Avanti, was anointed in that night in which the Arhat and Tírthankara Mahâvíra entered Nirvâna.

2. Sixty are (the years) of king Pálaka, but one hundred and fifty-five are (the years) of the Nandas; one hundred and eight those of the Mauryas, and thirty those of *Púsamitta.*

3. Sixty (years) ruled Balamitra and Bhánumitra, forty Nabhovahana. Thirteen years likewise (lasted) the rule of Gardabhilla, and four are (the years) of Śaka.

These verses, which are quoted in a very large number of Jaina commentaries and chronological works, but the origin of which is by no means clear, give the adjustment between the eras of Vira and Vikrama, and form the basis of the earlier Jaina chronology. Dr. Bhâû Dâjî, when giving an abstract of Merutunga's Vichârasreni in the *J. B. B. R. A. S.* ix. 147 *seqq.*, failed to make out how the detailed figures given for each reign make up the *total* of 470 years which are said to lie between Vira's death and Vikrama's accession. But his difficulty arose from the fact that he left out of account the four years of king Śaka.

The position of *Púsamitta* immediately after the Mauryas leaves it not doubtful that Patanjali's *Pushyamitra* is intended—the same whose misdeeds against his master Brihadratha are mentioned in the Purâṇas and elsewhere.

In conclusion I may add that Bâṇa too, in the long list of kings killed treacherously by servants or relations, which occurs in the sixth Uchchhvâsa of the Harshacharita, mentions Pushyamitra. His words are—

Pratijñâdurbalaṁ cha baladarśanavyapadeśadarśitâśeshasainyaḥ senânîr anâryo mauryaṁ bṛihadratham pipesha pushyamitraḥ * svâminam ||. "And reviewing the whole army under the pretext of showing him his forces, the mean general Pushyamitra crushed his master Brihadratha, the Maurya who was weak of purpose."

# MISCELLANEA AND CORRESPONDENCE.

## THE LUSHAIS.

*From a Narrative Report by Capt. W. F. Badgley, B. S. C. Topographical Survey.*

The Lushais, of whom we met men of four different tribes, are fairer than the Bengalis, of a very uniform height of about five feet six inches, well made, active, intelligent, and energetic. Of their figures we had one or two opportunities of judging, especially on one occasion when some iron hoops of burnt barrels were in the fire, to get which, and to save their clothes from accident, they stripped,—an easy operation with men whose only covering is a large square of cloth. The figures they displayed were splendid, full, and finely muscular, especially about the shoulders and calves, though in the latter they showed a more graceful shape than the large-legged Kukis and Nâgas who were with us as coolies. That they were intelligent we had, not knowing their language, less chance of forming an opinion; but from what we could judge from a few who understood some words of Hindustani, and from their quick recognition of sketches, even in outline, and from their looks, which otherwise belied them, they were so. Of their energy and activity their raids are sufficient proof.

Their heads are well formed, with good foreheads, oblique eyes, heavy eyebrows, high cheekbones, depressed noses, large but not thick lips, and scanty beards, a few straggling hairs in some being the only representatives of chin-tuft or moustache, beyond which none of them can boast. Their hair is straight and black or brownish, eyes brown or black, and teeth invariably good; their expression open, bold, and generally pleasing, and their voice loud and sonorous, partly probably from practice and education, the children having the same deep far-sounding tones when calling loudly.

Their dress is admirable in its ease; no boots, nor breeches, nor other tight clothing confine the freedom of their limbs; a large square cloth or two put on together, according to the temperature, is their only covering, which is worn passed under the right arm and with two corners thrown in opposite directions over the left shoulder, and managed for modesty with the most easy dexterity. To confine the cloth upon the left shoulder, they carry, when anywhere from home, a bag slung so as to rest behind the right hip, the shoulder-strap being of skin, tiger's apparently by preference, and the bag, which is of fine and strong net, covered with a large skin flap somewhat like a sporran, and often made of long white goat's-hair, with three black streaks. In the bag they carry their smoking apparatus, flint and steel, a dhao or large chopping-knife, and occasionally a bundle of pangis, which are small hardened bamboo skewers, and which stuck in the ground are very efficient

* Pushparamitraḥ, MSS.

protection to their owner when sleeping in strange places, and left behind him in his path protect him in some degree when pursued.

We saw, as I said, men of four separate tribes, three of them distinguished by their mode of wearing their hair, and the southern tribes rather smaller and handsomer than the northern. Those we first met, who had come from Kulel, and are now living on Banboug, called themselves Howlongs, and are governed by an old woman, Impanu, the mother of their former chief, Vonpilal, whose grave is on Kulel. The name of the next tribe, those under Poiboi and Lál Bur, I quite forgot to ascertain. The remaining two were Pois and Paites The former were inhabitants of the country south of Lál Bur's, who had apparently hired themselves out as soldiers; and the latter, probably a very small tribe, living on and about Narklang. Of these the two first wore their hair drawn smoothly back, and fastened in a knot behind by a thin bit of iron bent into a double prong. The Pois parted theirs across the head behind, and letting the lower part hang loose drew the upper forward, twisting it with the front hair, tied it in a knot over their foreheads, where it was secured by an iron skewer or with a comb of ivory; round this knob those who wore turbans tied one end in, putting them on after the manner of the Sikhs, which was remarked by some Lushais, who called the 22nd Poi; about a fourth of the Pois wore turbans, the other tribes, as a rule, going bareheaded. The Paites wore their hair frizzed up from their head, and cut about four inches long. Chiefs and headmen wear feathers in their hair-knots on great occasions, that is, those who have them; how the Paites wear them, or whether they use any, I do not know. Of the Suktis, who live to the eastward, we saw next to nothing; they are at enmity with these other tribes, and, thinking to take them at a disadvantage, had, just before we reached the Champhai, made an attack on Lál Bur's village of Chonchim, whence they had been repulsed with loss, leaving one body behind. This unfortunate's head and some limbs had been placed as ornaments to Vonolel's tomb in Lungvel, but as it had been scalped, gouged, and the skull smashed in, little could be made out from it.

There are two things remarkable about these people—one, their indifference to ornaments; excepting two, which are very simple, they wear none: these are a tiger's tooth or tuft of goat's hair tied with a string round the neck, and a small tuft of scarlet feathers stuck in, or an amber bead hung by a string to the ear. Some of the children wore strings of beads, but very few of the men; and coloured chintz was scoffed at as a barter, though anything might be got for plain red or white; silver and gold have they none, and care little for, a few pice re-purchasing a rupee; but these are at a premium merely because they can be beaten into bullets or used to line pipes. The second is that, though not particularly cleanly, they are entirely free from any of those noisome skin diseases which are so common in Kachar, and only one man did we see marked with small-pox.

We saw no dwarfs or cripples; probably they are made away with early, after the Spartan fashion.

Of the mental and other qualities of the Lushais, as far as one could judge, they are quick-tempered, unstable in mind, loose in allegiance, thieving, and occasionally given to drunkenness, violence, and barbarity; inquisitive, taciturn in conversation, patriotic, and too bold to be liars; their bump of locality must be strongly marked; they are great hunters and athletic, walking long distances, and climbing with remarkable ease. From the smallest children they all smoke,—men and women, —and so much are they given to it that any of their recent camps can always be detected by their stale tobacco smell. Their pipes are neatly made of bamboo lined with iron or copper, and of the ordinary pipe shape for the men, those used by the women having a receptacle for water, after the fashion of a hubble-bubble, which water—disgusting practice!—is carried about by the men in little gourd bottles to take occasional nips from.

They have some sort of religious belief, but I heard no mention of priest, nor were there any temples or images. Occasionally, in the field we met with a little cleared space on which were arranged rows of clay pallets of various shapes, with a yard-long flagstaff and coloured pendent waving over them, but it was in their tombs that we saw the greatest evidences of their religion. These were always in their villages and ornamented with trophies of skulls of animals and feathers. At burials they discharge firearms over the graves, and I believe slay the animals, whose heads afterwards go to their decoration, and whose spirits are intended for the delectation of the grave's occupant in the happy hunting-ground. The greater the man the more animals are sent with him, and it is said that slaves are sometimes sacrificed and buried with a chief. Vonolel's and Vonpilal's tombs had the heads of many beasts over them (indeed one got a knowledge of the larger fauna of the country at a glance); the skulls of the most dangerous were muzzled, and there were hobbles to restrain the feet.

Beyond what can be gathered from what I have mentioned,—that they must believe in a future state, and that there is some invisible power for evil, against whom they make their incantations to

protect their crops.—I could not discover anything, excepting that the tiger's tooth or tuft of hair which the men wear about their necks has a religious signification.

Their language is not monosyllabic like the Khasia and others, and there is no written character. Tradition is probably handed down by songs, which are of their battles, their hills, and love; and they can improvise. One night a party were invited to give us a specimen of their performances, and the first of the songs was on the subject of our expedition. They chaunt them in soft deep notes to the accompaniment of a drum and a set of weak organ-like pipes, whose stops include an octave; and the love-song they afterwards gave us was acted to in a postering dance by one of the number, at first slowly, but as the story went on, more and more quickly, till the corn-cob, which represented the young woman sung to, was snatched up and whirled round quite excitedly.

I have said before, I think they are mighty hunters; everything that runs or flies is game with them, from an elephant to a field-rat, from a hornbill to a wagtail; and they have many and clever devices for bringing them to the pot, using, besides firearms, traps and fenced drives for the larger, and springs for the small game, and for small birding employing the pellet-bow. Game should be plentiful, judging from the numbers of heads we saw in front of the houses, which are not preserved beyond the owner's lifetime. These were of elephant, tiger, leopard, sambur, hog-deer, metna, pig, and monkey. This last—the hulak or howling monkey, black-faced, grey-whiskered, blackbodied and tail-less, with very long arms and of extraordinary activity—is an abominably noisy beast, with a cry beginning with a yell, and ending with a series of howls like men imitating jackals; they are always started, by the way, in their discordant chorus, by a single sharp cry from one of them, which my fellows called the rája. Of birds I saw the skulls of some cranes, and they have, besides many which I did not find out, hornbills, jungle fowl, partridges (francolines), chir, and black pheasants.

Of fish I only saw two varieties, the mashir and a small silurus, called in the north-west *sol*. They use nets, and also, as is the custom elsewhere, poison the water with the juice of a cactus which kills the fish without spoiling them as food, and in one place, the camp on the Tui-burn, they had built a large dam and weir, apparently for fishing purposes.

Their mode of war is of surprises and bush-fighting, and their ideas of bravery are amusing. At Vaung (the first fight) they called out to the sepoys not to stick like cowards in the open, but to come against them in the jungle like men. For weapons they have flint-locks, some wonderfully old, dating back to Culloden, spears and dhaos; we saw a few leather shields, but no bows and arrows. For defence, though their villages are lightly palisaded, they prefer the employment of stockades in difficult passes defended by entanglements, a specimen of which, which was quite a lesson in military engineering, we met with, fortunately undefended, a mile or so from Poiboi's village of Tulcheng. I have been told, by the way, that the village of the chief is never palisaded, his outlying villages being guardians against attack, or least unprepared for attack.

They carry on feuds and make raids among themselves as well as on Manipur and the eastern provinces for arms, ammunition, women, and heads. When on raids they travel with remarkable celerity, carrying nothing but their arms and enough of rice for the journey, a fresh joint of bamboo at each new camp serving every purpose of water-jar or cooking-pot. About to make an attack, they are told off in three parties, gunmen, spearmen, and men to carry off the wounded on retreat; if they have been successful and have made prisoners, the men are made to carry the provisions, and though they sometimes retain a few as slaves, specially Manipuris and Kukis, the carrier is, as a rule, relieved of his head when he has been relieved of his burthen. I think it was after the raid on Monir Khal that a body was found—a garden cooly's—which appeared as if an incantation had been practised by it; the head was not removed, and the chest was cut open and filled with boiled rice: why so I could not find out. Notwithstanding their cruelty, they are fine fellows, taking pride in a fight, dressing themselves in their best and neatest for the occasion, and showing in their own way considerable pluck; and in their communities I imagine they are moral and courteous, the ever-ready dhao being a potent preventive to bad conduct and bad manners.

Mantris (heralds?), men wearing feathers and red pagris, are employed among these people to treat of war and peace and all matters, and at all times pass free; but besides these verbal means of communication they have modes of spreading intelligence known to themselves, as by fire signals, alarm drums and gongs, and others. A tree exuding a red sap hacked and struck with spikes is a serious warning; a red gourd stuck in a tuft of grass means bloody heads for those who persevere in advancing beyond it; a branch across the path is a notice not to go farther; and a bamboo split, broken, and burnt, means fire and fury.

A Lushai village is usually built in a position which gives natural advantages for defence. It is

slightly fenced, and the approaches guarded at difficult points by *palisading, loop-holed and* strengthened by heavy stones, and on commanding view-points there are out-looks. The conservancy is admirable, and the houses, though smoke-begrimed from having their fire-places inside, are clean. Each house usually has its own enclosed patch of fenced kitchen-garden to one side, and, though not built perfectly symmetrical, they are ranged to form streets In the middle of the town is a large house used as a town-hall.

The frame-work of a house is of wood for the posts and beams, and bamboo for the roof; the floor is raised *a few* feet above the ground, and is laid with bamboo split and beaten flat, the walls being of the same material, woven in a large chequer pattern with very neat effect; the roof is a thatch of grass and palm leaves. The average dimensions are 30 by 12 (Poiboi's was 40 yards long), of which the first third is left open; a ramp of logs leads up to them, and on one side of the ramp is a platform for sitting out in fine weather; under the eaves are the fowl-houses, and hung over the house-front are the skull and horns of animals captured in the chase. The interior, which is closed by a neatly-made sliding door, is usually undivided; in some a half-partition portions off a part as a granary; a door at the back leads to a small platform behind. In the middle of one side an open fireplace is made of slabs of stone, above which hangs a frame for smoking meat and fish, and beyond it is usually a raised place for sleeping on. In the open front of the house is the pig-trough and the mortar for cleaning rice—a work done by the women daily. This rice, which is of large white grain and very nutritious, forms their principal food, and is grown by dry cultivation on cleared spots on the hillsides.

Their method of agriculture is—having selected a patch of jungle and marked it by putting arrows in the split stumps of small trees round it, to fell and burn it when dry just before the rains, and, scattering the ashes, to dibble in the grain with dhaos, deserting the spot after three years when the soil is worked out. The crop cut at its proper season is threshed and stored on the ground till the end of the harvest, when it is carried in by the women in large baskets slung by a band across the forehead, their mode of carrying all burthens. Besides the rice they raise maize, a sort of yam, sweet potatoes, beans of several sorts, ginger, tobacco, pot-herbs, gourds, squashes, cotton, plantains, and ...nts giving a dark-blue dye, and they domesticate ... goats, dogs, fowls, and pigeons, all for food; they never touch, and the metna, which they ...to roam half-wild, is kept only for its flesh and the latter being made, for one thing, into powder and priming flasks. Sugar is a thing *they do not seem to care about*, but they liked our rum, and themselves prepare a liquor from rice which has a pleasant taste, and is drunk, well diluted, by suction through reeds from the jar in which it is made. We called it hill-beer. Their name for it is "ju."

They manufacture everything necessary to their simple mode of living—cooking and liquor pots, wooden platters, baskets, salt, saltpetre, cotton cloth, dhaos, and axes. The earthenware is moulded. The baskets are of every shape and size, from the store basket, which will hold 50 maunds, to the little thing which holds the woman's needles and thread; they are woven of shreds of bamboo with great neatness. Gourds and bamboos are used for water.

Their apparatus for cleaning, carding, spinning, and weaving the cotton is similar to that in use in Bengal. The cloth is very strong and close-grained, in breadths of three feet, unbleached, with a narrow blue border, or dyed entirely blue. Some of the cloth used by them, resembling a dark tartan, is said to come from Manipur. Salt they manufacture from the ashes of bamboo leaves, and saltpetre from cowdung urinated on. Their forges are not in any way remarkable, a pair of large bamboo cylinders being the bellows; but they turn out remarkably good arms, working up the iron which they get from elsewhere to suit their own tastes as to shape. The axes are of that peculiar construction used among most of these tribes—a flat-ended peg tied in a socket in a bamboo handle.

There are no archæological remains, excepting the rough slabs, with rough outlines of figures cut on them, which cover old graves; and there are no roads, communication being by footpaths, which in the more populated parts are broad and easy.

I had almost forgotten to mention the women, but we saw so little of them; they are pleasant, round, flat-faced creatures, continually smoking, and lively among themselves; their dress is a scanty blue kilt, and cloth thrown over the shoulders, with the head usually uncovered, and the hair loose or neatly braided. They wear no ornaments. They vary in colour, some being quite fair with rosy cheeks. Their children are carried on their backs.

The products of the country are India-rubber, wax, and ivory, usually bartered for salt. The traders are mostly Manipuris.—*Report of the Topograph. Survey of India*, 1871-72.

ON PROF. HOERNLE'S THEORY OF THE GENITIVE POSTPOSITIONS.

Sir,—The question of the origin of the genitive postpositions in the modern vernaculars of India

is so important and interesting that I trust you will allow me space for a few remarks on the reply of Prof. Hoernle, published in the July number of your valuable periodical. As regards my view on the different kinds of Prâkrit, I agree with Mr. Beames, that none of the Prâkṛits was ever a spoken language, and that in order to learn what was the spoken language of the Âryans we must turn principally to the modern vernaculars. I have never had any other opinion on this subject, and in this respect there is no controversy at all between Prof. Hoernle and myself. But I am sorry to see that Prof. Hoernle still adheres to the error which I had already pointed out in my review of his essays. It is perfectly erroneous to say that Vararuchi's sûtras are founded upon the plays, or that the plays are founded upon Vararuchi's sûtras. The language of the plays is Śaurasenî, and the language taught by Vararuchi in the first nine sections is Mahârâshṭrî, of which dialect comparatively few instances occur in the plays. Now it is clear that a man who teaches the Mahârâshṭrî will not derive the rules for that language from the Śaurasenî. It is true that Vararuchi, XII. 32, distinctly says *bahulaṁ Mahârâshṭrîvat*, and that on the whole he does not make many exceptions from the principal Prâkṛit. But this is only one of his numerous blunders. Later Prâkṛit grammarians, especially Râmatarkavâgîśa and Mârkaṇḍeya Kavîndra, who treat more carefully of the lower dialects, have a good many more rules, which are confirmed throughout by the plays. Vararuchi's rules in the first nine sections are derived from works like the Saptaśatî and the Setubandha, which were written in Mahârâshṭrî and composed in verse. This is clearly proved by the corresponding rules of Hemachandra, who adds numerous examples which are exactly like the poems of the Saptaśatî, and several of them already to be found in Prof. Weber's edition. Hence it is ridiculous to affirm that the Prâkṛit of the plays has been grammarized by Vararuchi and his successors.

The imaginary participle *kaygo* can by no means be used to explain the Gujarâtî postpositions. That the colloquial has many forms which in the literary language are restricted to poetry is an old story, but these words are then of frequent occurrence in either the colloquial or the poetry; *kaygo*, however, is not yet found, and I have not met with it, though I am in possession of extensive materials drawn from manuscripts. Prof. Hoernle is very partial to words formed according to analogy; but such words never prove anything: if the participle *kaygo* had given rise to the Gujarâtî postpositions, it ought to be found very often. The principal question, however, is that concerning the genitive postpositions in Bangâlî and Oriya. I think still that it is very easy to prove that Prof. Hoernle is in error. In fact there are no postpositions at all in Bangâlî and Oriya, and these two languages must be separated at once from all the rest. Prof. Hoernle remarks that my statements as to the use of *keraka* have no particular bearing on the question whether the Bangâlî *er* is a curtailment of *keraka* or not. My arguments already intimated in my review, where I have tried to state them as briefly as possible, are as follows:—Firstly, the word *kera* is the original of the word *keraka*, and hence it follows that *kera* has not been curtailed, but, on the contrary, has been lengthened. The word *kera* or *keraka* is found in the Mahârâshṭrî, the Śaurasenî, and the Mâgadhî; it is found in the various Apabhraṁśas as well as in the vernaculars. In the Siṁhalese language, as Prof. Childers informs me, it is used to form the locative of a certain class of words. Prof. Kern has lately called attention to the very common use of this word in the language of the gipsies; but even there *kera* has not been changed in the least, but has remained unaltered to the present day, as stated by Prof. Pott, Paspati, and other authorities. The word, though not noticed by Vararuchi, is well known to the later Prâkṛit grammarians. Hemachandra, VIII. 2, 147, has a special sûtra running thus:

|| idamarthasya keraḥ ||

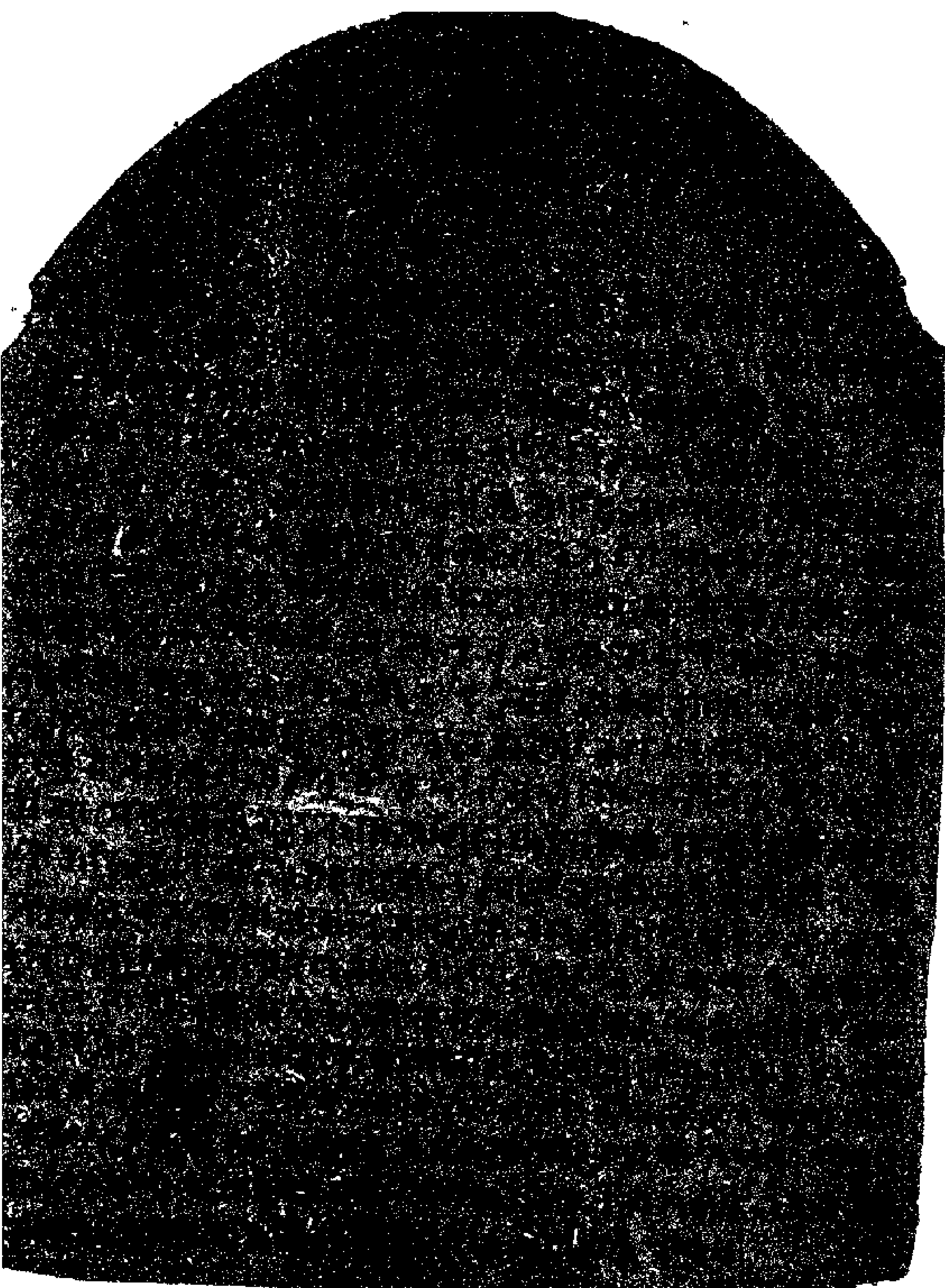
idamarthasya pratyayasya kera ity âdeśo bhavati |

yushmadîyaḥ tumhakero | asmadîyaḥ amhakero | na cha bhavati | mahpuḷkkho | pâṇiṇîâ.

Since Hemachandra in the following sûtra: || para-râjabhyâṁ kkadikkau cha || expressly mentions the two words *para* and *râjan*, I am inclined to suppose that the use of *kera* was originally restricted to the same words which, according to Pâṇini, may assume in Sanskrit the suffix *kîya*. This question I shall discuss at full length in my edition of Hemachandra's Grammar. A sûtra corresponding to that of Hemachandra occurs in Mârkaṇḍeya, fol. 28 *b*; and in the *Trivikrama-vṛitti* II. 1, 8, we have: || kera idamarthe || idamarthe vihitasya chhapratyayasya kera ity âdeśo bhavati | and now Trivikrama, as usual, gives the same examples as Hemachandra. Siṁharâja, fol. 43 *a*, has the same sûtra. Hemachandra mentions the word again in the section on the Apabhraṁśa, VIII. 4, 422: || sambandhinaḥ kera-tanau || gaaü su kesari piahu jalu nichchintaiṁ hariṇâiṁ | jasu keraeṁ huṁkâraḍeṁ muhahu paḍanti tṛiṇâiṁ |. The same is given by Trivikrama, III. 3, 51, and rendered in Sanskrit: gataḥ sa kesarî pibata jalaṁ niśchintâ hariṇâḥ yasya (sambandhinâ) huṁkâreṇa mukhât patanti tṛiṇâni |; "The lion is gone, without fear may the antelopes drink the water; (the lion) by

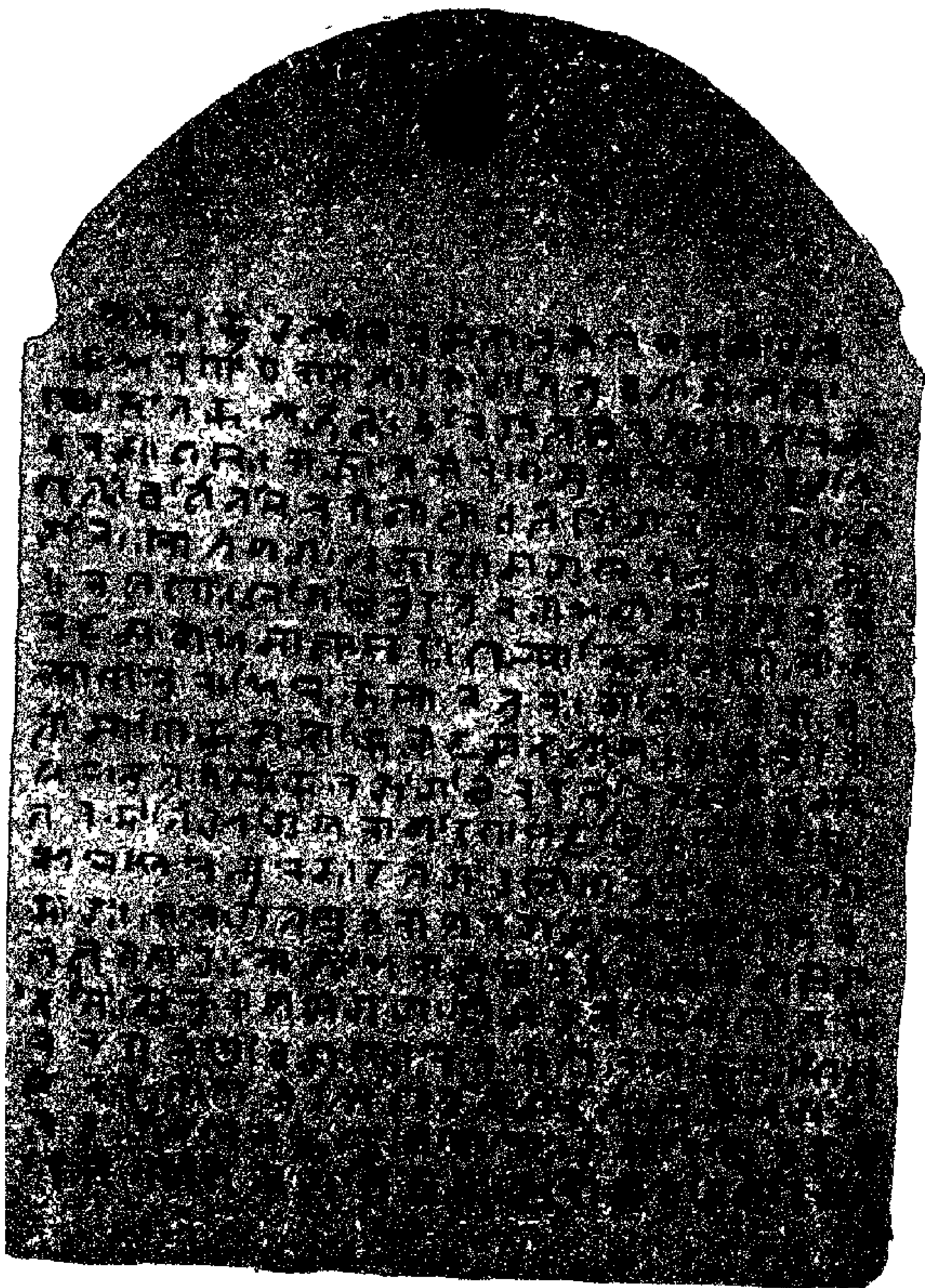
whose roaring, from their mouth falls the grass." Again, Mârkaṇḍeya in the section on the Śâvarî, a kind of Śâṃḍâlî, has the sûtra (fol. 66 *b*): || kerake kelake vâsyât || amhakerakaṃ Dhaṇaṃ amhakelakaṃ vâ |; and Chandraśekhara, the best commentator of the Śakuntalâ, remarks: kerakaśabdaḥ prâkṛite âtmîye vartate. Thus *kera, keraka, kelaka* are found even in the latest and most corrupt dialects. When should it have been curtailed, and what particular necessity could induce the Bangâlis alone to shorten it, while all the others have either lengthened it or retained it unaltered? According to Vararuchi, III. 18, 19, corresponding to Hemachandra, VIII. 1. 155 and VIII. 2. 63-64, Trivikrama, I. 4. 59-60, the words *tûrya, sûrya*, and *dhairya* may elide the *ya* and become *tûra, sûra, dhîra* (comp. Lassen, *Inst. prâcr.* p. 247). After the same principle *kârya* becomes *kâra;* the word has not been noticed by the grammarians, because it existed already in Sanskṛit. This *kâra* is preserved in the Bangâli genitive आपनकार, *i.e.* आपन + कार, and has been curtailed to आमार, तोमार, and in Urdu to *hamârâ, tumhârâ.* Hemachandra, VIII. 4. 434, in the section on the Apabhraṃśa has the sûtra: || yushmadâder iyasya ḍâraḥ || apabhraṃśe yushmadâdibhyaḥ parasya îyapratyayasya ḍâra ity âdeśo bhavati ||, and among the examples *tuhârâ, amhârâ, mahârâ* are quoted. Trivikrama, III. 3. 23, and Ṣiṃharâja, fol. 73 *b*, have: || chhasya yushmadâder ḍâraḥ ||. If we compare these sûtras with the sûtras mentioned above, nobody, I think, can doubt that *âra*, which, as the Bangâli shows, originally was *kâra*, and our *kera* are only modifications of the same word, viz. *kârya. Kâra* could easily be curtailed after a homogeneous vowel, being of frequent occurrence already in Sanskṛit; but *kârya* in the shape of *kera* is a mere Prâkṛitic word. Originally its use was restricted to the pronouns and the words *para* and *râjan;* afterwards it was lengthened and used in connection with substantives. It has never been curtailed. Secondly, the change of *r* to *l* forbids us to accept Prof. Hoernle's theory. There can be no doubt that *kelaka* is the more modern form; and that the change of *r* to *l* in this word is not artificial, but thoroughly organic, is proved by the Marâṭhi *kelâ, kelî, keleṃ*, and the Low Hindi *kailâ* mentioned by Prof. Hoernle himself. Indeed it would be a strange phenomenon if the same word *kera* had not only retained its original shape in the vernaculars, but had also been changed into *kela* and again shortened to *er*. This is impossible, because it is unnatural and against the genius of language. Thirdly, *keraka* is nowhere a sort of affix. If we style *keraka* an affix, we must the same with innumerable other adjectives. *Keraka* is never used in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* or any other play in the sense of a genitive postposition; it never determines the case of another noun; it has never been anything else but a real adjective noun.

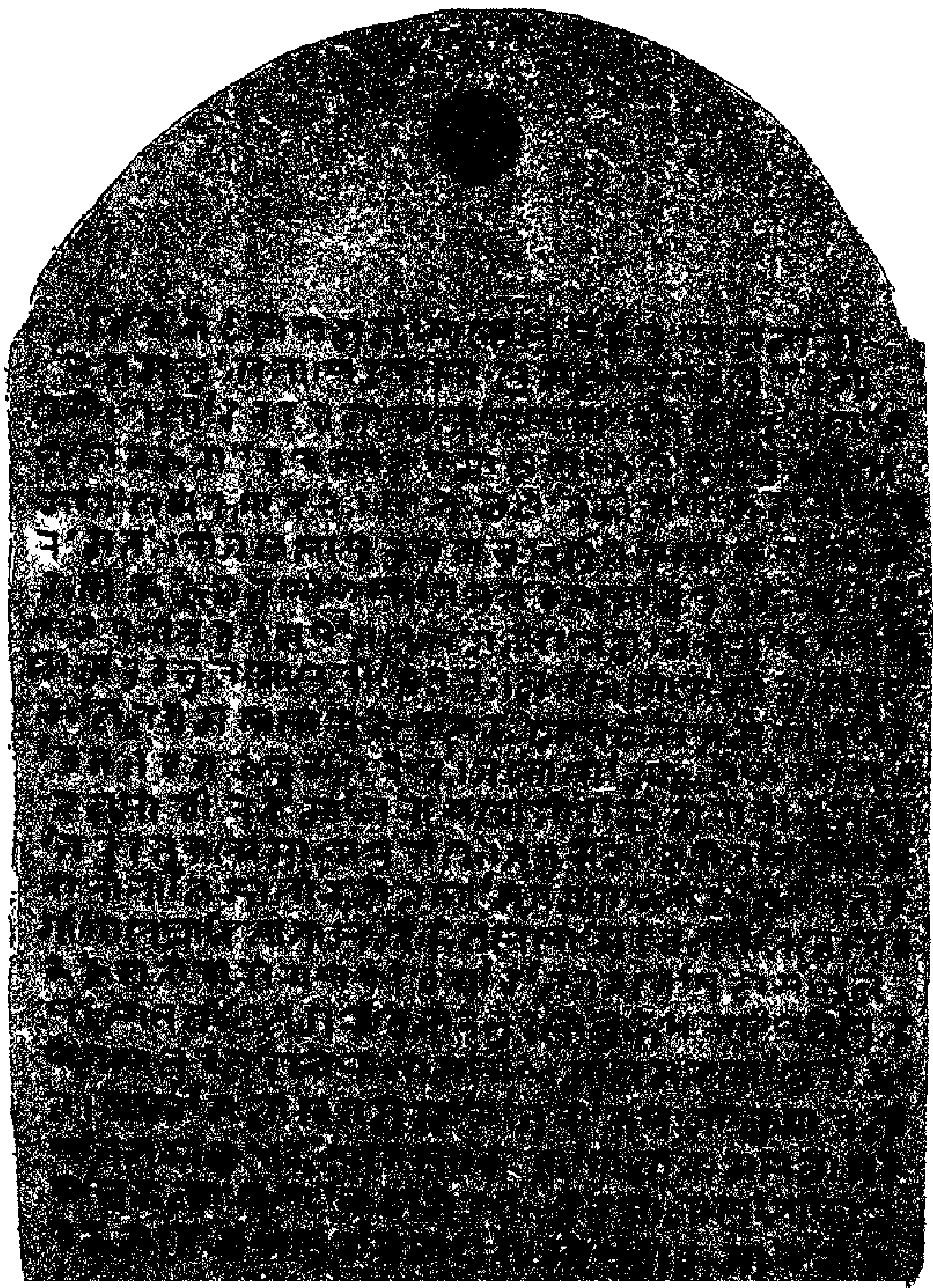
Prof. Hoernle denies having said that the genitive of *santâna* was formerly *santâna keraka.* At p. 132, however, he says: "Take, for instance, the genitive of *santâna*, a child; it would be *santâna keraka.*" What else can this mean but what I have concluded from it? That the Bangâli adjectives have dropped all case, number, and gender terminations I knew as well as Prof. Hoernle does: but exactly because all of them have done it, and because this is the rule, it is difficult to see how *keraka* alone could have been curtailed to such an extent. In the language of the gipsies, where, as I have remarked above, *kera* is very frequently employed, the adjectives are treated in almost the same way as in Bangâli, but still *kera* had retained its old shape. Whether *keraka* occurs fourteen or twenty-eight times in the *Mṛichchhakaṭikâ* is of no consequence. I should not have mentioned that at all if I had not been struck by the astonishing confidence with which Prof. Hoernle asserted that this word in the determinative sense—according to his views—is found in the *Mṛichchhakaṭikâ* only: a confidence all the more astonishing as he confesses now himself that he has not even examined, to say nothing of read, such plays as the *Mâlavikâ* and the *Mudrârâkshasa!* That the word *keraka* must have been very common in the colloquial speech Prof. Hoernle need not tell me. This, however, is no reason why it should have been curtailed; the question is not how often *keraka* occurs, but what changes it may have undergone. If every word of frequent occurrence were curtailed to one syllable, our language would soon resemble the Chinese language. It is due to the uncritical editions of Sanskṛit plays by the Indian Paṇḍits that the word is not met with oftener in other plays. In the Śakuntalâ I shall restore it in three more passages where the best manuscripts have it, though it is not found in any of the present editions of this play. The first instance which I quoted from the Śakuntalâ is not a false one; *keraka* is used there pleonastically; it could be omitted very well. The second instance is not in the least doubtful, but as certain as anything can be. Monier Williams is no authority, his edition—apart from its being a *pons asinorum*—being founded upon the worst possible manuscripts. I gladly recognize the superiority of Prof. Hoernle in every other respect, but as for the Śakuntalâ I must lay claim to know a little more about the play than he, having collated,



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[illegible]





besides all the MSS. used by Prof. M. Williams, four Dravidian, five Bangâli, and two Devanâgari MSS., and having copied two Dravidian commentaries of which Prof. Hoernle has not even heard the names. Thus I think I am entitled to judge whether a reading is doubtful or not. For all questions concerning this play I have much pleasure in referring Prof. Hoernle to my papers on the recensions of the Śakuntalâ: Breslau, 1870, and Göttingen, 1873. Prof. Hoernle seems to be of opinion that everybody who does not speak the literary language speaks slang; there is, however, a great difference between the colloquial and the slang—*keraka* is colloquial but not at all slang. The form *kerika* is a false one; it is not supported by the MSS. I cannot see why Prof. Hoernle has been *obliged* to trust his Calcutta edition. There has been published a much better edition (Śâka 1792) which is accessible to everybody who cares to get it; this edition (p. 252, *b*) has also *bappakelake*. The mistake is not so slight as Prof. Hoernle wishes to represent it. *Keraka* no doubt has the meaning of "own," "peculiar to," "belonging to," but it now rests with him to show how the participle *krita* came to receive this meaning. His reasoning was that, as *prakelaka* is the same as *prakṛita*, thus *keloka* is the same as *kṛita*; and as *kara* means the same as *prakara*, thus *krita* means the same as *prakṛita* (p. 131.) I cannot discover any other passage in his essays where he alludes to the subject again. Thus I must still maintain that this error, which shows a complete want of criticism, invalidates all his deductions, and I am afraid that the absurdity imputed to me by Prof. Hoernle is his own. On the other hand I have endeavoured to show how *keráka* came to its meaning. Unfortunately Prof. Hoernle has not been able to understand me; for at p. 212 of his reply he says that I have adduced the words *kajjam* and *kichcham* as used in the same way as he says *kera* or *keraka* is. Nothing was further from my thoughts, and I cannot make out how it is possible to misunderstand me so utterly. I have quoted all these passages in order to prove that *kajjam* and *keram* are used exactly in the same way, and hence that, as *kajjam* cannot but be derived from *kâryam*, the same must hold good for *keram*. I have adduced these instances only for the sake of the meaning of *keraka*, and instead of recognizing the striking evidence, which really admits of no doubt, Prof. Hoernle imputes me a folly of which I was not capable. He then goes on to observe that the identification of *kera* with *krita* is an old traditional one of the Pandits. I confess that I prefer European criticism to the tradition amongst the Pandits; besides I am able to show that this tradition has never been universal. In the margin of the best and very old MS. of the Śakuntalâ, which is most carefully written, the word *keraka* is rendered twice by *kârya*. This interpretation is due to the Paṇḍit Tapadeva. There can be no doubt that Prof. Lassen has been quite positive in his opinion on the origin of *kera*. Prof. Hoernle quotes only the first passage, but there are several others, two of which I have already quoted. Nevertheless Prof. Hoernle omits them altogether. At p. 130 Prof. Lassen says: "similis ratio est *e* ex *i* orsi, prorsus autem diversa ejus *e* quod ex *a* vel *â* conflatur admixto *i* sequentis syllabæ ut *tellia*, *keraka*." And now he refers the reader to the first passage. The third passage is at p. 247: "*i* hoc ex *ya* orsum, si liquidam *r* excipit sæpius transponitur, ita ut coalescat cum *a* vel *â* praecedenti in *k*; *kera* e *kâria* pro *kârya*;" and here he refers to p. 189, where he simply states as a fact "*keram* a *kârya* cfr. *kerakam*." The fourth passage is at p. 367: "post *r* aut *jja* fit ex *rya*, *kajja* e *kârya*, aut dissolvitur *rya* in *ia*, *kârya*, *kâria*, *kera*; nam *i* antecedenti syllabæ inseritur." The fifth passage is App. p. 58: "compara cum hoc vocabulo (scil. with *achchera*) *kârya* cujus forma solita est *kajja*; in versibus etiam *kera* legitur. Inde derivatum *keraka* in prosa, tamen sæpe legitur." Who except Prof. Hoernle can doubt that Lassen has derived *kera* from *kârya*? Prof. Weber says that the "*e*" has originated from "*a*" under the influence of a following *ya*. I am unable to discover an "*a*" and a *ya* in *krita*, but I find them both in *kârya*. *Kârya* becomes *kâria*, afterwards *kaira*, and hence in Prâkrit *kéra*; and the *e*, originally long, has been shortened afterwards. It is not necessary to suppose a form *karra*, as Prof. Kern does. A doubling of the *r* is forbidden by all Prâkrit grammarians, and never found in Prâkrit. In every other respect I agree with Prof. Kern in the way he has traced back *kera* to *kârya*.

The change of *ṭ* to *ḍ* in *krita* is restricted to the Mâgadhi dialect by all Prâkrit grammarians who have come to my knowledge, and indeed is found in this dialect only. *Kaḍa* has always been local, and cannot be used to account for *kera*.

That in Marâṭhi *keḷe* is the equivalent of *krita* proves nothing; many words may be the equivalents of others without being derived from them. Thus in *parakera*, &c. *kera* is the equivalent of the Sanskritic *kiya*, but I doubt whether even Prof. Hoernle would derive *kera* from *kiya*. Prof. Hoernle again takes refuge in an imaginary Prâkritic word, "*karita*," without meeting with better success. The "*i*" in *karita*, being a mere conjunctive vowel, would never effect a change from *a* to *i*. Besides, what is the use of dealing with imaginary words where words of every-day occur-

rence afford all we wish? Whither such fanciful theories must lead, will be seen best from Prof. Hoernle's fourth essay, which has just reached me. That the Mârathi *kardvem* has sprung from the Prâkritic causative *kardvemi* (Vararuchi, VII. 27) Prof. Lassen saw forty years ago.

R. Pischel.

*London, August* 27, 1873.

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Sir,—In re-reading Professor Weber's Essay on the Râmâyana in your journal, I find that he twice (pp. 123, 176) touches the question whether "Sopeithes, king of the Κηκεοί, who entered into friendly personal relations with Alexander the Great, may be identified with Aśvapati, king of the Kekaya, who is mentioned in the Râmâyana."

As Prof. Weber quotes Lassen (I. 300, II. 161), it is possible that he allowed Lassen's words to supersede his own recollection of the original authorities about Alexander. (I. 300.)

Lassen's first note, in which he identifies the Κηκεοί with the Kekaya, both with the people of Sopeithes, and Sopeithes with Aśvapati, is too long for extract In the second passage he says: "Alexander went northward from Sangala with the main body of his army, into the land of the *Kekaya*, whose king was called *Sopeithes*. This would not, however, be his proper names, but rather his title, for already in epic story there is a king of that people called *Açvapati*."

There is nothing in the world so easy as to be mistaken, but I have twice carefully searched Arrian, Diodorus, Strabo, and Curtius, without being able to find a word to indicate that Sopeithes was king of the Κηκεοί, or in any way connected with them. That name seems to occur only once anywhere, and then in a doubtful reading. It is where Arrian (*Indica*, cap. vi.) speaks of Hydrastes as receiving a tributary called Saranges ἐκ Κηκέων, or ἐκ Κηρέων, or ἐκ Μηκέων. Nor is there anything in the four authors just named to the effect that Alexander went *northward* from Sangala.

I notice this matter because it bears on General Cunningham's identification of Sangala with the site in the Rechna Doâb still so called, an identification which seems to me, if I may presume to say so, eminently satisfactory. According to that view, Alexander, after his destruction of the city, *did go north* into the country of Sopeithes, but instead of being in the sub-Himâlaya, this country apparently lay *à cheval* on the Hydaspes and Acesines, and included the Salt Range or a part of it.

This is confirmed by Arrian's statement (*Exp. Alex.* vi. 2) that Alexander, when about to descend the Hydaspes, sent in advance two divisions of his army under Craterus and Hephæstion, one on each bank, appointing the rendezvous, where his arrival with the fleet was to be awaited, *at the Residence of Sopeithes*.* This rendezvous was reached by the king after a voyage of three days down-stream from Bucephalia.

Strabo says that in the territory of Sopeithes there was a mountain of fossil salt sufficient for all India. This is a reasonable hyperbole if applied to the salt-mines of Kheora, near Pind Dâdan Khân. It is true there are said to be salt-mines also in Mandi, where Lassen places the Kekaya, Κηκεοί, Aśvapati and Sopeithes, but they must be comparatively insignificant. Certainly they are very little known.

For the rest of the argument I refer to Gen Cunningham's book. My present object is only to bar what seems an unproved assumption on the other side, to which such high sanction has been lent incidentally.

H. Yule.

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Dear Sir,—In reply to a query in the last number of the *I. A.*, I send a line to state that we have many villages here where the Pâṭil's *vatan* is divided into two holdings or *bans*, each enjoyed by a family entirely distinct from the other, and usually of a different caste.

Thus, for instance, one family will be Lingayats, and the other Marâṭhâs, or Kanarese Brâhmans.

The same is often the case with Kulkarni *vatans*.

Yours faithfully,

H. B. Boswell.

*Belgaum District, 13th November* 1873.

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Calcutta is a place known from remote antiquity. The ancient Hindus called it by the name of Kalikshetra.† It extended from Bahula to Dakhinashar. Bahula is modern Bahala, and the site of Dakhinashar still exists According to the *Purânas* a portion of the mangled corpse of Sati or Kali fell somewhere within that boundary; whence the place was called Kalikshetra. Calcutta is a corruption of Kalikshetra. In the time of *Balál* Sen it was assigned to the descendants of Sera.

Pudma Nav Ghosal.

*Calcutta, July* 1873.

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* I cannot find any recognition of this passage in Lassen.

† "*Dakhinashar maravya yabacha Bahoola pooree Kalikshetram beeyaneeyath, &c*"

# THE VILLAPPÂKKAM COPPER PLATES.

BY A. C. BURNELL, M.C.S., MANGALOR.

This series of copper plates contains a grant of land by one of the last of the Vijayanagara dynasty—Veṅkaṭapati. He reigned in a very precarious way (at Candragiri) from about 1590 on into the early years of the 17th century. As the Vijayanagara kingdom had been utterly destroyed by the Muhammadans in 1564, his power must have been very small, but in the geneelogy with which (as is the rule) this grant begins, he traces his descent from the Somavaṁśa, and claims to rule the whole of India from the Himâlayas to Setu (Râma's Bridge)!

The grant is of the village of Villappâkkam,* tax-free, to Tiruvengadanâtha, son of Ananta Bhatta. He is described as a follower of the *Yajuśśâkhâ*, and of the *Âpastamba sûtra*, and as belonging to the race of Vatsa.

Besides the grant of the village in *Sarvamânya* (*franczlmoigne* of the mediæval lawyers in England), several privileges are also granted which are interesting as throwing light on the tenures of South India, but which would need much explanation to make them intelligible to foreigners.

The date is:-

Śakti-(3)netra-(2)kalambe-(5)'ndu-(1)ganite śakavatsare | plavasaṁvatsare puṇye mâsi Vaiśâkhanâmni pakshe' valakshe . . . . puṇyâyâṁ dvâdaśitithau, &c.

*i.e.* the 12th lunar day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśâkha in 1601 A.D.

Thus it will appear that this grant is not of any great historical interest.

## REVIEW.

HISTOIRE DU BOUDDHA SAKYA-MOUNI depuis sa naissance jusqu'à sa mort, par Mme. Mary Summer. Avec Préface et Index par Ph. Ed. Foucaux. (sm. 12mo. pp. xiv. 238. Paris: E. Leroux, 1874.)

Before the appearance of this volume, as remarked by M. Foucaux in his preface, "there did not exist in French any complete biography of the founder of Buddhism. Mme. Mary Summer has, with reason, thought that the founder of a religion, which reckons more than three hundred million followers, deserves that the narrative of the events of his life should be available to all French readers, and not remain confined to the domain of science. She has," as he adds, "successfully acquitted herself of the task, for which she had well fitted herself by her *Mémoire sur les Religieuses Bouddhistes*, a book favourably received by all who relish works at once instructive and interesting."

Mme. Mary Summer, we need scarcely hint, is the *nom de plume* of the wife of the distinguished French Orientalist who, five and twenty years ago, translated the earliest known legend of Buddha, the legend on which Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire based his life of Buddha given in his work *Le Bouddha et sa Religion*,—and to her husband's experienced advice, doubtless, this little volume owes part of its value. It does not pretend in any way to be a critical work. The Singalese dates of Buddha's birth and death are accepted, and the principal events recorded in the usual legends are selected and briefly recorded in a pleasant style, and with an admiration for the subject of her biography that would almost lead the reader to imagine the authoress was a devout Buddhist nun. Only once does she distinctly express her dissent from a tenet of the Buddhist creed, and that is when she contrasts its doctrine of the inevitable punishment of sin in some state of existence with the Christian "religion of mercy, which," she says, "gives man the faculty of repentance, leaving for him, even to the last breath, an open door to a happy eternity, and permitting an act of contrition to make of the greatest of sinners one of the chosen of God!"—forgetting, apparently, the analogy supplied by the Atonement—the sacrifice of the Mediator as the substitute for the sinner. This admiration of Buddhism, however, is no new thing even among philosophers. "It is the misfortune of our times," says M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, writing thirteen years ago, "that the same doctrines which form the foundation of Buddhism meet at the hands of some of our philosophers with a favour that they but little deserve. For some years past we have seen systems arising in which metempsychosis and transmigration are highly spoken of, and attempts are made, exactly as Buddha did, to explain the world and man without either a God or a Providence. A future life is refused to the yearnings of mankind, and the immortality of the soul is replaced by the *immortality of works*. *God is dethroned*, and in His place they substitute man, the only being, they tell us, in which the Infinite becomes con-

* In the North Arkat District.

scious of itself. These theories are commended to us, sometimes in the name of science, or history, or philology, or even of metaphysics; and though neither new nor very original, yet they can do much injury to feeble hearts. This is not the place to examine these theories, and their authors are both too learned and too sincere to be condemned summarily and without discussion. But it is well they should know by the examples, too little known, of Buddhism, what becomes of man if he depends on himself alone, and if his meditations, misled by a pride of which he is hardly conscious, bring him to the precipice where Buddha was lost. I am well aware, moreover, of all the differences, and am not going to insult our contemporary philosophers by confounding them indiscriminately with Buddha, though addressing the same reproof to both. I willingly acknowledge all their additional merits —which are considerable. But systems of philosophy must always be judged by the conclusions to which they lead, whatever path they may pursue in attaining to them; and their conclusions are not therefore the less objectionable, though reached by different means. Buddha arrived at his conclusions 2,400 years ago. He preached and practised them with an energy not likely to be surpassed, if it be even equalled. He manifested a childlike intrepidity that no one can exceed; nor can it be supposed that any system in our days could again acquire an ascendency so powerful over the souls of men. It would be useful, however, if the authors of those modern systems would just cast a glance at the theories and destinies of Buddhism. It is not philosophy in the sense in which we understand this great name. Nor is it religion in the sense of ancient Paganism, of Christianity, or of Muhammadanism; but it contains elements of all, worked up into a perfectly independent doctrine, acknowledging nothing in the universe but man, and though confounding man with nature, in the midst of which he lives, obstinately refusing to recognize anything else. Hence all those aberrations of Buddhism, which ought to be a warning to others. Unfortunately, if people rarely profit by their own faults, yet more rarely do they profit by the faults of others."*

But, pleasant reading as this little volume is, and correctly as it reproduces the main narratives of the Oriental legend, it must not be supposed that these afford evidence of facts which actually happened: the earliest legends we possess date four or more centuries after Buddha, and must be accepted only as illustrations of the popular belief prevalent when they were committed to writing.

## INSCRIPTION AT VIŚÂLGAḌH.

In his paper on the 'Musalman Remains in the South Konkan' (*ante*, p. 318) Mr. Nairne has pointed out a manifest error in a statement made by Graham in his *Report on the Principality of Kolhapur*, viz " that a Persian inscription records the capture of the fort (of Viśâlgaḍh) by the Muhammadans in A.D. 1234.' Graham does not give a transcript of this inscription, but he gives (pp. 338, 341) a copy of what he calls " an inscription of the same period" (A.D. 1247)

The following transcript and translation of this latter is supplied by Mr. E. Rehatsek:

*Transcript:*—

بود كار جهان بهمة
اين دولت برج بخوب مي شد تمام
اگر خواهي كه تاريخش بداني
كنون رنج تا گويش دولت برج

*Translation:*—

The business of the world is based on resolution;
This Daulat Burj has been completed well.
If thou wishest to know its date,
Now take pains that thou mayest call it 'Daulat Burj' [*castle of happiness*].

The numerical value of the letters to the two words دولت برج according to the *Abujad*, give the date—4+6+30+400+2+200+3=645 A.H., which year began 8th May 1247 A.D., as read by Graham. From Ferishtah's statement, however, it is evident the Musalmâns did not get possession of it before A.H. 875. May we not suppose an error of 270 or 300 years made by the original scribe in valuing the letters,—say by placing the first figure of the 3rd or 7th letter in the hundreds' place?

## CASTES OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

(*Continued from p. 274, vol. II.*)

*Bârî; Bâriâ.*—In Rewa Kanta and adjoining parts of Gujarât, Dekhan, and Koṅkan; the name of a large Kolî tribe, also of a district they chiefly inhabit in the firstnamed province; they are widely distributed over the country on the left bank of Mahi River, and have some possessions on the right bank; they are cultivators, but also retain many rude and primitive habits; their language is the Gujarâtî. The Bâriâs are regarded as aborigines; like the Naikaḍa Bhîlls, with whom they are associated, they work the mica and carnation mines of their districts, and in the hot months also prepare *kâth* in the jungles.

* *Le Bouddha et sa Religion*, Introd. p. vii

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